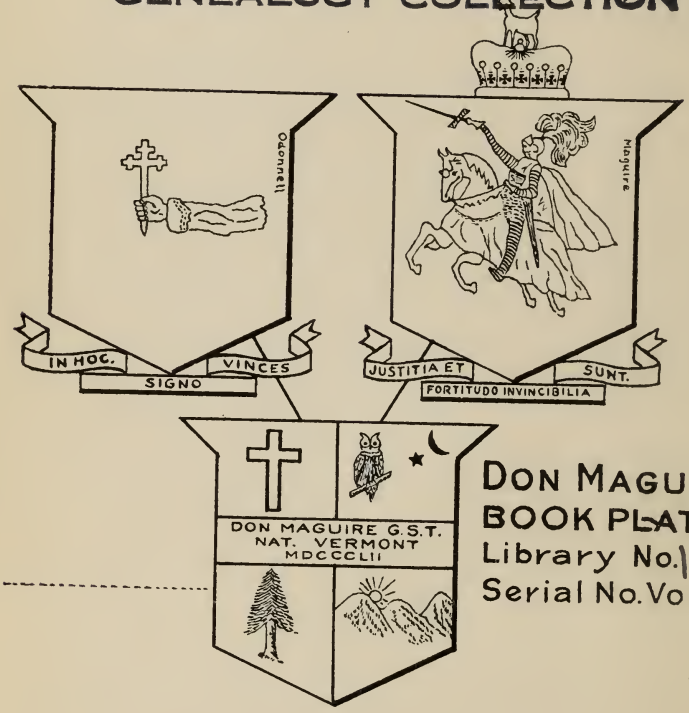
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ALBERT JAMES PICKETT.

HISTORY

OF

ALABAMA

AND INCIDENTALLY OF

GEORGIA AND MISSISSIPPI,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD.

BY

ALBERT JAMES PICKETT.

REPUBLISHED BY

ROBERT C. RANDOLPH,

OF SHEFFIELD, ALA.

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DEDICATION.

As a token of my sincere esteem, and of the high respect I feel for their talents and character, as well as in consideration of the deep interest which they have taken in my literary enterprises,

I DEDICATE THESE VOLUMES TO

BENJAMIN FITZPATRICK, JOHN ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL,
ARTHUR FRANCES HOPKINS, THOMAS JAMES JUDGE
WILLIAM LOWNDES YANCEY, EDMUND STROTHER DARGAN,
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MITCHELL KING AND HENRY W. CONNER,
OF SOUTH CAROLINA :

A. J. PICKETT

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PREFACE.

In submitting my first book to the public, I refrain from making apologies in its behalf, and shall only briefly allude to my labors, in order to show how strenuously I have endeavored to insure its authenticity. I have sought materials for a correct history of my country, wherever they were to be procured, whether in Europe or America, and without regard to cost or trouble. All the Atlantic States have Historical Societies, and books and manuscripts relating to those States have been collected. In addition to this, agents have been sent to Europe by different Legislatures, who have transcribed the colonial records which relate to their history. I have had none of these aids. I have been compelled to hunt up and buy books and manuscripts connected with the history of Alabama, and to collect oral information in all directions. I rejoice, however, to know that a Historical Society has recently been formed at Tuscaloosa by some literary gentlemen, and it gives me pleasure to reflect that the authors who may appear after my day, will not he subjected to the labor which it has been my lot to undergo. Believing that the historian ought to be the most conscientious of men, writing, as he does, not only for the present age but for posterity, I have endeavored to divest myself of all prejudices, and to speak the truth in all cases. If it should be found, by the most scrutinizing reader, that any of my statements are incorrect, let me say in advance, that when I penned those statements I believed them

to be true. So anxious have I been to record each incident as it really occurred, that upon several occasions I have traveled over four hundred miles to learn merely a few facts.

About four years since, feeling impressed with the fact that it was the duty of every man to make himself, in some way, useful to his race, I looked around in search of some object, in the pursuit of which I could benefit my fellow-citizens; for, although much interested in agriculture, that did not occupy one-fourth of my time. Having no taste for politics, and never having studied a profession, I determined to write a History. I thought it would serve to amuse my leisure hours, but it has been the hardest work of my life. While exhausted by the labor of reconciling the statements of old authors, toiling over old French and Spanish manuscripts, traveling through Florida, Alabama and Mississippi for information, and corresponding with persons in Europe and elsewhere for facts, I have sometimes almost resolved to abandon the attempt to prepare a History of my State.

In reference to that portion of the work which relates to the Indians, I will state that my father removed from Anson county, North Carolina, and carried me to the wilds of the "Alabama Territory," in 1818, when I was a boy but eight years of age. He established a trading-house in connection with his plantation, in the present county of Autauga. During my youthful days, I was accustomed to be much with the Creek Indians—hundreds of whom came almost daily to the trading-house. For twenty years I frequently visited the Creek nation. Their green corn dances, ball plays, war ceremonies, and manners and customs, are all fresh in my recollection. In my intercourse with them I

was thrown into the company of many old white men, called "Indian countrymen," who had for years conducted a commerce with them. Some of these men had come to the Creek nation before the revolutionary war, and others being tories, had fled to it during the war, and after it, to escape from whig persecution. They were unquestionably the shrewdest and most interesting men with whom I ever conversed. Generally of Scotch descent, many of them were men of some education. All of them were married to Indian wives, and some of them had intelligent and handsome children. From these Indian countrymen I learned much concerning the manners and customs of the Creeks, with whom they had been so long associated, and more particularly with regard to the commerce which they carried on with them. In addition to this, I often conversed with the Chiefs while they were seated in the shades of the spreading mulberry and walnut, upon the banks of the beautiful Tallapoosa. As they leisurely smoked their pipes, some of them related to me the traditions of their country. I occasionally saw Choctaw and Cherokee traders, and learned much from them. I had no particular object in view at that time, except the gratification of a curiosity, which led me for my own satisfaction alone, to learn something of the early history of Alabama.

In relation to the invasion of Alabama by De Soto, which is related in the first chapter of this work, I have derived much information in regard to the route of that earliest discoverer from statements of General McGillivray, a Creek of mixed blood, who ruled this country with eminent ability from 1776 to 1793. I have perused the manuscript history of the Creeks by Stiggins, a half-breed, who also received some particulars of the route of

De Soto during his boyhood from the lips of the oldest Indians. My library contains many old Spanish and French maps, with the towns through which De Soto passed correctly laid down. The sites of many of these are familiar to the present population. Besides all these, I have procured from England and France three journals of De Soto's expedition.

One of these journals was written by a cavalier of the expedition, who was a native of Elvas, in Portugal. He finished his narrative on the 10th February, 1557, in the city of Evora, and it was printed in the house of Andrew de Burgos, printer and gentleman of the Lord Cardinal and the Infanta. It was translated into English by Richard Hakluyt in 1609, and is to be found in the supplementary volume of his voyages and discoveries; London, 1812. It is also published at length in the Historical Collections of Peter Force, of Washington City.

Another journal of the expedition was written by the Inca Garcellasso de la Vega, a Peruvian by birth and a native of the city of Cuzco. His father was a Spaniard of noble blood, and his mother the sister of Capac, one of the Indian sovereigns of Peru. Garcellasso was a distinguished writer of that age. He had heard of the remarkable invasion of Florida by De Soto, and he applied himself diligently to obtain the facts. He found out an intelligent cavalier of that expedition, with whom he had minute conversations of all the particulars of it. In addition to this, journals were placed in his hands written in the camp of De Soto—one by Alonzo de Carmona, a native of the town of Priego, and the other by Juan Coles, a native of Zafra. Garcellasso published his work at an early period in Spanish. It has been translated into French, but never into English. The copy in our

hands is entitled "Histoire de la Conquete de la Floride ou relation, de ce qui s'est passe dans la decouverte de ce pais, par Ferdinand De Soto, Composee en Espagnol, par L'Inca Garcellasso de la Vega, et traduite en Francois, par Sr. Pierre Richelet, en deux tomes; A. Leide: 1731."

I have still another journal, and the last one, of the expedition of De Soto. It was written by Biedma, who accompanied De Soto as his commissary. The journal is entitled, "Relation de ce qui arriva pendant le voyage du Captaine Soto, et details sur la nature du pas qu'il parcourut; par Luis Hernandez de Biedma," contained in a volume entitled "Recuil de Pieces sur la Floride," one of a series of "Voyages et memoires originaux pour servir a L'Histoire de la decouverte de L'Amerique publies pour la premier fois en Francois; par H. Ternaux-Compans. Paris: 1841."

In Biedma there is an interesting letter written by De Soto, while he was at Tampa Bay, in Florida, which was addressed to some town authorities in Cuba. The journal of Biedma is much less in detail than those of the Portuguese Gentleman and Garcellasso, but agrees with them in the relation of the most important occurrences.

Our own accomplished writer and earliest pioneer in Alabama history—Alexander B. Meek, of Mobile—has furnished a condensed, but well written and graphic account of De Soto's expedition, contained in a monthly magazine, entitled "The Southron," Tuscaloosa, 1839. He is correct as to the direction assumed by the Spaniards over our soil, as well as to the character of that extraordinary conquest.

Theodore Irving, M. A., of New York, has recently issued a revised edition of his Conquest of Florida. Its style is easy and flowing, when the author journalizes in regard to marches through the country, and is exceedingly graphic, when he gives us a description of De Soto's battles. As I have closely examined the sources from which Mr. Irving has collated his work, I am prepared to state that he has related all things as they are said to have occurred. For the complimentary terms which Mr. Irving has employed in the preface, and also in many of the notes of his late edition, in relation to my humble efforts in endeavoring to throw new light upon the expedition of De Soto, I beg him to accept my profound acknowledgments.

There are many gentlemen of talents and distinction, who have unselfishly, nobly and generously interested themselves in my behalf, while engaged in the arduous labors which are now brought to a close. I will name John A. Campbell and George N. Stewart, of Mobile; Alfred Hennen and J. D. B. DeBow, of New Orleans; the Rev. Francis Hawks, of New York; William H. Prescott and Jared Sparks, of Massachusetts; the Rev. William Bacon Stevens, of Philadelphia; W. Gilmore Simms, of South Carolina; and particularly, John H. F. Claiborne, of Mississippi, who placed in my hands the manuscript papers of his father, Gen. F. L. Claiborne, who commanded the southern wing of the army, during the Creek war of 1813 and 1814. The son has requested me to present the manuscript papers of his father as a contribution from him to the Historical Society of Alabama. I shall comply with his request upon the first suitable occasion. There are many other persons who have manifested an interest

in my behalf, to enumerate all of whom, would be extending this preface to an unreasonable length. While I omit the mention of their names, I shall ever cherish the memory of their attentions with the most grateful recollections.

THE AUTHOR.

May, 1851.

HISTORY OF ALABAMA.

CHAPTER I.

De Soto in Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi.

The first discovery of Alabama was by Hernando De Soto, a native of Spain, and the son of a squire of Xerez of Badajos. When a youth he went to Peru, enlisted under Pizarro, and, with no property but his sword, won distinguished military reputation. Returning to his native country, and making an imposing appearance at Court, he was made Governor of Cuba, and Adelantado of Florida. In the unknown regions of the latter, he resolved to embark his vast wealth in a splendid expedition, designed to conquer a people whom he believed to possess more gold than he had yet beheld in South America. Young men of the best blood in Spain and Portugal, sold their houses and their vineyards and flocked to his standard. Soon he was surrounded by an army of six hundred chosen men, with whom he put to sea, over the bar of San Lucar de Barremeda. Arriving at Cuba, he consumed a year in arranging the affairs of his government, and in preparation for the great enterprise before him.* At the end of that period, he left his wife, Dona Isabel de Bobadilla, and the Lieutenant Governor, in charge of the Island, and sailed for the coast of Florida, with a fleet of nine vessels — five large ships, together with caravels and brigantines.

1538 April

1539 May 12

* Portuguese Narrative, pp. 695-700. Garcellasso de la Vega, pp. 59-60.

A prosperous voyage soon enabled De Soto to pitch his camp upon the shores of Tampa Bay, in Florida, with an army
May 30 now increased to one thousand men. Sending out detachments to capture Indians, from whom he expected to learn something of the country, he found them skilful with the bow and too wily to be easily taken. In one of these sallies, the soldiers under Baltasar de Gallegos charged upon a small number of Indians. At that moment a voice cried out, "I am a Christian! I am a Christian! — slay me not." Instantly Alvaro Nieto, a stout trooper, drew back his lance, and lifting the unknown man up behind him, pranced off to join his comrades.

Panfilo de Narvaez had attempted to overrun this country with a large expedition; but after disastrous wander-
1528 ings, he reached Apalache without finding any gold, — and from thence went to the site of the present St. Marks, where his famished troops embarked for Cuba, in rude and hastily constructed boats, which were soon swallowed by the waves.* Jean Ortiz, the person taken prisoner, and who now in all respects, resembled a savage, was a native of the town of Seville, in Spain. When a youth, he came to this coast with some others in search of Narvaez, and was captured by the Indians, who were about to burn him to death, when he was fortunately saved through the entreaties of the beautiful daughter of Uceta, the Chief. In the earlier periods of his slavery he was treated with barbarity, and compelled to guard, night and day, a lonely temple, in which the dead were deposited. After having been twelve years a prisoner among these savages, he was joyfully hastening to the camp of De Soto, when the Castilian words, which he so imploringly uttered, arrested the terrible lance of Alvaro Nieto.†

Gratified at the appearance of Jean Ortiz, who became his in-

* A history of the expedition of Narvaez will be found in Barcia, vol. 1, folio edition, Madrid, 1749, entitled "Navfragios de Alvar Nunez Cabzea de Vaca y Relacion de la jornada que hizo a la Florida, con el Adelantado Panfilo de Narvaez." See, also, Herrera's History of America, vol. 4, pp. 27-38, vol. 5, pp. 91-105. London: 1740.

† Portuguese Narrative, pp. 702-704. Garcellasso, pp. 45-64.

terpreter, De Soto gave him clothes and arms, and placed him upon a good charger. The Adelantado was now ready to penetrate the interior. His troops were provided with helmets, breastplates, shields, and coats of steel to repel arrows of the Indians; and with swords, Biscayan lances, rude guns called arquebuses, cross-bows, and one piece of artillery. His cavaliers, mounted upon two hundred and thirteen horses, were the most gallant and graceful men of all Spain. Greyhounds, of almost the fleetness of the winds, were ready to be turned loose upon the retreating savages; and bloodhounds, of prodigious and noted ferocity, were at hand to devour them, if the bloody Spaniards deemed it necessary. To secure the unhappy Indian, handcuffs, chains and neck collars abounded in the camp. Workmen of every trade, with their various tools, and men of science, with their philosophical instruments and crucibles for refining gold, were in attendance. Tons of iron and steel, and much other metal, various merchandise, and provisions to last two years, were provided by the munificence of the commander and his followers. A large drove of hogs, which strangely multiplied upon the route, together with cattle and mules, was also attached to the expedition. The establishment of the Catholic religion appears to have been one of the objects; for, associated with the army, were twelve priests, eight clergymen of inferior rank, and four monks, with their robes, holy relics, and sacramental bread and wine. Most of them were relatives of the superior officers. Never was an expedition more complete, owing to the experience of De Soto, who, upon the plains of Peru, had ridden down hundreds in his powerful charges, and had poured out streams of savage blood with his broad and sweeping sword! It is not within our scope to detail the bloody engagements which attended the wanderings of this daring son of Spain, upon the territory of the now State of Florida. Everywhere, but especially in narrow defiles, the natives showered clouds of arrows upon the in-

1539 June

vaders. Strong in numbers, and made revengeful by the cruelties inflicted by Narvaez, they had determined to fight De Soto until his army was destroyed or driven from their soil. Nowhere in Florida did he find peace. His gallant troops, however, were successful. The Indians, often put to flight, and as often captured, were laden with chains, while the ponderous baggage of the expedition was unfeelingly thrown upon their backs for transportation. When in camp, they were made to pound corn, and to perform the most laborious and servile drudgery.

1539 Oct. 27

Cutting his way from Tampa, De Soto arrived at Anaica Apalache, in the neighborhood of the modern Tallahassee. Then, as it is yet, a fertile region, he drew from this town, and from others which surrounded it, breadstuffs to last him during the winter. The sea, only thirty miles distant, was explored by a detachment, and at the present St. Marks the bones of horses, hewn timbers, and other evidences of Narvaez, were discovered. During the winter all the detachments, in their various expeditions, were attacked by the Indians, and the main camp at Apalache was harrassed, day and night, in the fiercest manner, and with the most sanguinary results. At length Captain Maldinado, who had been ordered to sail to the west in some brigantines, which arrived from Tampa Bay, in search of a good harbor, returned in February and re-

1540 Feb.

ported the discovery of the bay of Ochus, since called Pensacola, which had a spacious channel, and was protected from the winds on all sides.* Delighted at this good news, which enabled the Governor to make a wide circuit in the interior, he now ordered Maldinado to put to sea in the brigantines which then lay in the Apalache Bay, and to sail for Cuba. He was commanded to sail from thence to Ochus with a fleet of provisions, clothes, and military supplies, with which to

* The Portuguese Narrative asserts that Maldinado was sent to the west, at the head of a detachment, by land; but I adopt the more reasonable statement of Garcellasso, especially as he is sustained by Biedma, De Soto's commissary. See "Relation de ce qui arriva pendant le voyage du Captaine Soto, par Luis Hernandez de Biedma," p. 59.

recruit the expedition, when it should have met him at that point in October.*

Learning from an Indian slave that a country to the north-east abounded in gold, De Soto broke up his winter encampment, and set out in that direction. He entered the territory of the present Georgia at its southwestern border, and successively crossing the Ockmulgee, Oconee and Ogechee,† finally rested upon the banks of the Savannah, immediately opposite the modern Silver Bluff. On the eastern side was the town of Cutifachiqui,‡ where lived an Indian Queen, young, beautiful and unmarried, and who ruled the country around to a vast extent. She glided across the river in a magnificent canoe, with many attendants, and, after an interesting interview with De Soto, in which they exchanged presents, and passed many agreeable compliments, she invited him and his numerous followers over to her town. The next day the expedition crossed the Savannah upon log rafts and in canoes, and quartered in the wigwams and under the spreading shades of the mulberry. Many interesting things occurred at this place, which are mentioned at length by both of the journalists of De Soto, particularly by Garcellasso, but which are here reluctantly omitted in our anxiety to reach the borders of Alabama.

1540 Mar. 3

1540 April

After a halt of several weeks at Cutifachiqui, De Soto broke

* Portuguese Narrative, p. 709. Garcellasso, pp. 211-214.

† Biedma states that De Soto crossed a river (while in this part of the country) called the Altapaha. The substitution of only one letter would make it the Altamaha. p. 62.

‡ All Indian tradition locates this town at the modern Silver Bluff, which is situated on the east bank of the Savannah, in Barnwell District, South Carolina, and which is now the property of Governor Hammond.

In 1736, George Golphin, then a young Irishman, established himself as an Indian trader at this point, and gave the old site of Cutifachiqui the name of Silver Bluff. The most ancient Indians informed him that this was the place where De Soto found the Indian Princess; and this tradition agrees with that preserved by *other* old traders, and handed down to me. Golphin became a very wealthy man, and was for many years one of the most influential persons in Georgia and South Carolina, as we will see hereafter. He left many descendants; among others, the wife of the late Governor Millege, was his daughter; Dr. Thomas G. Holmes, an intelligent man, of Baldwin county, Alabama, is his grandson.

Bertram, in his "Travels," page 313, speaking of Silver Bluff, says: "The Spaniards formerly fixed themselves at this place in the hopes of finding silver."

up his camp, and, in company with the beautiful young Queen, whom he retained about his person as a hostage, to secure obedience among her subjects, and who did not escape from him until the army had nearly accomplished its route through northern Georgia—marched up the Savannah to its head waters, and rested, for a short time, at a town in the present Habersham county, Georgia. From this place the expedition assumed a direct western course, across northern Georgia, until they struck the head waters of the Coosa river, where they advanced upon the town of Guaxule, containing three hundred houses, and situated between several streams which had their sources in the surrounding mountains. The Chief met De Soto with five hundred warriors clothed in light costume, after the fashion of the country, and conducted him to his own house—surrendered at the instance of his wife—which stood upon a mound, and was surrounded by a terrace wide enough for six men to promenade abreast.* Having but little corn for the famished troops, the natives collected and gave them three hundred dogs, which the Spaniards had been accustomed to eat in the pine barrens of lower Georgia, "esteeming them as though they had been fat wethers."† Gaining much information about the country, in conversations with the Chief, conducted by the interpreter, Jean Ortiz, the Governor, after the fourth day's sojourn at Guaxule, marched to the town of Conasauga, in the modern county of Murray, Georgia. Crossing the Conasauga creek, and journeying down its western banks, the Spaniards found it to increase in size, and being joined by other streams, it presently grew larger than the Guadalquiver which passes by Seville.‡ This was the Oostanaula; and following its western side, De Soto, after a very slow march, advanced within seven miles of Chiaha, where he was met by fifteen In-

1540 May 3

1540 May

* Garcellasso, p. 294.
† Portuguese Narrative, p. 712.
‡ Garcellasso, 295.

dians, laden with corn, bearing a message from the Chief, inviting him to hasten to his capital, where abundant supplies awaited him. Soon the eager Spaniards stood before the town of Chiaha, which is the site of the modern Rome. 1540 May

The most ancient Cherokee Indians, whose tradition has been handed down to us through old Indian traders, disagree as to the precise place where De Soto crossed the Oostanaula to get over into the town of Chiaha—some asserting that he passed over that river seven miles above its junction with the Etowa, and that he marched from thence down to Chiaha, which, all contend, lay immediately at the confluence of the two rivers; while other ancient Indians asserted that he crossed, with his army, immediately opposite the town. But this is not very important. Coupling the Indian traditions with the account by Garcellasso, and that by the Portuguese eye-witness, we are inclined to believe the latter tradition that the expedition continued to advance down the western side of the Oostanaula, until they halted in view of the mouth of the Etowa.

De Soto having arrived immediately opposite the great town of Chiaha, now the site of Rome, crossed the Oostanaula in canoes and upon rafts made of logs prepared by the Indians, and took up his quarters in the town.* 1540 June 5

The noble young chief received De Soto with unaffected joy, and made him the following address:

"Mighty Chief: Nothing could have made me so happy as to be the means of serving you and your warriors. You sent me word from Guaxule to have corn collected to last your army two months. Here I have twenty barns full of the best which the country can afford. If I have not met your wishes, respect my tender age, and receive my good will to do for you whatever I am able."†

* Garcellasso, p. 295.
† Portuguese Narrative, p. 717.

The Governor responded in a kind manner, and was then conducted to the Chief's own house, prepared for his accommodation.

Chiaha contained a great quantity of bear's oil in gourds, and walnut oil as clear as butter and equally palatable; and for the only time upon the entire route were seen pots of honey.* The Spaniards, irregularly quartered in the fields, and scattered about at their will, reposed under trees and loitered upon the banks of the rivers. The horses, reduced in flesh and unfit for battle, grazed upon the meadows. Unaccustomed to allow such loose discipline, De Soto now winked at it, for the natives were friendly, and every soul in the camp needed repose. One day the Chief presented the Governor with a string of
1540 pearls, two yards in length, and as large as filberts, for
June which he received in return pieces of velvet and other cloth much esteemed by the Indians. He said that the temple of this town, where the remains of his ancestors were deposited, contained a vast quantity of these valuables. He invited his distinguished guest to take from it as many as he desired. But the latter declined, remarking that he wished to appropriate nothing to himself from so sacred a place. The Chief, to gratify him in regard to the manner of obtaining these pearls, immediately despatched some of his subjects in four canoes, with instructions to fish all night for the oysters which contained them. In the morning he caused a fire to be made upon the bank. The canoes returned laden, and the natives throwing the oysters upon the glowing coals, succeeded in finding many pearls the size of peas, which De Soto pronounced beautiful, but for the fire, which had robbed them of some of their brilliancy. A soldier, in eating some of the oysters, or, rather, muscles, found one of great

* I have often been informed by old bee hunters and Indian countrymen, that after the territory of Alabama became partially settled by an American population, wild bees were much more abundant than they were in their earliest recollection. They were introduced into the country from Georgia and the Carolinas, and often escaping from their hives to the woods, became wild; hence De Soto found no honey in the country at the early period in which he invaded it, except at Chiaha.

size uninjured, and offered it to the commander for Dona Isabel. He declined the kindness intended his wife, and urged the generous fellow to keep it to buy horses with at Havana. Connoisseurs in camp valued it at four hundred ducats.* While here, a cavalier, named Luis Bravo de Xeres, walking one day upon the bank of the river, threw his lance at a dog, which suddenly disappeared under the bluff. Coming up to recover his weapon, he found, to his horror, that it had pierced the temple of Jean Mateos and had killed him. The poor man was quietly fishing on the margin of the stream, and little suspecting that death was at hand. The accident caused deep regret in the camp, the deceased being much esteemed, and, having the only gray head in the army, was called, by way of pleasantry, Father Mateos.† 1540 June

About this time a principal Indian from Costa, a town below, informed De Soto that in the mountains to the north, at a place called, Chisca, were mines of copper, and of a yellow metal, still finer and softer. Having seen, upon the Savannah, copper hatchets supposed to be mixed with gold, his attention was deeply aroused upon the subject. Villabos and Silvera, two fearless soldiers, volunteered to explore that region. Furnished with guides by the Chief of Chiaha, they departed upon their perilous journey. 1540 June

The Spaniards had basked upon the delightful spot where now stands the town of Rome, for the space of thirty days. The horses had recruited, and the troops had grown vigorous and ready for desperate deeds. De Soto demanded of the hospitable

* Garcellasso, p 297. The oyster mentioned was the muscle to be found in all the rivers of Alabama. Heaps of muscle shells are now to be seen on our river banks wherever Indians used to live. They were much used by the ancient Indians for some purpose, and old warriors have informed me that their ancestors once used the shells to temper the clay with which they made their vessels. But as thousands of the shells lie banked up, some deep in the ground, we may also suppose that the Indians, in De Soto's time, everywhere in Alabama, obtained pearls from them. There can be no doubt about the quantity of pearls found in this State and Georgia in 1540, but they were of a coarser and more valueless kind than the Spaniards supposed. The Indians used to perforate them with a heated copper spindle, and string them around their necks and arms like beads—others made toy babies and birds of them.

† Garcellasso, p. 298.

Chief, through the persuasion of some of his unprincipled officers, a number of females to accompany them in their wanderings. That night the inhabitants quietly left the town and hid themselves in the bordering forests. The Chief entreated the Governor not to hold him responsible for their conduct, for, during his minority, an arbitrary uncle ruled them with a despotic will.

1540 June

With sixty troopers De Soto ravaged the surrounding country, and, provoked at not finding the fugitives, laid waste their flourishing fields of corn. When afterwards informed that men only would be required to bear the baggage, the Indians returned to Chiaha, apologized for their flight, and yielded to the last proposition.* De Soto then broke up his camp, re-crossed the Oostanaula, and marched down the west side of the Coosa, leaving the generous people of Chiaha well satisfied with presents. On the 2d July, and after seven days slow march, he entered the town of Costa.† The Spaniards were now in Alabama, in the territory embraced in the county of Cherokee, and by the side of the Coosa, one of our noblest streams. Never before had our soil been trodden by European feet! Never before had our natives beheld white faces, long beards, strange apparel, glittering armor, and, stranger than all, the singular animals bestrode by the dashing cavaliers! De Soto had discovered Alabama, not by sea, but after dangerous and difficult marches had penetrated her northeastern border with a splendid and well equipped land expedition! The Atlantic States were quietly discovered by voyagers entering their harbors. Alabama was marched upon by an army, whose soldiers sickened with famine upon the barrens of Georgia, and left tracks of blood upon the soil of Florida!

1540 July

Commanding his camp to be pitched two cross-bow shots from the town, De Soto, with eight men of his guard, approached the Chief of Costa, who received him with apparent friendship.

* Portuguese Narrative, pp. 718–719.
† Portuguese Narrative, pp. 718–719.

While they were conversing together some unscrupulous footmen entered the town and plundered several of the houses. The justly incensed Indians fell upon them with their clubs. Seeing himself surrounded by the natives, and in great personal danger, the Governor seized a cudgel, and, with his usual presence of mind, commenced beating his own men. The savages, observing that he took their part, became pacified for a moment. In the meantime, taking the Chief by the hand, he led him, with flattering words, towards the camp, where he was presently surrounded by a guard and held as a hostage.* The Spaniards remained under arms all night. Fifteen hundred Indians, armed complete, often made dispositions to charge upon them, vociferating angry and insulting language. Averse to war since he had been so repeatedly attacked by the Floridians, De Soto restrained his anxious troops. His coolness, together with the influence of a prominent Indian who followed him from Chiaha, put an end to the serious affair.† Three days after this Villabos and Silvera returned from Chisca. They passed into the mountains, found no gold, but a country abounding with lofty hills and stupendous rocks. Dispirited, they returned to a poor town, where the inhabitants gave them a buffalo robe, which they supposed once covered a tremendous animal, partaking of the qualities of the ox and the sheep.‡ According to Garcellasso, the mines which they reached were of a highly colored copper, and were doubtless situated in the territory of the county of De Kalb. The sick, who were placed in canoes at Chiaha, had by this time arrived down the river. Furnished with the burden carriers by the Chief, who was to the last hour held a prisoner, the Governor left Costa on the 9th of July, 1540, and crossed over to the east side of the Coosa upon rafts and canoes. Proceeding down its eastern bank, he encamped the first night at the town of Talle. The Chief came forth to receive

1540
July 9

* Portuguese Narrative, pp. 718–719.
† Garcellasso, p. 300.
‡ Portuguese Narrative, p. 719.

him, and, in a formal speech, begged him to command his services. Here the Spaniards remained two days, sharing the hospitality of the natives. Upon their departure they were supplied with two women and four men. Indeed, De Soto brought from the forests of Florida over five hundred unhappy men and women, secured with chains, driven by keepers, and made to transport the effects of the expedition. When any of them became sick, died, or escaped, it was his policy to supply their places at the first town upon which he marched. He always, however, distributed among the principal Indians presents, which were gratifying to them, and left at many of the towns pairs of swine to stock the country.

The expedition now began to enter the far-famed province of Coosa, the beauty and fertility of which were known to all the Indians, even upon the seaside. Garcellasso asserts 1540 that it extended three hundred miles, and other authors July agree that it reached over the territory now embraced in the counties of Cherokee, Benton, Talladega and Coosa. Continuing through the rich lands of Benton, the expedition passed many towns subject to the Chief of Coosa. Every day they met ambassadors, "one going and another coming," by which De Soto was assured of a hearty welcome at the capital.* With joyful faces the Indians rushed to his lines every mile upon the route, furnishing supplies and assisting the troops from one town to another. The same generous reception attended him upon entering the soil of the county of Talladega. The hospitality of the Coosas surpassed that of any people whom he had yet discovered. The trail was lined with towns, villages and hamlets, and "many sown fields which reached from one to the other."† With a delightful climate, and abounding in fine meadows and beautiful little rivers, this region was charming to De Soto and his followers. The numerous barns were full of corn, while acres

* Portuguese Narrative, p. 719.
† Portuguese Narrative, p. 719.

of that which was growing bent to the warm rays of the sun and rustled in the breeze. In the plains were plum trees peculiar to the country, and others resembling those of Spain. Wild fruit clambered to the tops of the loftiest trees, and lower branches were laden with delicious Isabella grapes.

On the 26th of July, 1540, the army came in sight of the town of Coosa. Far in the outskirts, De Soto was met by the Chief, seated upon a cushion, and riding in a chair supported upon the shoulders of four of his chief men. One thousand warriors, tall, active, sprightly and admirably proportioned, with large plumes of various colors on their heads, followed him, marching in regular order. His dress consisted of a splendid mantle of martin skins, thrown gracefully over his shoulder, while his head was adorned with a diadem of brilliant feathers. Around him many Indians raised their voices in song, and others made music upon flutes.* The steel-clad warriors of Spain, with their glittering armor, scarcely equalled the magnificent display made by these natives of Alabama. The Chief, receiving De Soto with the warmth of a generous heart, made him the following speech: 1540 July 26

"Mighty Chief! above all others of the earth! Although I come now to receive you, yet I received you many days ago deep in my heart. If I had the whole world, it would not give me as much pleasure as I now enjoy at the presence of yourself and your incomparable warriors. My person, lands and subjects are at your service. I will now march you to your quarters with playing and singing."†

De Soto responded in his best style, after which he advanced to the town, conversing with the Chief, who rode in his sedan chair, while the lofty Spaniard sat upon his fiery steed. The royal house was set apart for the accommodation of the Adelantado, and one half of the other houses were surrendered

* Garcellasso, p. 300.
† Portuguese Narrative, pp. 719-720.

1540 July to the troops. The town of Coosa was situated upon the east bank of the river of that name, between the mouths of the two creeks, now known as Talladega and Tallasehatchee, one of which is sometimes called Kiamulgee.* It contained five hundred houses, and was the capital of this rich and extensive province.

The Chief of Coosa was twenty-six years of age, well formed, intelligent, with a face beautifully expressive, and a heart honest and generous. He always dined with De Soto. One day he rose from the table, and, in an earnest manner, besought the Governor to select a region anywhere in his dominions, and immediately establish upon it a large Spanish colony. De Soto had contemplated peopling some beautiful country, and was better pleased with this section than any other, but his imagination still pointed him to some gold region, like Peru. He returned the Chief his profound thanks, adduced many reasons for de-

1540 Aug. clining the liberal offer, among others, that Maldinado's ships would await him at the bay of Pensacola. Yet, in the face of all the kindness, the politic and suspicious De Soto kept the Chief about his person, as a hostage, to preserve peace among the Indians, and to extort slaves and provisions. Enraged at the imprisonment of their Chief, the Indians fled to the woods to prepare for war. Four captains, with their companies, were despatched in different directions in pursuit, and returned with many women and men in chains. Some of the principal of these were released at the entreaty of the Chief,

* In 1798, Col. Benjamin Hawkins, then Creek Agent, visited the Coosa town, now embraced in the county of Talladega. He accurately describes the inhabitants and the location of the town, which he says was situated on the banks of the Coosa, between the mouths of two creeks, the Indian names of which were Natche and Ufaula. When the French expelled the Natchez from the Mississippi in 1730, some of that tribe sought refuge among the Talladegas—hence the name of one of these creeks in Hawkins' day. When the Americans, in 1832, began to settle this country, they changed the names of these creeks to Talladega, or Kiamulgee, and Tallasehatchee. In addition to the testimony of Col. Hawkins, many old Indian countrymen have informed me that here was the site of the Coosa town, which was known by that name in their early days. Several ancient French and Spanish maps, in my possession, lay down the town of Coosa at the place described.

See Hawkins' sketch of the Creek Country in 1798-1799, published by the Historical Society of Georgia, Savannah, 1848.

while others were carried off with the expedition, laden with irons and baggage, and those who were not destroyed at the battle of Maubila were conducted far beyond the Mississippi river.*

The Indians returned from the forest, and remained at peace with the Spaniards, but were still dissatisfied at the restrictions imposed upon the liberties of their Chief. After twenty-five days had been passed at the capital of Coosa, De Soto marched in the direction of the Tallapoosa, leaving behind a Christian negro, too sick to travel, whom the Indians desired to retain among them on account of his singular hair and sable complexion. He recovered, and was doubtless the distant ancestor of the dark-colored savages seen in that region in more modern times.† The first day the army passed through the large town of Tallemuchasa, within a few hours after it had been abandoned by its inhabitants. The next day the town of Utaua was reached, where De Soto encamped six days, awaiting the abatement of the stream which ran by it, now violently swollen by incessant rains. As the expedition had not crossed any stream since leaving Coosa, it is probable the one alluded to was the modern Tallasehatchee. The march was continued to Ullebahale, situated upon Hatchet creek, which was called a "small river." The town was surrounded by a wall composed of two rows of posts driven deep in the ground, with poles laid horizontally between them, the inner and outside of the frame work neatly stuccoed with clay and straw. Port-holes were left at proper distances, forming a defence "as high as a lance." Such was the character of the Indian fortifications from this place on-

1540 Aug.

* Portuguese Narrative, p. 720.

† The negro left at Coosa was not the only memorial of De Soto that remained with these people. George Stiggins, whose mother was a Natchez Indian, and whose father was a Scotchman, was born in the Talladega country. He was a fair English scholar, and a pretty good writer. He had been for years engaged in writing a history of the Creeks, and died some years ago, leaving it in an unfinished state. His son permitted me to peruse it one day. Stiggins asserts that the Talladegas had, at a late day, a brass kettle-drum and several shields which once belonged to the army of De Soto, and that he had often seen them. The Coosas used them as trophies in their annual festivals. Besides these, De Soto left hogs and sometimes cattle among the Alabama towns, and such is the origin of these animals among the Indians. Horses and mules were too valuable to be given away.

ward. In consequence of the duresse of the Chief of Coosa, whom De Soto carried along with him, but treated with respect and kindness, the Indians of Ullebahale were in arms. Before the Spaniards entered the suburbs, twelve principal men,
1540 armed with bows, and with lofty plumes upon their
Sept. 14 heads, advanced and volunteered to rescue their beloved Chief by arraying a formidable force, but he dissuaded them from it. On the opposite side of the creek lived a sub-Chief, who furnished De Soto with thirty women for slaves, and to carry burdens. Then the Adelantado pursued his wanderings, leaving behind Mansano, a native of Salamanca, of noble parentage, who was lost while rambling in the hills for grapes, which were found in great abundance. The route lay along the modern Socapatoy region, in the county of Coosa. The expedi-
1540 tion passed the town of Toase, and several others, sub-
Sept. 18 ject to the Chief of Tallase, and arrived at the great town of that name on the 18th September, 1540.

Tallase was an extensive town, the principal part of which was encompassed by a wall, similar to that just described, with the addition of terraces. It reposed upon a point of land "almost surrounded by a main river," which was the Tallapoosa.* Extensive fields of corn reached up and down the banks. On the opposite side were other towns, skirted with rich fields laden with heavy ears of maize. The beautiful river, rolling its silvery waters through these fertile lands, and the delightful climate, contributed to render the whole prospect most pleasing. But the reception of De Soto among these people was cool and scarcely civil. Some had abandoned their houses at his approach, and gone into the woods. However, the Chief gave him forty Indians. After

*Some years after De Soto passed through this country, the Muscogees or Creeks came from the Mexican empire, of which they were subjects, and overrun all East Alabama and the greater portion of Georgia, killing and making slaves of many of the Alabamas, Ockmulgees, Oconees and Uchees, the latter of whom then lived near the modern city of Savannah. Upon the ruins of the Tallase discovered by De Soto, the Muscogees built the town of Tookabatcha, but immediately opposite, across the river, the name of Tallase was preserved until they moved to Arkansas, in 1836. This ancient and extensive Indian settlement is now in large cotton plantations.

a few days, a noble-looking young savage, of gigantic proportions, and with a face extremely handsome and interesting, visited the marquee. He was the son of Tuscaloosa, a potent Chief, whose domains commenced thirty miles below, and extended to the distant Tombigby. He bore an invitation from his father to De Soto to hasten to his capital, where he was making preparations to receive him upon a magnificent scale, and then awaited him upon the eastern confines of his territory. The son was despatched with a suitable reply, and presents for the father.

Having remained at Tallase twenty days, De Soto dismissed the Chief of Coosa, with whom he parted upon good terms, crossed the Tallapoosa in canoes and upon rafts, marched down the eastern side, and encamped the first night at Casista, probably the sight of the modern Autose. Delayed in passing the river, he could not have advanced further that day. In the morning the march was resumed. During this day a large town was discovered, and at night the camp was pitched upon the borders of another. The next day, advancing within six miles of the temporary residence of Tuscaloosa, a halt was made in the woods. Louis de Moscoso, the campmaster, with fifteen horsemen, was despatched to inform the Chief of the proximity of the Governor. Moscoso found the proud Mobilian seated upon two cushions, placed on a large and elegant matting, upon an eminence which commanded a delightful prospect. His numerous attendants posted themselves around him, leaving space for the nearer position of his chief men. One of these held over his head a round deerskin shield, with a staff in the middle, resembling an umbrella. Painted with stripes of different colors, it was used as a banner in his wars, but was employed at present in protecting his head from the rays of the sun. Tuscaloosa was 40 years of age, of great stature, with immense limbs. He was spare around the waist, and his whole form was admirably proportioned. His countenance was handsome, but grave and severe. "He was lord of many territories

1540 Oct.

and much people, and was feared by his neighbors and subjects." In vain did Moscoso endeavor to excite his curiosity, by prancing his horses before him. Sometimes he scarcely deigned to raise his eyes, and then, again, he bestowed upon the troopers the most contemptuous smiles. Even when De Soto arrived, he preserved the same haughty demeanor; but, in consideration of his position as commander-in-chief, he reluctantly advanced, and made the following address:

"Mighty Chief: I bid you welcome. I greet you as I would my brother. It is needless to talk long. What I have to say can be said in a few words. You shall know how willing
1540 I am to serve you. I am thankful for the things which
Oct. you have sent me, chiefly because they were yours. I am now ready to comply with your desires."

The Governor replied in true Spanish style, failing not to assure the Chief that, even in distant Indian countries, through which he passed, he had heard of his greatness and power. This interesting scene occurred below Line Creek, in the present county of Montgomery. Both journalists agree that De Soto had advanced thirty-six miles below Tallase. Reposing at this town the space of two days, preparations were made to advance. An officer was sent among the horses, to find one large enough to sustain the giant Indian. A large pack horse, the property of the Governor, was selected. Appareled in a rich suit of scarlet, and a cap of the same, given to him by De Soto, the Chieftain, who was a head taller than any of his attendants, mounted upon his horse, with his feet nearly trailing on the ground.
1540 Onward the lofty and graceful Mobilian rode, side by
Oct. side with the Governor. Marching through the territory embraced in the present counties of Montgomery, Lowndes, and the southeastern part of Dallas, the expedition arrived at a town called Piache, seated on a peninsula formed by the windings of a large river, "the same which runs by Tallase,

but here grown much wider and deeper."* This was the Alabama. On the march hither, a distressing disease broke out among the Spaniards, from the want of salt. The death of several, together with the loathsome condition of the sufferers, spread alarm in the camp. Those who afterwards used ashes with their food, from a weed recommended by the Indians, escaped the dreadful malady.†

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The town of Piache was strongly fortified. Its name is probable preserved in a large creek which flows into the Alabama on the northern side, called Chilache. The Indians having no canoes, soon constructed rafts of dry logs and cane, upon which the troops were wafted to the northern or western side of the Alabama—according to the conviction of the writer, in the upper part of the county of Wilcox.‡

The expedition assumed a southern direction, and marched down the western side of the Alabama, over the soil of the present county of Wilcox. De Soto began to read the Mobilian Chief. He was still proud and distant, and evidently felt that he was a prisoner. Upon the whole route he had been studiously engaged in consulting with his principal men, and in constantly sending runners to the capital with messages. De Soto suspected that he meditated schemes, which aimed at the destruction of the Spaniards. His suspicions were further awakened, when Villabos and another cavalier were believed to have been killed by his subjects. When asked about them Tuscaloosa indignantly replied, "I am not their keeper." High words ensued between him and De Soto; but the latter restrained himself until an opportunity offered of taking deep revenge on the Chief for his insolence and the death of the two Spaniards. On the third day of the march from Piache, they

1540 Oct.

* Garcellasso, p. 310. Portuguese Narrative, p. 722.
† Garcellasso, pp. 369-370.
‡ Biedma says that De Soto occupied two days in passing the river; and he learned from the Indians that Narvaez's barques touched at the mouth of the river (the Alabama) in search of water, and that a Christian, named Teodoro, was still among the Indians below—and they exhibited to De Soto a dagger which they had obtained from him. p. 72.

passed through many populous towns, well stored with corn, beans, pumpkins, and other provisions. In the meantime, Caramilla and Vasques, two able and discreet cavaliers, were despatched in advance to discover if any conspiracy was going on at the capital. Before daylight, on the fourth morning, De Soto placed himself at the head of one hundred horse, and an equal number of foot, and marched rapidly in that direction with the Chief, leaving Moscoso, the camp-master, to bring up the larger portion of the troops. At eight o'clock the same morning, the 18th October, 1540, De Soto and Tuscaloosa arrived at the capital, called Maubila. It stood by the side of a large river, upon a beautiful plain, and consisted of eighty handsome houses, each capacious enough to contain a thousand men. They all fronted a large public square. They were encompassed by a high wall, made of immense trunks of trees, set deep in the ground and close together, strengthened with cross-timbers, and interwoven with large vines. A thick mud plaster, resembling handsome masonry, concealed the wood work, while port-holes were abundant, together with towers, capable of containing eight men each, at the distance of fifty paces apart. An eastern and a western gate opened into the town. The writer is satisfied that Maubila was upon the north bank of the Alabama, and at a place now called Choctaw Bluff, in the county of Clarke, about twenty-five miles above the confluence of the Alabama and Tombigby. The march from Piache, the time occupied, the distance from Maubila to the bay of Pensacola—computed by Garcellasso and the Portuguese Gentleman at eighty-five miles—and the representations of aged Indians and Indian countrymen, that here was fought the great battle between De Soto and the brave Mobilians, have forcibly contributed to make that impression upon his mind.

1540 Oct. 18

De Soto and Tuscaloosa were ushered into the great public square of Maubila with songs, music upon Indian flutes, and the graceful dancing of beautiful brown girls. They alighted from

their chargers, and seated themselves under a "canopy of state." Remaining here a short time, the Chief requested that he should no longer be held as a hostage, nor required to follow the army any further. The Adelantado hesitated in reply, which brought Tuscaloosa immediately to his feet, who walked off with a lofty and independent bearing, and entered one of the houses.

De Soto had scarcely recovered from his surprise, when 1540
Jean Ortiz followed the Chief and announced that Oct. 18
breakfast awaited him at the Governor's table. Tuscaloosa refused to return, and added, "If your Chief knows what is best for him, he will immediately take his troops out of my territory." In the meantime, Charamilla, one of the spies, informed the Governor that he had discovered over ten thousand men in the houses, the subjects of Tuscaloosa and other neighboring Chiefs; that other houses were filled with bows, arrows, stones and clubs; that the old women and children had been sent out of the town. and the Indians were at that moment debating the most suitable hour to capture the Spaniards. The General received this startling intelligence with the deepest solicitude. He secretly sent word to his men to be ready for an attack. Then, anxious to avert a rupture, by regaining possession of the person of the Chief, he approached him with smiles and kind words, but Tuscaloosa scornfully turned his back upon him, and was soon lost 1540
among the host of excited warriors. At that moment a Oct. 18
principal Indian rushed out of the same house, and loudly denounced the Spaniards as ROBBERS, THIEVES and ASSASSINS, who should no longer impose on their great Chief, by depriving him of a liberty with which he was born, and his fathers before him. His insolence, and the motions which he made to shoot at a squad of Spaniards with a drawn bow, so incensed Baltasar de Gallegos, that, with a powerful sweep of his sword, he split down his body and let out his bowels! Like bees in a swarm the savages now poured out upon the Spaniards. De Soto placed him-

self at the head of his men, and fought face to face with the enemy, retreating slowly and passing the gate into the plain. His cavalry had rushed to rescue their horses, tied outside the walls, some of which the Indians came upon in time to kill. Still receding to get out of the reach of the enemy, De Soto at length paused at a considerable distance upon the plain. The Mobilians seized the Indian slaves, packed upon their backs the effects of the expedition, which had now arrived and lay scattered about, drove the poor devils within the walls, knocked off their irons, placed bows in their hands, and arrayed them in battle against their former masters. In the first sally, De Soto had five men killed and many wounded, himself among the latter number. Having captured the baggage, the victors covered the ground in advance of the gate, and rent the air with exulting shouts. At that moment the Governor headed his cavalry, and followed by his footmen, charged upon the savage masses; and, with a terrible slaughter, drove them back into the town. The Indians rushed to the port-holes and towers, and shot upon the invaders clouds of arrows, compelling them again to retire from the walls. A small party of Spaniards were left in a perilous situation. Three cross-bow men, an armed friendly Indian, five of De Soto's guard, some servants and two priests, not having time to join the others when first attacked in the square, took refuge in the house set apart for their commander. The savages sought an entrance at the door, but the unhappy inmates bravely defended it, killing many of the assailants. Others clambered upon the roof to open the covering, but were as successfully repulsed. Separated from their friends by a thick wall,

1540 Oct. 18 and in the midst of thousands of enemies panting to lap their blood, their destruction appeared inevitable. During the long struggle for existence, the holy fathers engaged in earnest prayer for their deliverance, while the others fought with a desperation which rose with the occasion.

Seeing the Spaniards again retreat, the Indians rushed

through the gates, and dropping down from the walls, engaged fiercely with the soldiers, seizing their sweeping swords and piercing lances! Three long hours were consumed in the terrible conflict, first one side giving way and then the other. Occasionally, De Soto was strengthened by small squads of horsemen who arrived, and without orders, charged into the midst of the bloody melee. The Governor was everywhere present in the fight, and his vigorous arm hewed down the lustiest warriors. That sword, which had often been dyed in the blood of Peruvians, was now crimsoned with the gore of a still braver race. The invincible Baltasar de Gallegos, who struck the first blow, followed it up, and was only equaled by the commander in the profuse outpouring of savage blood. Far on the borders of the exciting scene rode his brother, Fray Juan, a Dominican friar, who constantly beckoned him to quit the engagement on foot, and take the horse which he bestrode, in order to fight the better. But Baltasar, gloating on 1540 blood, heeded him not; when presently an Indian arrow, Oct. 18 which made a slight wound upon the back of the worthy father, caused him to retire to a less dangerous distance. Indeed, during the whole battle the priests kept the plain, watched the awful carnage with intense anxiety, and often fell upon their knees, imploring Almighty God to give victory to the Spaniards.

At length the matchless daring of De Soto and his troops forced the Indians to take a permanent position within Maubila, closing after them its ponderous gates. The sun began to lower towards the tops of the loftiest trees, when Moscoso and the last of the army arrived. He had strangely loitered by the way, allowing the soldiers to scatter in the woods and hunt at their leisure. His advanced guard heard at a distance the alarum of drums and the clangor of trumpets. With beating hearts they passed back the word along the scattered lines, from one to the other, and soon the hindmost rushed to the support of their exhausted and crimson-stained comrades. Joined by all his force,

De Soto formed the best armed into four divisions of foot. Provided with bucklers for defense, and battle-axes to demolish the walls, they made a simultaneous charge, at the firing of an arquebuse. Upon the first onset, they were assailed with showers of arrows and dreadful missles. Repeated blows against the gates forced them open. The avenues were filled with eager soldiers, rushing into the square. Others, impatient to get in, battered the stucco from the walls and aided each other to climb over the skeleton works. A horrible and unparalleled carnage ensued. The horsemen remained on the outside to overtake those who might attempt to escape. The Indians fought in the
1540 streets, in the square, from the tops of the houses and
Oct. 18 walls. The ground was covered with their dead, but not one of the living entreated for quarters. The Spaniards were protected with bucklers and coats of mail, while the poor Indians were only covered with the thin shield which the Great Spirit gave them at the dawn of their existence. The troops entered the town in time to save the two priests and their companions, who had so long held out against such fearful odds. The battle, which now waxed hotter and more sanguinary than ever, cannot be as graphically described as the heroic deeds on either side so justly deserve. Often the Indians drove the troops out of the town, and as often they returned with increased desperation. Near the wall lay a large pool of delicious water, fed by many springs. It was now discolored with blood. Here soldiers fell down to slake the intense thirst created by heat and wounds, and those who were able rose again, and once more pitched into a combat characterized by the most revolting destruction of human life. For some time the young females had joined in the fight, and they now contended side by side with the foremost warriors, sharing in the
1540 indiscriminate slaughter. Heated with excitement,
Oct. 18 smarting with his wounds, and provoked at the unsubdued fierceness of the natives, De Soto rushed out

alone by the gate, threw himself into the saddle, and charged into the town. Calling, with a loud voice, upon "Our Lady and Santiago," he forced his charger over hundreds of fighting men and women, followed by the brave Nuno Tobar. While opening lanes through the savage ranks and sprinkling his tracks with blood, he rose on one occasion to cast his lance into a gigantic warrior. At that instant a powerful winged arrow went deep into the bottom of his thigh. Unable to extract it, or to sit in his saddle, he continued to fight to the end of the battle, standing in his stirrups. Everywhere, that mighty son of Spain now gorged upon Alabama blood! His fearless bounds filled the boldest soldiers with renewed courage. At length the houses were set on fire, and the wind blew the smoke and flames in all directions, adding horror to the scene. The flames ascended in mighty volumes! The sun went down, hiding himself from the awful sight! Maubila was in ruins, and her inhabitants destroyed!

The battle of Maubila had lasted nine hours. It was disastrous to De Soto. Eighty-two Spaniards were slain, or died in a few days after the engagement. Among these were Diego De Soto, the nephew of the Governor; Don Carlos Enriquez, who had married his niece; and Men-Rodriquez, a cavalier of Portugal, who had served with distinction in Africa and upon the Portuguese frontiers. Other men of rank and blood lost their lives in the terrible conflict, some of whom died in great agony, being shot in the eyes and in the joints of their limbs. Forty-five horses were slain—an irreparable loss, mourned by the whole expedition. All the camp equipage and baggage were consumed in the house where the Indians had stored it, except that of Captain Andres de Vasconcellos, which arrived late in the evening. All the clothes, medicines, instruments, books, much of the armor, all the pearls, the relics and robes of the priests, their flour and wine, used in the holy sacrament, with a thousand other things which a wilderness could not supply, perished in the flames. The Mobilians were nearly all destroyed. Garcellasso

asserts that above eleven thousand were slain. The Portuguese Gentleman sets down the number at two thousand five hundred killed within the walls alone. Assuming a point between the two estimates, it is safe to say that at least six thousand were killed in the town and upon the plains, or were afterwards found dead in the woods. These authors also disagree as to the fate of Tuscaloosa—the one contending that he was consumed in the flames, and the other that he decamped upon the arrival of Moscoso, at the solicitation of his people, attended by a small guard, and laden with rich Spanish spoils. It is more probable that the Black Warrior remained in his capital, desiring not to survive the downfall of his people.*

1540 Oct. 18

Upon the ruins of Maubila the Spaniards passed the first night, in confusion and pain, sending forth groans and cries that fell upon the distant air like the ravings of the damned! In every direction a sickening and revolting sight was presented. In the slowly receding fire, piles of brave Mobilians cracked and fried upon the glowing coals! Upon the great square, pyramids of bodies, smeared with blood and brains, lay still unburnt. Outside the walls, hundreds lay in the sleep of death, still hot from their last desperate exertions, and copiously bleeding from the large orifices made by lances and swords, and discoloring the beautiful grounds upon which they had so often sported in their native games. All the Spaniards were wounded except the holy fathers, and were, besides, exhausted, famished, and intoxicated with the most fiendish desperation. Seventeen hundred dangerous wounds demanded immediate attention. It was often that a soldier had a dozen severe ones, with barbed arrows rankling in his flesh. But one surgeon of the expedition survived, and he was slow and unskillful. Everything, in his department, was devoured by the

1540 Oct. 18

* In describing the battle of Maubila, I have carefully consulted the Portuguese Narrative and Garcellasso. I find that they are, in the main, sustained by Biedma. See Garcellasso, pp. 312-331—Portuguese Narrative, pp. 722-725—Biedma, pp. 74-78.

terrible element. Those who were slightly wounded, administered to those whom the Indians had pierced deepest. As the soldiers of Cortez did in Mexico, they opened the bodies of some of the savages, and with the fat obtained, bound up the wounds with bandages torn from the garments of the soldiers who were killed. Others rushed to the woods, obtained straw and boughs, and formed against the walls beds and imperfect covering for the wounded and dying. Although severely pierced himself with arrows, and bruised with missiles, yet the generous De Soto unselfishly gave his whole attention to his men. During that miserable night, many of the unhappy Spaniards joined the priests in fervent appeals to their Heavenly Father for the alleviation of their wretched condition. 1540 Oct. 18

They remained within the walls eight days, and then removed to the Indian huts upon the plain. De Soto sent out foraging detachments, who found the villages abounding in provisions. In the woods and ravines, Indians were found dead, and others lay wounded. The latter were treated with kindness by the Spaniards, who fed them and dressed their wounds. Females of incomparable beauty were captured upon these excursions, and added to those who were taken at the close of the battle. From them, the Governor was astounded to learn the deep schemes which Tuscaloosa had planned to capture his army, weeks before his arrival at Maubila. To the Tallases, who complained to him that their Chief had given their people to De Soto as slaves, he replied: "Fear nothing; I shall shortly send the Spaniards back from my country to Tallase in chains, led by your people whom they have enslaved."

The priests, monks, and best informed laymen, went into convention to determine the propriety of substituting corn meal for flour in the celebration of Mass. They decided that bread made of pure wheat, and wine of the juice of the grape, were required for consecration. After this, the fathers, in lieu of the

chalices, altar dresses, chasubles, and other sacred ornaments, which had been consumed by fire, made some robes of dressed deer skins, erected rude altars and read the *introitus* and other prayers of the Mass on Sundays and feasts, omitting the consecration. This unusual ceremony was denominated the Dry Mass.

While referring to the religious exercises of the Spaniards, it is proper to allude to some of their vices. Upon the whole journey from Tampa Bay to this place, they had passed much of their leisure time in gambling. This vice was common to all classes; those of rank often bet high, staking their
1540 money, jewels, horses, effects, and even their female
Oct. slaves! The fire of Maubila destroyed their cards. They now made others of parchment, painted them with admirable skill, and loaned these packs from one company to another, continuing to gamble under trees, upon the river banks, and in their rude huts.

The report which De Soto had received upon his first arrival at Maubila, that Maldinado and his vessels awaited him at the bay of Pensacola, was now fully confirmed by the females whom he had captured. Refreshed by this good news, which determined him to plant a colony in the wilderness, he dismissed a Chief of that country whom Maldinado had brought into his camp, while at Apalache Anaica. He had always treated him with kindness, and they parted upon the most friendly terms. The Chief set out for Ochus. When it became known in camp that the ships had arrived, joy succeeded the sadness which had universally prevailed. Some of the most distinguished cavaliers secretly talked of sailing from Ochus to Spain, and others to Peru, each resolved upon quitting De Soto and his fortunes. He heard of the conspiracy with painful solicitude, and determined to ascertain if it was founded in seriousness. One dark night he disguised himself and cautiously moved about the camp.
1540 Approaching the hut of Juan Caitan, the treasurer, he
Nov. overheard an earnest conversation, which satisfied him

of the truth of what had been intimated. De Soto was startled at the faithless schemers. It altered his plans. He now dreaded to march to Ochus, for he well knew that some of these cavaliers had once deserted Pizarro, leaving him on the island of Gorgonne. He reflected, that his means were exhausted, his hopes of finding a gold country, thus far, blasted, and that he had nothing to tempt the cupidity of recruits; even the pearls, all he had to exhibit of his discoveries, having shared the fate of the other effects. These things, connected with a desire to thwart the plans of the conspirators, influenced him to turn his back upon his ships, laden with provisions, clothes, arms, and everything which the whole army needed.

De Soto became gloomy and morose. Sometimes, in the midst of his desponding fits, a hope of yet finding a gold region shot across his mind, but, like a flashing meteor, it exploded in darkness, leaving him in deeper despair! He resolved, however, to strike into the wilderness. The wounded had recovered enough to march, and he gave orders to break up the camp. On Sunday, the 18th of November, 1540, a direction was assumed to the north. The order fell like a clap of thunder upon the unwilling cavaliers. But they obeyed, for he threat- 1540 ened to put to death the first man who should even Nov. 18 think of Maldinado and his ships.* The expedition traversed an extremely fertile, but uninhabited country, called Pafallaya, now embraced in the counties of Clarke, Marengo and Greene, and, at the expiration of five days, passed the town of Talepataua, and reached another called Cabusto. This was "near a river, wide, deep, and with high bluffs."† The Spaniards had now arrived upon the Black Warrior, and near the modern town of Erie. Fifteen hundred Indians advanced in battle array,

* De Soto had no doubt determined to settle a colony in the province of Coosa. The desperate resolution, now formed, of again plunging into unknown regions, was unfortunate for him and his followers, and for the historians of Alabama. A colony in Alabama, at that early period, would have afforded many rich historic incidents.

† "Etoit sur un fleuve, grand, profond et haut de bord." Garcellasso, p. 348. The American rivers, of ordinary size, appeared large to the Spaniards, and do even now to all Europeans.

shouting that a war of "fire and blood" was what they desired. They remembered the destruction of their friends at Maubila, and they were determined to be revenged. Severe skirmishing ensued. The Spaniards drove the savages into the river; some crossed over in canoes and others swam, and on the opposite side they were joined by a force estimated at eight thousand. For six miles they stretched along the western bank to oppose the crossing of the army. De Soto occupied Cabusto, and was attacked every night by detachments of the enemy, who came over secretly in canoes from different directions, and sprang upon him. He at length caused ditches to be cut near the landings, in which he posted cross-bow men and those armed with arquebuses. After the Indians were repulsed three times from these intrenchments, they ceased to annoy the Spaniards at night. In the meantime, one hundred men completed in the woods two large boats. They were placed upon sledges, and by the force of horses and mules, and with the assistance of the soldiers, were conveyed to a convenient landing one and a half miles up the river, and launched before day. Ten cavalry and forty infantry entered each of these boats, the former keeping the saddle while the latter rowed rapidly across. Five hundred Indians rushed down the banks and overwhelmed the voyagers with arrows.

1540 Nov. However, the boats reached the shore, one of them coming to with great difficulty. The soldiers, all of whom were wounded, sprang out, and, headed by the impetuous Silvestre and Garcia, charged the Indians with great resolution. A severe conflict continued until the boats returned and brought over De Soto with eighty men, who, joining in the fight, forced the Indians to retreat to a distant forest. The advanced wing keeping off the enemy, the whole army soon crossed the river. When all were over, the Indians were driven to their first position, which they had strengthened with pallisades, and from which they continually sallied, skirmishing with the

invaders until the sun was lost behind the hills.* Upon the Warrior, De Soto found a delightful country, with towns and villages well supplied with corn, beans and other provisions. The next day he caused the boats to be broken up, for the iron which they contained, and the expedition marched in a northern direction, passing through a portion of Greene and Pickens. After five days they reached the Little Tombigby, somewhere in the county of Lowndes, Mississippi. Here the Indians had collected to dispute the passage. Having recently suffered so severely in contentions with the natives of Alabama, De Soto felt unwilling to expose his army to further loss. Halting two days for the construction of a small boat, he despatched in it an Indian, who bore a message to the Chief, with offers of peace and friendship. Immediately upon reaching the opposite bank, the poor fellow was seized and barbarously killed, in the sight of the Governor. His murderers then rent the air with terrific yells and dispersed. De Soto conducted his troops unmolested across the river, and marched until he arrived at the town of Chickasa, in the province of that name. It consisted of two hundred houses, and reposed upon a hill extending towards the north, shaded by oak and walnut trees, and watered by several rivulets. The Spaniards had now reached the territory embraced in the county of Yalobusha. The region was fertile, well-peopled and dotted with villages. The cold weather set in with much severity. In the midst of snow and ice, the army encamped upon the fields opposite the town, until houses could be erected; for here De Soto had determined to pass the winter. Foraging parties scoured the country, collected provisions, and captured Indians. The latter were invariably dismissed, with presents for their Chief.

1540 Nov.

The Chief at length came to see De Soto, and offered him his lands, person and subjects. He returned, shortly after, with two neighboring Chiefs—Alibamo and Nicalaso. The august trio

*Portuguese Narrative, p. 725. Garcellasso, pp. 348-352.

gave the Adelantado one hundred and fifty rabbits, besides mantles and skins. The Chief of Chickasa became a frequent visitor, and De Soto often sent him home on one of the horses. Having besought the General to aid him in overcoming a prominent and rebellious subject, for the purpose of dividing and de-

1541 Jan. stroying the army, as was afterwards ascertained, De Soto marched, with thirty horsemen and two hundred Indians, upon Saquechuma, and destroyed that place by fire. Upon their return to the camp, the principal Indians were feasted upon the flesh of the swine. They were pleased with the first dish of an animal never before seen, and from that time the place where the hogs were kept was often broken in upon dark nights and many stolen. Three of the rogues were caught on one occasion and two of them put to death. The hands of the other were chopped off, and in that painful and helpless situation he was sent to his Chief. On the other side, the Spaniards robbed the Indians. One day four horsemen, Francisco Osario, a servant of the Marquis of Astorga, called Raynoso, Ribera, the page of the Governor, and Fuentes, his chamberlain, entered a neighboring village and forcibly carried off some valuable skins and mantles. The enraged Indians forsook their town and went into the woods to prepare for war. The robbers were arrested, and Fuentes and Osario were condemned to die. The priests and some of the most distinguished cavaliers pleaded, in vain, for the pardon of the latter. De Soto had them brought out to have their heads chopped off, when Indians arrived with a message from the Chief, informing him of the outrage upon his people. At the suggestion of Baltasar de Gallegos, the interpreter cunningly turned it to the advantage of the prisoners. He said to De Soto that the Chief desired him not to execute the robbers, for they had not

1541 March molested his subjects. He said to the Indian ambassadors that they might return home well assured that the plunderers would be immediately put to death, accord-

ing to the wishes of the Chief. The prisoners, in consequence were all set at liberty, much to the joy of the army.*

Upon the appearance of March, 1541, the thoughts of the unhappy De Soto occasionally turned upon pursuing the journey. He demanded of the Chief two hundred men for burden bearers. An evasive answer was given, and for several days the Governor was apprehensive of an attack. He posted sentinels, under the supervision of Moscoso. One dark night, when the cold wind was howling awfully, the Chickasaws rushed upon the camp, in four squadrons, sending up yells the most terrific, and adding horror to the scene by the sound of wooden drums and the discordant blasts of conch shells. The houses of the town, in which the larger portion of the troops now lodged, were set on fire by arrows containing burning matches, made of a vegetable substance, which shot through the air like flashing meteors and fell upon the roofs! Constructed of straw and cane, the wigwams were soon wrapped in flames. The Spaniards, blinded by the smoke, ran out of the houses half dressed, and, in their dismay, knew not the best way to oppose the assailants. Some of the horses were burned in the stables and others broke their halters, and running in all directions among the soldiers, increased the unparalleled confusion. Do Soto, and a soldier named Tapier, the first to mount, charged upon the enemy, the former being enveloped in an overcoat, quilted with cotton three inches thick, to shield him from the arrows. His saddle, which, in the haste, had not been girted, turned with him in one of his sweeping bounds, and he fell heavily to the ground, at the moment his lance had pierced a savage. The soldiers drove off the Indians, who had surrounded him with clubs, and adjusted his saddle. Vaulting into it, he charged in

1541 March

* Poor Ortiz never reached his native country, but died in Arkansas. He was of great service as an interpreter. Understanding only the Floridian language, he conducted conversations through the Indians of different tribes who understood each other, and who attended the expedition. In conversing with the Chickasaws, for instance, he commenced with a Floridian, who carried the word to a Georgian, the Georgian to the Coosa, the Coosa to the Mobilian, and the latter to the Chickasaw. In the same tedious manner the answer was conveyed to him and reported to De Soto.



Indians Employed in Planting Corn. Drawn from life, by Jacob le Moyne, in 1564.

the thickest of the enemy, and revelled in blood. The Spaniards were now seen, in all directions, engaged in a dreadful fight. Many, however, had just awoke, and now crawled upon their hands and knees out of the devouring flames above them. In a house, at some distance, lay the sick, and those who had not recovered from the wounds which they had received at Maubila and Cabusto. Hordes of savages pressed upon the poor fellows, and, before they were rescued, several fell victims. In the meantime, the cavaliers, some without saddles and others without clothes, joined the intrepid De Soto; and now the awful wind, the flames, the yells and the clangour of arms, made the scene frightfully sublime, and the night one long to be remembered. Fifty infantry took flight, which was the first instance of cowardice upon the march. Nuno Tobar, sword in hand, rushed before them, and with the assistance of a detachment of thirty men under Juan de Guzman, arrayed them against the enemy. At that instant, Andres de Vasconcellos, at the head of twenty Portuguese hidalgos, most of whom had served as horsemen upon the African frontier, accompanied by Nuno Tobar on foot, forced the savages to retire on one side of the town. At length the Indians fled from the battle field, and were pursued by De Soto and his troops as long as they could distinguish objects by the light of the burning town. Returning from the chase, the Governor found that the engagement had resulted in considerable loss. Forty Spaniards were killed, and among them the only white woman in camp, the wife of a soldier, whom she had followed from Spain. Fifty horses were lost, either burned or pierced with arrows. Dreading these singular quadrupeds in war, the Indians aimed at their entire destruction, and many were found shot entirely through in the most vital parts. The swine, the increase of which had often kept the Spaniards from starving, when hard pressed for food, were confined in a roofed enclosure, and a number of them were consumed by the fire. De Soto sur-

1541
March

veyed the scene with deep mortification. He blamed Moscoso for the unfortunate attack. His negligence here, reminded him of his tardy advance upon Maubila, and, in his anger, he deposed his old brother in arms from the rank of camp-master, and bestowed it upon the bold Baltasar de Gallegos. A succession of losses had attended him since he crossed the Alabama at Piache. Indeed, from his first landing at Tampa Bay, over three hundred men had fallen by the assaults of the natives. The fire at Chickasa swept the few things saved at Maubila, together with half their wearing apparel. And now many of the unfortunate soldiers shivered in the cold, with scarcely a vestige of clothing.

1541 March

In the fit of deep despondency into which he was thrown, De Soto did not forget the duties which a commanding officer owes to his suffering troops. The dead were buried and the wounded properly attended. The Indians, thick upon the plain, and upon the ruined town, remained, a prey for the hungry wolves and birds of carrion. The Spaniards abandoned the sickening spot, and encamped three miles distant, at Chickasilla, or little Chickasa, where they erected a forge and tempered their swords, now seriously injured by the fire. They busied themselves in making shields, lances and saddles. The remainder of the winter was passed in great wretchedness. Intense cold and grievous wounds were not all they had to bear, but often the natives assailed them at night, with the agility and ferocity of tigers! At sunset they were compelled to evacuate the town, and take position in the field, for fear that fire might be applied to the houses. The ingenuity of one of the soldiers devised mattings, four inches in thickness, made of long soft grass, in which those who were not upon guard wrapped themselves, and were somewhat protected from the piercing air. Often De Soto sent forth detachments, who cut down every Indian they overtook; yet, in a few succeeding nights, the savages would return and attack the camp. Before daylight on Wednesday, the 15th

March, 1541, Capt. Juan de Guzman, a man of delicate form, but of indomitable courage, was seized by the collar by an athletic Indian, who carried a banner, and jerked from his horse. The soldiers, rushing up, cut the bold fellow to pieces. Others dashed after the main body of Indians, and deep revenge would have been taken, if a monk, fearful that they would be led into an ambush, had not arrested the charge by the cry of, "To the camp! to the camp!" Forty Indians fell, two horses were killed, and two soldiers wounded.

On the 25th of April, 1541, De Soto marched northwest, through a campaign country, thickly populated, and journeying twelve miles, halted in a plain not far from the town of Alibamo. Juan de Anasco, with a foraging party, came 1541
in sight of this fortress, which was garrisoned by a large April
number of savages, whose bodies were painted in stripes of white, black and red, while their faces were frightfully blackened. Red circles surrounded their eyes. These, with headdresses of feathers and horns, gave them a fantastic and ferocious appearance. The drums sounded alarums, and they rushed out of the fort with fearful whoops, forcing Anasco to retreat to the open fields. The enemy, scorning the inferiority of the detachment, pretended to knock one of the warriors in the head with a club, in front of the fort; and swinging him by the head and heels near a fire, in insulting mockery, indicated the fate of the Spaniards who should fall into their hands. The irritated Anasco sent three troopers to the camp, who returned with De Soto at the head of a considerable force. The latter assaulted
the fortress of Alibamo, leading on his men in three 1541
squadrons, commanded by Guzman, Avaro Romo de April 27
Cardenoso, and the stout Gonzalo Silvestre. A hundred Alabamas poured out from each portal and met the Spaniards. Upon the first encounter, Diego de Castro, Louis Bravo and Francisco de Figarro fell, mortally wounded. An arrow struck the casque of the Governor with such force that it made his eyes

flash fire. The victorious Spaniards forced the Alabamas into the fort, pressing them to death by the united shock of cavalry and infantry—the passes of the gates admitting but few of the Indians at once. The soldiers remembered that they had united with the Chickasaws, and they knew no bounds to the revenge which they now sought. In the rear many savages escaped, by climbing over the walls and through the back portals, pitching into the river which ran by the fort, but far below its foundation. In a short time, De Soto held possession of the interior. Alibamo stood upon the Yazoo river, in the county of Tallahatchie.* It was built of pallisades, in the form of a quadrangle, four hundred paces long on either side. Inner walls divided it into separate parts, enabling the besieged to retreat from one to the other. The centre wall, on the back side, was immediately upon a perpendicular bluff, beneath which flowed a deep and narrow river, across which were thrown a few rude bridges. Portions of the fort ap-

1541 peared to have been recently constructed for defence

Apr. 27 against the horses. It was decidedly the best fortified place yet discovered, except Maubila, but the garrison was greatly inferior in numbers to that of the latter. The outside portals were too low and narrow for a cavalier to enter on his horse.

De Soto crossed the river at a ford below the plain, and pursued the savages until twilight, leaving many of them in the sleep of death. Four days were consumed at Alibamo in attending to

* General Le Clerc Milfort, an intelligent Frenchman, lived in the Creek Nation from 1776 until 1799. He wrote a history of the Muscogees or Creeks, and published his work in Paris in 1802. He married the sister of General Alexander McGillivray, of the Creek tribe. When he arrived in France Bonaparte made him a General of Brigade, and in 1814 he was attacked in his house by a party of Russians, and rescued by some grenadiers. Shortly afterwards he died.

Milfort states that the Alabamas wandered from the northern part of Mexico, and settled upon the Yazoo, and afterwards removed to the river which bears their name. This fact, connected with that of the Alibamo fort, mentioned by the journals of De Soto, establishes conclusively that they were the same people. The Alabamas, after De Soto's time, settled on the site of the modern Montgomery, Coosawda and Washington, below the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa. From these people the river and State took their name.

"Memoire ou coup d'œil rapide sur mes differens voyages et mon sejour dans la Nation Creek, par Le Clerc Milfort."—pp. 229-288.

the wounded. Fifteen Spaniards died—among them the cavaliers first wounded, who were young, valiant, and of the best blood of Spain. So terminated the battle of Alibamo, the last one of the many De Soto fought, which it is within our province to describe. We have followed that extraordinary adventurer through our State into the heart of Mississippi. A few more words must close the account of his nomadic march, as far as it rests in our hands.

The Spaniards reached the Mississippi river in May, 1541, and were the first to discover it, unless Cabaca de Vaca crossed it twelve years before in wandering to Mexico with his four companions, which is not probable from the evidence afforded by his journal. De Soto consumed a year in marching over Arkansas, and returned to the "Father of Waters," at the town of Guachaya, below the mouth of the Arkansas river, on the last of May, 1542. He here engaged in the construction of two brigantines to communicate with Cuba. That great man, whose spirits had long since forsaken him—who had met with nothing but disappointments—and who had, in his most perilous wanderings, discovered no country like Peru and Mexico—became sick with a slow and malignant fever. He appointed Moscoso to the command—bid his officers and soldiers farewell—exhorted them to keep together, in order to reach that country which he was destined never to see—and then CLOSED HIS EYES IN DEATH! Thus died Hernando De Soto, one of the most distinguished captains of that or any age. To conceal his death and protect his body from Indian brutalities, he was placed in an oaken trough, and silently plunged into the middle of the Mississippi, on a dark and gloomy night. Long did the muddy waters wash the bones of one of the bravest sons of Spain! He was the first to behold that river—the first to close his eyes in death upon it—and the first to find a grave in its deep and turbid channel.

1542 May

Moscoso and the remaining troops again plunged into the

wilderness west of the Mississippi, with the hope of reaching Mexico. Departing on the 1st of June, 1542, he returned on the 1st of December to the Mississippi river, at a point fifty miles above the place where De Soto died. The Spaniards began the construction of seven brigantines, the building of which required the chains of the slaves, saddle-stirrups, and every thing which contained a particle of iron, made into nails by the erection of forges, the Indian mantles stitched together for sails, and the inner bark of trees made into ropes. When these were completed, Gov. Moscoso departed down the vast stream, the 2d of July, 1543. The once splendid army of one thousand men was reduced to three hundred and twenty! Five hundred slaves were left at the place of embarkation, and Moscoso took with him one hundred, among others the beautiful women of Maubila. Twenty-two of the best horses were embarked; the others were killed and dried for food, as were the hogs, a large number of which still remained. The Spaniards were attacked, in descending the river, by fleets of Indian canoes. In one of these engagements, the brave Guzman and eleven others were drowned, and twenty-five wounded. In sixteen days they reached the Gulf, and put to sea on the 18th July, 1543. Having landed at Tampa Bay on the 30th of May, 1539, they had consumed a little over four years in wandering through Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and the vast regions of the Arkansas Territory. Tossed by the waves, famished with hunger, parched with thirst, and several times wrecked by tornadoes, the poor Spaniards finally reached the mouth of the river Panuco, upon the Mexican coast, on the 10th September, 1543. From thence they went to the town of Panuco. Appareled in skins of deer, buffalo, bear and other animals—with faces haggard, blackened, shriveled, and but faintly resembling human beings—they repaired to the church and offered up thanks to God for the preservation of their lives. Repairing to the City of Mexico, the Viceroy extended

1543 July 2

1543 Sept. 13

to them every hospitality. So did the elegant Castilian ladies of his court, who were enraptured with the beauty of Mobilian females—the high-spirited daughters of Alabama.*

Maldinado, whom we left at Pensacola Bay, awaited, in vain, the arrival of De Soto. He and his distinguished associate, Gomez Arias, at length weighed anchor and sailed along the coast in different directions, hoping to meet the expedition at some point. They left signals upon the trees, and attached letters to the bark. Returning to Cuba, they again sailed in search of De Soto in the summer of 1541, and touched frequently upon the Floridian and Mexican coasts, but heard nothing of him. Again, in the summer of 1542, they made a similar voyage, with no better success. Determined not to give up the search for the lost Spaniards, Maldinado and Arias, in the spring of 1543, departed on a long voyage. 1543 On the 15th of October they touched at Vera Cruz, and Oct. 15 learned that De Soto had died upon the Mississippi, and that three hundred of his army only had lived to reach Mexico. When this sad intelligence was conveyed to Havana, every one grieved, and Dona Isabel, long racked with anxiety, died of a broken heart!

*An interesting account of the expedition, from the battle of Alibamo to their entrance into the city of Mexico, which I have rapidly glanced at, may be found in the Portuguese Narrative, pp. 728-762; Garcellasso de la Vega, pp. 372-557.

CHAPTER II.

The Aborigines of Alabama and the Surrounding States.

The Indians of Alabama, Florida, Georgia and Mississippi were so similar in form, mode of living and general habits, in the time of De Soto and of others who succeeded him in penetrating these wilds, that they will all be treated, on the pages of this chapter, as one people. The color was like that of the
1540 Indians of our day. The males were admirably proportioned, athletic, active and graceful in their movements, and possessed open and manly countenances. The females, not inferior in form, were smaller, and many of them beautiful. No ugly or ill-formed Indians were seen, except at the town of Tula, west of the Mississippi. Corpulency was rare; nevertheless, it was excessive in a few instances. In the neighborhood of Apalache, in Florida, the Chief was so fat that he was compelled to move about his house upon his hands and knees.

The dress of the men consisted of a mantle of the size of a common blanket, made of the inner bark of trees, and a species of flax, interwoven. It was thrown over the shoulders, with the right arm exposed. One of these mantles encircled the body of the female, commencing below the breast and extending nearly to the knees, while another was gracefully thrown over the shoulders, also with the right arm exposed. Upon
1540 the St. John's river, the females, although equally advanced in civilization, appeared in a much greater state of nudity—often with no covering in summer, except a moss drapery suspended round the waist, and which hung down in graceful negligence. Both sexes there were, however, adorned with ornaments, consisting of pretty shells and shining pearls,

while the better classes wore moccasins and buskins of dressed deer leather. In Georgia and Alabama the towns contained store-houses, filled with rich and comfortable clothing, such as mantles of hemp, and of feathers of every color, exquisitely arranged, forming admirable cloaks for winter; with a variety of dressed deer skin garments, and skins of the 1540
martin, bear and panther, nicely packed away in baskets.* Fond of trinkets, the natives collected shells from the seaside, and pearls from the beds of the interior rivers. The latter they pierced with heated copper spindles, and strung them around their legs, necks and arms.† The Queen upon the Savannah took from her neck a magnificent cordon of pearls, and twined it round the neck of the warlike but courteous De Soto.‡ In the interior of the country, pearls were worn in the ears; but upon the coast, fish bladders, inflated after 1564
they had been inserted, were greatly preferred.§ The Chiefs and their wives, the Prophets and principal men, painted their breasts and the front part of their bodies with a variety of stripes and characters. Others, like sea-faring people, had their skins punctured with bone needles and indelible ink rubbed in, which gave them the appearance of being 1539
tattooed.‖ Jean Ortiz, so long a prisoner among the Floridians, when discovered by De Soto, was taken for an Indian, on account of his body being "razed" in this manner.¶

* Portuguese Narrative, p. 711.
† Portuguese Narrative, p. 701.
‡ Portuguese Narrative, p. 714.
§ Le Moyne's Florida plate, 38. Renaud de Laudouniere, an admiral of France, made a second voyage to Florida, and landed upon its shore in 1564. Attached to this expedition was a Frenchman, named Jacob Le Moyne, who was an admirable painter. Laudouniere left some soldiers at a Fort which he built upon the St. John's, and with them this accomplished artist. Le Moyne was frequently despatched with small detachments along the coast, and at some distance in the interior, to make surveys of the rivers and to cultivate the friendship of the natives. During these excursions he made admirable drawings of the Indians, their houses, farms, games, amusements, manners, customs and religious ceremonies. Returning to France, he related his adventures to Charles IX., and exhibited to him his pictures. These, with his explanatory notes, were published by Theodore de Bry, in 1591, in the Latin language, at Frankfort. The copy in my possession, a most interesting book upon the ancient Indians of Florida and the adjoining States, contains forty-two plates, a few specimens of which are introduced in this volume.
‖ Le Moyne, plate 38. ¶ Portuguese Narrative, p. 702.

It will be remembered that the Alabamas, upon the Yazoo, painted in stripes of white, yellow, black and red, and "seemed as though they were dressed in hose and doublets."* Lofty plumes of the feathers of the eagle, and other noted birds, adorned the heads of the warriors. At the battle of Vitachuco, in Middle Florida, ten thousand warriors appeared in this magnificent native head-dress. They also punished and deformed themselves in the display of their more peculiar ornaments.

Upon an island in West Florida, they wore reeds thrust
1528 through their nipples and under lips.† Indian grandees were often seen promenading, of an evening, enveloped in beautiful mantles of deer skins and of the martin, trailing behind them, and often held up by attendants. Among the prettiest ornaments were flat shells, of varied colors, which they suspended from girdles around their waists, and which hung down around their hips.

The bow, the most formidable weapon of the ancient Indians,
was long, elastic, and exceedingly strong. The string
1540 was made of the sinews of the deer. The arrows, of strong young cane, hardened before the fire, were often tipped with buck horn, and invariably pointed either with palm or other hard wood, flints, long and sharp like a dagger, fish bones shaped like a chisel, or diamond flints.‡ The Spaniards soon ascertained that they pierced as deep as those which they themselves shot from the cross-bow, and were discharged more rapidly.§ The quiver which held them was made of fawn or some other spotted skin, and was cased at the lower end with thick hide of the bear or alligator. It was always sus-
1564 pended by a leather strap, passing round the neck, which permitted it to rest on the left hip, like a sword. It was capable of holding a great many arrows. Shields were

*Portuguese Narrative, p. 727.
†Expedition of Narvaez, coutained in Herrera's History of America, vol. 4, p. 33.
‡Garcellasso de la Vega, p. 266. §Portuguese Narrative, p. 102.

universal appendages in war, and were made either of wood, split canes strongly interwoven, alligator hide, and sometimes that of buffalo. The latter was often the case west of the Mississippi. Of various sizes, but ordinarily large enough to cover the breast, these round shields were painted with rings and stripes, and suspended from the neck by a band. Sometimes a noted Chief protected his breast and a portion of his abdomen with three of them. These, with a piece of bark covering the left arm, to prevent the severe rebound of the bow-string, were all that shielded the natives in time of war. Wooden spears, of the usual length, pointed with excellent darts of fish-bone or flint, were, also, much used. And, strange to say, swords of palm wood, of the proper shape, were often seen. A Chief, in Georgia, seized one of this description, which was borne by one of his servants, and began to cut and thrust with it to the admiration of De Soto and his officers. The war clubs were of two kinds—one, small at the handle, gradually enlarging at the top in oval form; and the other, with two sharp edges at the end, usually employed in executions. Decoration with plumes, appears to have been more common in general costume and pleasure excursions, than in war. In enterprises of the latter character, the natives sought to appear as ferocious as possible. The skins of the eagle, of the wolf and of the panther, with the heads of these animals attached, and well preserved, were worn by warriors, while the talons and 1564 claws were inserted as ear ornaments.*

When about to make war, a Chief despatched a party, who approached near the town of the enemy, and by night stuck arrows into the cross-paths and public places, with long locks of human hair waving from them.† After this declaration of war, he assembled his men, who, painted and decorated in the most fantastic and frightful manner, surrounded him on all sides. Excited with seeming anger, he rolled his eyes, spoke in guttural

* Le Moyne, plates 11, 12, 13, 14. † Le Moyne, plate 33.

accents, and often sent forth tremendous war whoops. The warriors responded in chorus, and struck their weapons against their sides. With a wooden spear he turned himself reverentially towards the sun, and implored of that luminary victory over his enemies. Turning to his men, he took water from a
1564 vessel on his right and sprinkled it about, saying, "Thus may you do with the blood of your enemies." Then raising another vessel of water, he poured its entire contents on a fire which had been kindled on his left, and repeated, "Thus may you destroy your enemies and bring home their scalps."* Having marched his army within the vicinity of the enemy, he bid his prophet to inform him of their number and position, and in what manner it was best to bring on the attack. The old man, usually a hundred years of age, advanced, and a large circle was immediately formed around him. He placed a shield upon the ground, drew a ring around it five feet in diameter, in which he inscribed various characters. Then kneeling on the shield, and sitting on his feet, so as to touch the earth with no part of his body, he made the most horrible grimaces, uttered the most unnatural howls, and distorted his limbs until his very
1564 bones appeared to be flexible. In twenty minutes he ceased his infernal juggling, assumed his natural look, with apparently no fatigue, and gave the Chief the information which he desired.† Some of our ancient natives marched in regular order, with the Chief in the centre, but it was their common habit to scatter in small parties, and take the enemy by surprise. But in the arrangement of their camp, which was always made at sunset, they were exceedingly particular. They then stationed detachments around the Chief, forming a compact and well-arranged defence.‡

The women who had lost their husbands in battle, at a convenient time surrounded the Chief, stooped at his feet, cov-

* Le Moyne, plate 11. † Le Moyne, plate 12. ‡ Le Moyne, plate 14.

ered their faces with their hands, wept, and implored him to be revenged for the death of their companions. They entreated him to grant them an allowance during their widowhood, and to permit them to marry again when the time appointed by law expired. They afterwards visited the graves of their husbands and deposited upon them the arms which they used in hunts and wars, and the shells out of which they were accustomed to drink. Having cut off their long hair, they sprinkled it also over their graves, and then returned home. They did not marry until it had attained its ordinary length.*

The natives drank a tea, which, in modern times, was called black drink. It was made by boiling the leaves of the cacina plant until a strong decoction was produced. The Chief took his seat, made of nine small poles, in the centre of a semi-circle of seats; but his was the most elevated of all. His principal officers approached him by turns, one at a time, and placing their hands upon the top of their heads, sung *ha*, *he*, *ya*, *ha*, *ha*. The whole assembly responded, *ha*, *ha*. After which they seated themselves upon his right and left. The women, in the meantime, had prepared the black drink, which was served up in conch shells and handed to certain men, who distributed it around. The warriors drank large portions of it, and presently vomited it with great ease. It seemed to have been used at the 1564
early period of 1564, as it is at present, to purify the system, and to fulfill a kind of religious rite.†

The punishments of that day were summary and cruel. For a crime deserving death, the criminal was conducted to the square and made to kneel with his body inclined forward. The executioner placed his left foot upon his back, and with a murderous blow with the sharp-sided club, dashed out his brains.‡
Jean Ortiz and his companions were stripped naked, 1564
and forced to run from corner to corner through the

*Le Moyne, plate 19. † Le Moyne's Florida, Plate 29.
‡ Le Moyne's Florida, plate 32.

town while the exulting savages shot at them by turns with deadly arrows. Ortiz alone survived, and they next proceeded to roast him upon a wooden gridiron, when he was saved
1539-40 by the entreaties of a noble girl.* Whenever they made prisoners of each other, those who were captured were often put to menial services. To prevent them from running away, it was customary to cut the nerves of their legs just above the instep.†

When a battle was fought, the victors seized upon the enemy and mutilated their bodies in the most brutal manner. With cane knives the arms and legs were cut around, and then severed from the body by blows upon the bones, from wooden cleavers. They thus amputated with great skill and rapidity. The head was also cut around, with these knives, just above the ears, and the whole scalp jerked off. These were then rapidly smoked over a fire, kindled in a small round hole, and borne off in triumph toward home, together with the arms and legs, suspended upon spears.‡ The joyous and excited inhabitants now as-
1564 sembled upon the square and formed a large area, in which these trophies were hung upon high poles. An old Prophet took a position on one side of the circle, held in his hand a small image of a child, and danced and muttered over it a thousand imprecations upon the enemy. On the other side, and opposite to him, three warriors fell upon their knees. One of them, who was in the middle, constantly brought down a club, with great force, on a smooth stone, placed before him, while the others, on either side of him, rattled gourds filled with shells and pebbles, all keeping time with the Prophet.§

The houses of the Chiefs, with but few exceptions, stood upon large and elevated artificial mounds. When the Indians of 1540 resolved to build a town, the site of which was usually

* Garcellasso de la Vega.
† Garcellasso de la Vega.
‡ Le Moyne, plate 15.
§ Le Moyne, plate 16.

selected upon low, rich land, by the side of a beautiful stream, they were accustomed, first, to turn their attention to the erection of a mound from twenty to fifty feet high, round on the sides, but flat on top. The top was capable of sustaining the houses of the Chief, and those of his family and attendants; making a little village by itself of from ten to twenty cabins, elevated high in the air. The earth to make this mound was brought to the spot. At the foot of this eminence a square was marked out, around which the principal men placed their houses. The inferior classes joined these with their wigwams. Some of these mounds had several stairways to ascend them, made by cutting out incline-planes fifteen or twenty feet wide, flanking the sides with posts, and 1540 laying poles horizontally across the earthen steps—thus forming a kind of wooden stairway. But, generally, the lofty residence of the Chief was approached by only one flight of steps. These mounds were perpendicular, and inaccessible, except by the avenues already mentioned, which rendered the houses upon them secure from the attacks of an Indian enemy. Besides the motive for security, a disposition to place the Chief and his family in a commanding position, and to raise him above his subjects, caused the formation of these singular elevations.*

Upon the coasts of Florida, the houses were built of timber, covered with palm leaves, and thatched with straw. Those of Toali, between Apalache and the Savannah, and for some distance beyond, were covered with reeds in the manner of tiles, while the walls were extremely neat. In the colder regions of the territories of Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, every family possessed a house daubed inside and out with clay, for a winter house, and another, open all around, for summer; while a crib and kitchen, also, stood near by. The houses of the Chiefs, much larger than the others, had piazzas in front, 1540 in the rear of which were cane benches of comfortable

*Garcellasso de la Vega, p. 136.

dimensions. They contained, also, lofts, in which were stored skins, mantles, and corn, the tribute of the subjects.* Upon the head waters of the Coosa, it will be recollected, that De Soto found the house of the Chief standing upon a mound, with a piazza in front, "large enough for six men to promenade abreast."† The town of Ochille, in Middle Florida, contained fifty very substantial houses. The Chief's house was built in the form of a large pavilion, upwards of one hundred and twenty feet in length by forty in width, with a number of small buildings, connected like offices.‡ Narvaez found a house large enough to contain three hundred men, in which were fishing nets and a tabor with gold bells.§ The Indian grandeur and spacious dimensions of the houses
1528 of Maubila, in Alabama, have already been described.

In the province of Palisema, west of the Mississippi, the house of the Chief was covered with deer skins, which were painted with stripes of various colors, and with animals, while the walls were hung, and the floor carpeted, with the same materials.‖ In the first town which De Soto discovered, at Tampa Bay, was found a large temple, on the top of which was a wooden bird with gilded eyes.¶ The Chief, Uceta, made Jean Ortiz keeper of the temple, situated in a lonely forest in the
1529 outskirts of the town. In this temple were deposited dead Indians, contained in wooden boxes, the lids of which, having no hinges, were kept down with weights. The bodies and bones were sometimes carried off by panthers and wolves. In this horrible place was poor Ortiz stationed to watch, day and night, and threatened with instant death if he allowed a single body to be taken away. At length, constant anxiety and fatigue overcame him, and one night he fell asleep. The heavy falling of a coffin-lid awoke him. In his ter-
1529 ror he seized a bow, and running out, heard the crackling of bones amid a dark clump of bushes! He winged

* Portuguese Narrative, p. 701.
† Garcellasso de la Vega, p. 294.
‡ Garcellasso de la Vega, p. 101.
§ Herrera, vol. 4.
‖ Portuguese Narrative.
¶ Portuguese Narrative, p. 701.

a powerful arrow in that direction. A scuffle ensued, and then all was still! He moved towards the spot, and found an enormous panther, dead, by the side of the body of the child. He replaced the latter in its box, exultingly dragged the animal into the town, and was from that time respected by the Indians.*

Narvaez, upon first landing in Florida, found a temple in which were chests, each containing a dead body, cov- 1528
ered with painted deer skins. The Commissary, John Xuarez, considering it to be idolatrous, ordered them to be burned.† A remarkable temple was situated in the town of Talomeco, upon the Savannah river, three miles distant from Cutifachiqui, now Silver Bluff. It was more than one hundred feet in length, and forty in width. The walls were high in proportion, and the roof steep and covered with mats of split cane, interwoven so compactly that they resembled the rush carpeting of the Moors. (The inhabitants of this part of the country all covered their houses with this matting.) Shells of different sizes, arranged in an ingenious manner, were placed on the outside of the roof. On the inside, beautiful plumes, shells and pearls were suspended in the form of festoons, from one 1540
to the other, down to the floor. The temple was entered by three gates, at each of which were stationed gigantic wooden statues, presenting fierce and menacing attitudes. Some of them were armed with clubs, maces, canoe-paddles, and copper hatchets, and others with drawn bows and long pikes. All these implements were ornamented with rings of pearls and bands of copper. Below the ceiling, on four sides of the temple, arranged in niches, were two rows of wooden statues of the natural size—one of men, with pearls suspended from their hands, and the other of women. On the side of the walls were large benches on which sat boxes 1540
containing the deceased Chiefs and their families. Two feet below these were statues of the persons entombed, the space

* Garcellasso de la Vega, pp. 274-282. † Herrera, vol. 4, p. 30.

between them being filled with shields of various sizes, made of strong woven reeds, adorned with pearls and colored tassels. Three rows of chests, full of valuable pearls, occupied the middle of the temple. Deer skins, of a variety of colors, were packed away in chests, together with a large amount of clothing made of the skins of wild cat, martin, and other animals. The temple abounded in the most splendid mantles of feathers. Adjoining was a store-house, divided into eight apartments, which contained long pikes of copper, around which rings of pearls were coiled, while clubs, maces, wooden swords, paddles, arrows, quivers, bows, round wooden shields, and those of reed and buffalo hide, were decorated in like manner.* Everywhere upon the route through Alabama and the neighboring States, De Soto found the temples full of human bones. They were held sacred, but sometimes were wantonly violated by tribes at war with each other. On the west bank of the Mississippi, De Soto, joined by the Indian forces of the Chief Casquin, sacked the town of Pacaha. The invading Indians entered the temple, threw down the wooden boxes containing the dead, trampled upon the bodies and bones, and wreaked upon them every insult and indignity. A few days after the Chief of Pacaha and his people came back to the ruined town, and gathering up the scattered bones in mournful silence, kissed and returned them reverentially to their coffins.†

The productions of the country were abundant. Peas, beans, squashes, pumpkins and corn grew as if by magic. Per-
1540 simons, formed into large cakes, were eaten in winter, together with walnut and bear's oil. A small pumpkin, when roasted in the embers, was delightful, and resembled, in taste, boiled chestnuts. Corn was pounded in mortars,
1528 but Narvaez saw stones for grinding it upon the Florida coast.‡ The Indians prepared their fields by digging up the ground with hoes made of fish bone. When the earth was

* Garcellasso de la Vega, pp. 274-282. † Portuguese Narrative, p. 701.
‡ Herrera, vol. 4, p. 30.

levelled in this manner, others followed with canes, with which they made holes, certain distances apart. The women next came with corn, in baskets, which they dropped in 1564 the holes. The virginity and richness of the soil produced the crop without further labor. [See page 50]. The granaries were sometimes erected in the woods, near navigable streams, and were constructed with stone and dirt, and covered with cane mats. Here were deposited corn, fruits, and all kinds of cured meats, for subsistence during the winter hunts in that part of the country. The universal honesty of 1564 the people was a guarantee that the contents of these granaries would remain undisturbed, until consumed by the owners.

Hunting and fishing occupied much of the time of the natives. The hunter threw over his body the skin of a deer, with the head, horns and legs admirably preserved. Round wooden hoops gave the body of the skin its proper shape, inside of which the Indian placed his body. Then, in a stooping position, so as to allow the feet to touch the ground, he moved along and peeped through the eye-holes of the 1564 deer's head, all the time having a drawn bow. When near enough to the deer, he let fly a fatal arrow. The deer, in that day, unaccustomed to the noise of fire-arms, were gentle and numerous, and easily killed by a strategem like this.*

At certain periods the Indians were a social people, and indulged in large feasts. At other times, they resorted to bow-shooting, ball-plays and dancing.†

The population was much greater when De Soto was in the country than it has been since. Large armies were frequently arrayed against him. In Patofa, Florida, he was even furnished with seven hundred burden bearers. In Ocute, Georgia, he was supplied with two hundred of these indispensable men. At

* Le Moyne's Florida, plate 25. Bossu's Travels in Louisiana, vol. 1, p. 259.
† Le Moyne, plate 28.

Cafeque, in the same State, four thousand warriors escorted him, while four thousand more transported the effects
1540 of his army. It has been seen what a numerous population was found in the province of Coosa, and what forces opposed him at Maubila, Chickasa and Alibamo.

The ingenuity of the natives, displayed in the construction of mounds, arms, houses and ornaments, was by no means inconsiderable. At Chaquate, west of the Mississippi, earthenware was manufactured equal to that of Estremos or Montremor.* At Tulla, in Arkansas, salt was made from the deposits formed upon the shores of a lake; and again, at several saline springs. The salt was made into small cakes, and vended among other tribes for skins and mantles.† The walls which surrounded
1541 the towns, with their towers and terraces, have already been mentioned in the preceding chapter. Entrenchments and ditches were also found over the country. The most remarkable of the latter was at Pacha, west of the Mississippi. Here a large ditch, "wide enough for two canoes to pass abreast without the paddles touching," surrounded a walled town. It was cut nine miles long, communicated with the Mississippi, supplied the natives with fish and afforded them the privileges of navigation.

The construction of canoes and barges, connected with the things which have already been enumerated, affords abundant proof that our aborigines were superior, in some respects, to the tribes who afterwards occupied Alabama, but who were
1541 also ingenious in the manufacture of articles. The Queen of Savannah, borne out of her house in a sedan chair, supported upon the shoulders of four of her principal men, entered a handsome barge which had a tilted top at the
1540 stern—under which she took a seat upon soft cushions. Many principal Indians likewise entered similar barges, and accompanied her to the western side, in the style of a splen-

* Portuguese Narrative and Garcellasso. † Portuguese Narrative and Garcellasso.

did water procession. When De Soto first discovered the Mississippi, a Chief approached from the other side with two hundred handsome canoes of great size, filled with painted and plumed warriors, who stood erect, with bows in their hands, to protect those who paddled. The boats of the Chiefs and principal men had tops—like that of the Georgia Queen—
decorated with waving flags and plumes, which floated 1541
on the breeze from poles to which they were attached.
They are described by the journalists to have been equal to a beautiful army of gallies.*

The natives worshipped the sun, and entertained great veneration for the moon, and certain stars. Whether they also believed in a Great Spirit is not stated. When the Indian ambassadors crossed the Savannah to meet De Soto, they made three profound bows towards the east, intended for the sun; three towards the west, for the moon; and three to the Governor.† Upon the east bank of the Mississippi, all the Indians approached him without uttering a word, and went through precisely the same ceremony; making, however, to him three bows much less reverential than those made to the sun and moon. On the other side of that river, he was surrounded by the Chief and his subjects. Presently, his Indian majesty sneezed in a loud manner. The subjects bowed their heads, opened and closed their arms, and saluted the Chief with these words, "May the sun guard you"—"May the sun be with you"—"May the sun shine upon you," and "May the sun prosper and defend you."‡
About the first of March, annually, the natives selected 1541
the skin of the largest deer, with the head and legs attached. They filled it with a variety of fruit and grain, and sewed it up again. The horns were also hung with garlands of fruit. This skin, in all respects resembling a large buck, was carried by all the inhabitants to a plain. There it was placed

* Portuguese Narrative, p. 729. † Garcellaso de la Vega, p. 256.
‡ Garcellasso de la Vega, pp. 439-440.

upon a high post, and just at the rising of the sun, the Indians fell down on their knees around it, and implored that bright luminary to grant them, the ensuing season, an abundance of fruits and provisions, as good as those contained in the skin of the deer.* This was the practice upon the coast
1564 of East Florida, and, doubtless, it was observed all over the country. It was certainly a very practical mode of asking favors of the sun.

When a Chief or Prophet died upon the St. Johns, he was placed in the ground, and a small mound, of conical form, was erected over him. The base of this mound was surrounded with arrows, stuck in regular order. Some sat, and others kneeled around it, and continued to weep and howl for the space of three nights. Chosen women next visited the mound for a long time, every morning at the break of day, at noon, and at night.† Indeed, great respect appears to have been paid to the Chief when alive, and to him a cruel sacrifice was accustomed to be made. The first born male child was always brought out before the Chief, who sat upon a bench on one side of a large circle. Before him was a block, two feet high, and near it stooped the young mother, weeping in great agony. The child was brought forward by a dancing woman, placed upon the block, and a Prophet dashed out its brains with a club; at the same time many females danced, and raised their voices in song.‡

If a Chief desired to marry, he was accustomed to send his principal men to select, from the girls of nobility, one of the youngest and most beautiful. Painted with various colors and adorned with shells and pearls, the chosen one was then placed in a sedan chair, the top of which formed an arch of
1564 green boughs. When placed by his side, on an elevated seat, great pomp and ceremony, an array of ornaments

* Le Moyne, plate 35. † Le Moyne, plate 40. ‡ Le Moyne, plate 34.

of all kinds. and music and dancing, characterized the affair, while she and her lord were fanned with beautiful feathers.

The treatment of diseases in that day were few and simple. The doctor sometimes scarified the patient with shells and fishes teeth, and sucked out the blood with his mouth. This he spurted in a bowl, and it was drunk by nursing women who stood by, if the patient was an athletic young man, in order to give their children the same vigor. It was customary, also, to smoke the patient with tobacco, and other weeds, until perspiration ensued and re-action was produced.*

* Le Moyne, plate 20.

CHAPTER III.

The Modern Indians of Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi.

It has been seen that the Indians living in that part of Alabama through which De Soto passed, were the Coosas, inhabiting the territory embraced in the present counties of Benton, Talladega, Coosa, and a portion of Cherokee; the Tallases, living upon the Tallapoosa and its tributary streams; the Mobilians extending from near the present city of Montgomery to the commercial emporium which now bears their name; the Pafallayas or Choctaws, inhabiting the territory of the modern counties of Green, Marengo, Tuscaloosa, Sumpter and Pickens; and, in the present State of Mississippi, the Chickasaws, in the valley of the Yalobusha; and the Alabamas, upon the Yazoo. It will, also, be recollected, that this remarkable Spaniard overrun the rich province of Chiaha, the territory of the present northwestern Georgia, and that he there found the Chalaques, which all writers upon aboriginal history decide to be the original name of the Cherokees.

1550 July to Nov.

1541 April

The invasion of De Soto resulted in the destruction of an immense Indian population, in all the territory through which he passed, except that of Georgia, where he fought no battles. The European diseases, which the natives inherited from the Spaniards, served, also, to thin their population. Again, the constant bloody wars in which they were engaged afterwards, among each other, still further reduced their numbers. And while the bloody Spaniards were wandering over this beautiful country,

1540 March April May

the Muscogees were living upon the Ohio.* They heard of the desolation of Alabama, and after a long time came to occupy and re-people it. The remarkable migration of this powerful tribe, and that of the Alabamas, will now, for the first time, be related, and that, too, upon the authority of a reliable person, who must here be introduced to the reader.

Le Clerc Milfort, a young, handsome, and well educated Frenchman, left his native country, sailed across the Atlantic, made the tour of the New England States, and came, at length, to Savannah. A love of adventure led him to the Creek nation, and in May, 1776, he arrived at the great town of Coweta, situated on the Chattahooche river, two miles below the present city of Columbus. There he became acquainted with Colonel McGillivray, the great Chieftain of the nation, and accompanied him to the Hickory Ground, upon the banks of the Coosa. Fascinated with the society of this great man, the hospitality of the Indians, and the wide field afforded for exciting enterprise, Milfort resolved to become a permanent inmate of McGillivray's house, then situated at Little Tallase, four miles above Wetumpka. He married his sister, was created Tustenuggee, or Grand Chief of War, and often led Indian expeditions against the Whig population of Georgia, during the American Revolution. A fine writer, and much of an antiquarian, he employed some of his leisure hours in preparing a history of the Creeks. Remaining in the nation twenty years, he resolved to return to France. In 1796 he sailed from Philadelphia, and it was not long before he was among the gay people from whom he had so long been absent. Bonaparte, at length, heard of this adventurous

1775

1776 May

1780 May

* Alexander McGillivray, whose blood was Scotch, French and Indian, who was made a Colonel in the British service, afterwards a Spanish Commissary with the rank and pay of Colonel, then a Brigadier General by Washington, with full pay—a man of towering intellect and vast information, and who ruled the Creek country for a quarter of a century—obtained the information that the Creeks were living upon the Ohio when De Soto was here in 1540. He was informed, upon the best traditional authority, that the Creek Indians then heard of De Soto, and the strange people with him; and, that, like those whom they had seen in Mexico, they had "hair over their bodies, and carried thunder and lightning in their hands."

man, and honored him with an audience. He desired to engage his services in forming alliances with the Alabama and Mississippi Indians, for the purpose of strengthening his Louisiana possessions. But, finally giving up these possessions, and turning his whole attention to the wars in which he was deeply engaged with the allied powers, he still retained Milfort, conferring upon him the pay and rank of General of Brigade, but without active employment. In the meantime, General Milfort had published his work upon the Creek Indians.* In 1814 his home was attacked by a party of Russians, who had heard of his daring exploits in assisting to repel the allied invaders. He barricaded it, and defended himself with desperation. His French wife assisted him to load his guns. At length he was rescued by a troop of grenadiers. Shortly after this 1814 General Milfort closed, by death, a career which had been full of event in the savage as well as the civilized world. His wife, at an advanced age, was recently burned to death in her own house at Rheims.†

When Milfort arrived among the Creeks, the old men often spoke of their ancestors, and they exhibited to him 1776 strands of pearls which contained their history and con- July stituted their archives. Upon their arrangement depended their signification, and only principal events were thus preserved. One of their chaplets sometimes related the history of thirty years. Each year was rapidly distinguished by those who understood them. The old men, therefore, with the assistance of these singular records and strong memories, were enabled to impart to Milfort a correct tradition, the substance of which we give.‡

Hernando Cortez, with some Spanish troops, landed at Vera

* Memoire ou coup d'œil rapide sur mes differens voyages et mon sejour dans la nation Creek, by Le Clerc Milfort, Tastanegry ou Grand Chef de Guerre de la nation Creek et General de Brigade ou service de la Republique Francaise. A Paris. 1802.

† Extract from a Paris paper, published by Galignani ‡ Milfort, p. 47.

Cruz in 1519. He fought his way thence to the City of Mexico. In the meantime, Montezuma had assembled his forces from all parts of his empire to exterminate the invad- 1519
ers. The Muscogees then formed a separate republic on the northwest of Mexico. Hitherto invincible in war, they now rallied to his aid, engaging in the defence of that greatest of aboriginal cities. At length Cortez was successful—Montezuma was killed, his government overthrown, and thousands of his subjects put to the sword. Having lost many of their own warriors, and unwilling to live in a country conquered by foreign assassins, the Muscogees determined to seek some other land. The whole tribe took up the line of march, and 1520
continued eastward until they struck the sources of the Red river. The route lay over vast prairies, abounding with wild animals and fruits, which afforded them all the means of subsistence. In journeying down the banks of the Red river, they discovered salt lakes and ponds, which were covered with fowl of every description. Consuming months upon the journey, they finally reached a large forest, in which they encamped. The young men, sent in advance to explore the country, returned in a month, and announced the discovery of a forest on the banks of the Red river, in which were beautiful subterranean habitations. Marching thither, they found these caves had been made by buffalos and other animals, who came there to lick the earth, which was impregnated with salt. A town was here laid out, houses constructed, an extensive field enclosed, and corn, which they had brought with them, planted. Subsisting by the chase and the products of the earth, they passed here several years in health and tranquility. But even in this remote retreat they eventually found those who would molest them. The Alabamas, who seem also to have been wandering from the west, attacked a party of Muscogees, who were hunting, and killed several of them. The Muscogees abandoned their town, which they believed did not afford

them sufficient protection from the buffalo and human foes. They resumed their march in the direction of the camps of the Alabamas, upon whom they had resolved to be avenged. Traversing immense plains, they reached a grove on the Missouri river, having shaped their course in a northern direction from their last settlement. Here they came upon the footprints of the Alabamas. The most aristocratic among the Muscogees, called the Family of the Wind, passed the muddy river first. They were followed by the Family of the Bear; then by that of the Tiger; and thus, till the humblest of the tribe had crossed over. Resuming the march, young warriors and the Chiefs formed the advanced guard; the old men were placed in the rear, and those of an age less advanced on the flanks, while the women and children occupied the centre. Coming within the neighborhood of the enemy, the main party halted, while the Tustenuggee, or Grand Chief of War, at the head of the young warriors, advanced to the attack. The Alabamas, temporarily dwelling in subterranean habitations, were taken by surprise, and many of them slain. Forced to abandon this place, and retreat from the victors, they did not rally again until they had fled a great distance down on the eastern side of the Missouri. After a time they were overtaken, when several bloody engagements ensued. The Muscogees were triumphant, and the vanquished retreated in terror and dismay to the banks of the Mississippi. The enemy again coming upon them with invincible charges, precipitated many of them into the river. Thus, alternately fighting, constructing new towns, and again breaking up their last establishments, these two war-like tribes gradually reached the Ohio river, and proceeded along its banks almost to the Wabash.* Here, for a long time, the Muscogees resided, and lost sight of the Alabamas, who had established themselves upon the Yazoo, and were there living when De Soto, 1541, attacked

Probably in 1527

Probably in 1528

* Milfort, pp. 234-259.

their fortress.* The Muscogees abandoned their home in the northwestern province of Mexico about the period of 1520, had consumed fifteen years in reaching the Ohio, and were there residing when the Spanish invasion occurred. How long they occupied that country Milfort does not inform us; but he states that they finally crossed the Ohio and Tennessee, and settled upon the Yazoo—thus continuing to pursue the unfortunate Alabamas. Delighted with the genial climate, the abundance of fruit and game with which it abounded, they established towns upon the Yazoo, constructed subterranean habitations, and for some years passed their time most agreeably. It is probable the Alabamas had fled before their arrival, for the Spaniards had so thinned the number of the latter that it was folly to resist the Muscogees, who had conquered them when they were much stronger. Milfort states that the Alabamas finally advanced to the river which now bears their name. Here, finding a region charming in climate, rich in soil, convenient in navigation, and remote from the country of their enemies, they made permanent establishments, from the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa some distance down the Alabama. 1520 to 1535

Remembering how often they had been surprised by the Muscogees, and how insecure from the attacks was even a distant retreat, the Alabamas sent forth young warriors westward, to see if their foes were still wandering upon their heels. It happened that a party of the latter were reconnoitering eastward. They met, fought, and some of the Muscogees were killed. In the meantime, the latter tribe had learned what a delightful country was occupied by the Alabamas, and this new outrage, coupled with a desire to go further south-east, induced them to break up their establishments upon the Yazoo. Without opposition the Muscogees took possession of the lands upon the Alabama, and also those upon the Coosa and Tallapoosa. The Alabamas fled in all Supposed to be in 1620

* Other Indian traditions in my possession.

directions, seeking asylums among the Choctaws and other tribes.

Gaining a firm footing in the new region, enjoying good health, and increasing in population, the Muscogees advanced to the Ockmulgee, Oconee, and Ogechee, and even established a town where now reposes the beautiful city of Augusta. With the Indians of the present State of Georgia, they had combats, but overcame them. Pushing on their conquests, they reduced a warlike tribe called the Uchees, lower down upon the Savannah, and brought the prisoners in slavery to the Chattahoochie.* In 1822, the Big Warrior, who then ruled the Creek confederacy, confirmed this tradition, even going further back than Milfort, taking the Muscogees from Asia, bringing them over the Pacific, landing them near the Isthmus of Darien, and conducting them from thence to this country. "My ancestors were a mighty people. After they reached the waters of the Alabama and took possession of all this country, they went further—conquered the tribes upon the Chattahoochie, and upon all the rivers from thence to the Savannah—yes, and even whipped the Indians then living in the territory of South Carolina, and wrested much of their country from them." The Big Warrior concluded this sentence with great exultation, when Mr. Compere, to whom he was speaking, interposed an unfortunate question:—"If
1822 this is the way your ancestors acquired all the territory now lying in Georgia, how can you blame the American population in that State for endeavoring to take it from you?" Never after that could the worthy missionary extract a solitary item from the Chieftain, in relation to the history of his people.†

* Milfort, pp. 269-263. Bartram's Travels in Florida, pp. 53, 54, 464. Also traditional MSS. notes in my possession.

† Rev. Lee Compere's MS. notes in my possession. This gentleman was born in England, on Nov. 3, 1790 He came to South Carolina in 1817. The Baptist Missionary Board and that of the General Convention, sent him as a missionary to the Creek nation in 1822. He and his wife, who was an English lady, resided at Tookabatcha (the capital) six years. Mr. Compere made but little progress towards the conversion of the Creeks, owing to the opposition of the Chiefs to the abolition of primitive customs. He was a

Sometime after these conquests, the French established themselves at Mobile. The Alabamas, scattered as we have seen, and made to flee before superior numbers, became desirous to place themselves under their protection. Anxious 1701
to cultivate a good understanding with all the Indian tribes, and to heal old animosities existing among them, the French caused an interview between the Chiefs of the Alabamas and those of the Muscogees, at Mobile. In 1702
the presence of M. Bienville, the Commandant of that place, a peace was made, which has not since been violated. The Alabamas returned to their towns, upon the river of that name, which were called Coosawda, Econchate, Pauwocte, Towassau and Autauga, situated on both sides of the river, and embracing a country from the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, for forty miles down. They consented to become members of the Muscogee confederacy, and to observe their national laws, but stipulated to retain their ancient manners and customs.

Not long afterwards, the Tookabatchas, who had nearly been destroyed by the Iroquois and Hurons, wandered from the Ohio country, and obtained permission from the Muscogees to form a part of their nation. They were willingly received by the cunning Muscogees, who were anxious to gain all the strength they could, to prevent the encroachments of the English from South Carolina. Upon the ruins of the western Tallase, where De Soto encamped twenty days, the Tookabatchas built a town and gave it their name.*

The Tookabatchas brought with them to the Tallapoosa some curious brass plates, the origin and objects of which have much puzzled the Americans of our day, who have seen them. Such information respecting them as has fallen 1759
into our possession, will be given. On the 27th July, July 27

learned man and a respectable writer. He furnished the Indian Bureau, at Washington, with a complete vocabulary of the Muscogee language and also the Lord's Prayer, all of which is published in the 11th vol. of "Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society," Cambridge, 1836, pp. 381-422. In 1833, I often heard Mr. Compere and his wife sing beautiful hymns in the Creek tongue. He lives in the State of Mississippi.

*Milfort, pp. 263-266.

1759, at the Tookabatcha square, William Balsover, a British trader, made inquries concerning their ancient relics, of an old Indian Chief, named Bracket, near a hundred years of age. There were two plates of brass and five of copper. The Indians esteemed them so much that they were preserved in a private place, known only to a few Chiefs, to whom they were annually entrusted. They were never brought to light but once in a year, and that was upon the occasion of the Green Corn Celebration, when, on the fourth day, they were introduced in what was termed the "brass plate dance." Then one of the high Prophets carried one before him, under his arm, ahead of the dancers—next to him the head warrior carried another, and then others followed with the remainder, bearing alott, at the same time, white canes, with the feathers of a swan at the tops.



Shape of the five coppper plates: One a foot and a half long, and seven inches wide; the other four a little shorter and narrower.



Shape of the two brass plates: Eighteen inches in diameter, about the thickness of a dollar, and stamped as exhibited upon the face.

Formerly, the Tookabatcha tribe had many more of these relics, of different sizes and shapes, with letters and inscriptions upon them, which were given to their ancestors by the Great Spirit, who instructed them that they were only to be handled by particular men, who must at the moment be engaged in

fasting, and that no unclean woman must be suffered to come near them or the place where they were deposited. Bracket further related, that several of these plates were then buried under the Micco's cabin in Tooka- batcha, and had lain there ever since the first settle- ment of the town; that formerly it was the custom to place one or more of them in the grave by the side of a deceased Chief of the pure Tookabatcha blood, and that no other Indians in the whole Creek nation had such sacred relics.* Similar accounts of these plates were obtained from four other British traders, "at the most eminent trading house of all English America."† The town of Tookabatcha became, in later times, the capital of the Creek nation; and many reliable citizens of Alabama have seen these mysterious pieces at the Green Corn Dances, upon which occasions they were used precisely as in the more ancient days.‡ When the inhabitants of this town, in the autumn of 1836, took up the line of march for their present home in the Arkansas Territory, these plates were transported thence by six Indians, remarkable for their sobriety and moral character, at the head of whom was the Chief, Spoke-oak, Micco. Medicine, made ex- pressly for their safe transportation, was carried along by these warriors. Each one had a plate strapped behind his back, enveloped nicely in buckskin. They carried nothing else, but marched on, one before the other, the whole distance to Arkansas, neither communicating nor con- versing with a soul but themselves, although several thousands were emigrating in company; and walking, with a solemn religious air, one mile in advance of the others.§ How much their march resembled that of the ancient Trojans, bearing off

1759 July 27

1836

* Adair's "American Indians," pp. 178-179.
† Adair's "American Indians," p. 179.
‡ Conversations with Barent Dubois, Abraham Mordecai, James Moore, Capt. William Walker, Lacklan Durant, Mrs. Sophia McComb, and other persons, who stated that these plates had Roman characters upon them, as well as they could determine from the rapid glances which they could occasionally bestow upon them, while they were being used in the "brass plate dance."
§ Conversations with Barent Dubois.

their household gods! Another tradition is, that the Shawnees gave these plates to the Tookabatchas, as tokens of their friendship, with an injunction that they would annually introduce them in their religious observances of the new corn season. But the opinion of Opothleoholo, one of the most gifted Chiefs of the modern Creeks, went to corroborate the general tradition that they were gifts from the Great Spirit.* It will be recollected that our aborigines, in the time of De Soto, undertook the use of copper, and that hatchets and ornaments were made of that metal. The ancient Indians may have made them, and engraved upon their faces hieroglyphics, which were supposed, from the glance only permitted to be given them, to be Roman characters. An intelligent New Englander, named Barent Dubois, who had long lived among the Tookabatchas, believed that these plates originally formed some portion of the armor or musical instruments of De Soto, and that the Indians stole them, as they did the shields, in the Talladega country, and hence he accounts for the Roman letters on them. We give no opinion, but leave the reader to determine for himself—having discharged our duty by placing all the available evidence before him.

1833 Dec.

The reputation which the Muscogees had acquired for strength and a warlike spirit, induced other tribes who had become weak to seek an asylum among them. The Tuskegees wandered down into East Alabama, were received with open arms, and permitted to occupy the territory immediately in the fork of the Coosa and Tallapoosa. Upon the east bank of the former a town was erected and called after the name of the tribe. Some time after this the French fort, Toulouse, was built here; and, one hundred years afterwards, Fort Jackson was placed upon the same foundation by the Americans.

1700

A tribe of the Ozeailles came at the same time, and were

* Conversations with Opothleoholo in 1833.

located eighteen miles above, on a beautiful plain, through which meandered a fine creek.* A large tribe of Uchees, made prisoners and brought to Cusseta, upon the Chattahoochie, not long afterwards, were liberated and assigned residences upon the creeks which bear their name, flowing through the eastern portion of the county of Russell. Or, upon the authority of Col. Hawkins, the Uchees, formerly living upon tho Savannah in small villages at Ponpon, Saltketcher and Silver Bluff, and also upon the Ogechee, were continually at war with the Creeks, Cherokees and Cataubas; but in 1729 an old Chief of Cusseta, called Captain Ellick, married three Uchee women and brought them to Cusseta, which greatly displeased his friends. Their opposition determined him to move from Cusseta. With three of his brothers, two of whom also had Uchee wives, he settled upon the Uchee creek. Afterwards he collected all that tribe, and with them formed there a distinct community, which, however, became amenable, nationally, to the government of the Muscogees.† 1700

In 1729, the Natchez massered the French at Fort Rosalie, now the site of the city of Natchez, and were in turn overpowered, and many of them made slaves, while others escaped to the Coosa. In the Talladega country they built two towns, one called Natche and the other Abecouche. Thus a branch of the Natchez also became members of the Muscogee confederacy. At the close of the Revolutionary War, a party of Savannahs came from that river in company with some Shawnees, from Florida, and formed a town on the east side of the Tallapoosa, called Souvanogee; upon the ruins of which the Americans, in 1819, established the village of Augusta—no remains of which now exist. Souvanogee was laid out in conformity with their usages and habits, which they retained; but they 1783

* Milfort, p. 267.

† "Sketch of the Creek Country in 1798-99," by Benjamin Hawkins, pp. 61, 62, 63. Also, manuscript traditional notes in my possession, taken from the lips of aged Indian countrymen.



Chiefs, with their Ornaments and War Implements, upon their March against the Enemy. Drawn from life, by Jacob le Moyne, in 1564.

willingly came under the national government of the confederacy.*

Thus did the Muscogee confederacy gain strength, from time to time, by the migration of broken tribes. When the English began to explore their country, and to transport goods into all parts of it, they gave all the inhabitants, collectively, the name of the "CREEKS," on account of the many beautiful rivers and streams which flowed through their extensive domain.† By that name they will, in the future pages of this history, be called.

The Creek woman was short in stature, but well formed. Her cheeks were rather high, but her features were generally regular and pretty. Her brow was high and arched, her eye large, black and languishing, expressive of modesty and diffidence. Her feet and hands were small, and the latter exquisitely shaped. The warrior was larger than the ordinary 1777
race of Europeans, often above six feet in height, but was invariably well formed, erect in his carriage, and graceful in every movement. They were proud, haughty and arrogant; brave and valiant in war; ambitious of conquest; restless, and perpetually exercising their arms, yet magnanimous and merciful to a vanquished *Indian* enemy who afterwards sought their friendship and protection.‡ Encountering fatigue with ease, they were great travellers, and sometimes went 1780
three or four hundred leagues on a hunting expedition. "Formerly they were cruel, but at the present day they are brave, yet peaceable, when not forced to abandon their character." §

Like all other Indians, they were fond of ornaments, which consisted of stones, beads, wampum, porcupine quills, eagles' feathers, beautiful plumes, and ear-rings of various descriptions. The higher classes were often fantastic in their wearing apparel. Sometimes a warrior put on a ruffled shirt of

* Milfort, pp. 282-283. "Sketch of the Creek Country," by Hawkins, p. 34. Also, conversations with Indian countrymen.
† Hawkins, p. 19. ‡ Bartram's Travels, pp. 482, 500, 506. § Milfort, pp. 216-217.

fine linen, and went out with no other garment except a flap of blue broadcloth, with buskins made of the same. The stillapica or moccasin, embroidered with beads, adorned the feet of the better classes. Mantles of good broadcloth, of a blue or scarlet color, decorated with fringe and lace, and hung with round silver or brass buttons, were worn by those who could afford them. When they desired to be particularly gay, vermillion was freely applied to the face, neck and arms. Again, the skin was often inscribed with hieroglyphics, and representations of the sun, moon, stars and various animals.* This was performed by puncturing the parts with gar's teeth, and rubbing in a dye made of the drippings of rich pine roots. These characters were inscribed during youth, and frequently in manhood, every time that a warrior distinguished himself in slaying the enemy. Hence,
1777 when he was unfortunately taken prisoner, he was severely punished in proportion to the marks upon his skin, by which he was known to have shed the blood of many of the kindred of those into whose hands he had fallen.† The Creeks wore many ornaments of silver. Crescents or gorgets, very massive, suspended around the neck by ribbons, reposed upon the breast, while the arms, fingers, hats, and even sometimes the necks, had silver bands around them.

The females wore a petticoat which reached to the middle of the leg. The waistcoat, or wrapper, made of calico, printed linen, or fine cloth, ornamented with lace and beads, enveloped the upper part of the body. They never wore boots or stockings, but their buskins reached to the middle of the leg. Their hair, black, long and rather coarse, was plaited in wreaths, and ordinarily turned up and fastened to the crown with a silver band. This description of dress and ornaments were worn only by the better classes. The others were more upon the primitive Indian order. They were fond of music, both vocal and instrumental; but the instruments they used were of an inferior kind, such as

* Bartram's Travels, pp. 482-506. † Adair's American Indians, p. 389.

the tambour, rattle-gourd, and a kind of flute, made of the joint of a cane or the tibia of the deer's leg. Dancing was practiced to a great extent, and they employed an endless variety of steps.*

Their most manly and important game was the "ball play." It was the most exciting and interesting game imaginable, and was the admiration of all the curious and learned travellers who witnessed it. The warriors of one town challenged those of another, and they agreed to meet at one town, or the other, as may have been decided. For several days previous to the time, those who intended to engage in the amusement took medicine, as though they were going to war. The night immediately preceding was spent in dancing and other ceremonious preparations. On the morning of the play, they painted and decorated themselves. In the meantime, the news had spread abroad in the neighboring towns, which had collected, at the place designated, an immense concourse of men, women and children—the young and the gay—the old and the grave—together with hundreds of ponies, Indian merchandise, extra wearing apparel, and various articles brought there to stake upon the result.

The players were all nearly naked, wearing only a piece of cloth called "flap." They advanced towards the immense plain upon which they were presently to exhibit astonishing feats of strength and agility. From eighty to a hundred men were usually on a side. They now approached each other, and were first seen at the distance of a quarter of a mile apart, but their war songs and yells had previously been heard. Intense excitement and anxiety were depicted upon the countenance of the immense throng of spectators. Presently the parties appeared in full trot, as if about to encounter fiercely in fight. They met and soon became intermingled together, dancing and stamping, while a dreadful artillery of noise and shouts went up and rent the air. An awful silence then succeeded. The players retired from each other, and fell back one hundred and

1750

* Bartram's Travels, pp. 482-506.

fifty yards from the centre. Thus they were three hundred yards apart. In the center were erected two poles, between which the ball must pass to count one. Every warrior was provided with two rackets or hurls, of singular construction, resembling a ladle or hoop-net with handles nearly three feet long. The handle was of wood, and the netting of the thongs of raw hide or the tendons of an animal. The play was commenced by a ball, covered with buckskin, being thrown in the air. The players rushed together with a mighty shock, and he who caught the ball between his two rackets, ran off with it and hurled it again in the air, endeavoring to throw it between the
1790 poles in the direction of the town to which he belonged. They seized hold of each other's limbs and hair, tumbled each other over, first trampled upon those that were down, and did everything to obtain the ball, and afterwards to make him who had it, drop it before he could make a successful throw. The game was usually from twelve to twenty. It was kept up for hours, and during the time the players used the greatest exertions, exhibited the most infatuated devotion to their side, were often severely hurt, and sometimes killed, in the rough and unfeeling scramble which prevailed. It sometimes happened that the inhabitants of a town gamed away all their ponies, jewels, and wearing apparel, even stripping themselves, upon the issue of the ball play. In the meantime, the women were constantly on the alert with vessels and gourds filled with water, watching every opportunity to supply the players.*

If a Creek warrior wished to marry, he sent his sister, mother, or some female relation, to the female relations of the girl whom he loved. Her female relations then consulted the un-
1798 cles, and if none the brothers, on the maternal side, who decided upon the case. If it was an agreeable alliance, the bridegroom was informed of it, and he sent, soon after, a blanket and articles of clothing to the female part of the family of

* The "Narrative of a Mission to the Creek Nation," by Col. Marinus Willett, pp. 108-110. Bartram's Travels, pp. 482-506.

the bride. If they received these presents, the match was made, and the man was at liberty to go to the house of his wife as soon as he deemed it proper. When he had built a residence, produced a crop, gathered it in, made a hunt and brought 1798
home the game, and tendered a general delivery of all to the girl, then they were considered man and wife.

Divorce was at the choice of either party. The man, however, had the advantage, for he could again marry another woman if he wished; but the woman was obliged to lead a life of celibacy until the Boosketuh, or Green Corn Dance, was over. Marriage gave no right to the husband over the property of the wife, or the control or management of the children which he might have by her.

Adultery was punished by the family of the husband, who collected together, consulted and agreed on the course to pursue. One-half of them then went to the house of the woman, and the other half to the residence of the guilty warrior. They apprehended, stripped, and beat them with long poles until they were insensible. Then they cropped off their ears, and sometimes their noses, with knives, the edges of which were made rough and saw-like. The hair of the woman was carried in triumph to the square. Strange to say, they generally recovered from this inhuman treatment. If one of the offenders escaped, 1798
satisfaction was taken by similar punishment inflicted upon the nearest relative. If both of the parties fled unpunished, and the party aggrieved returned home and laid down the poles, the offense was considered satisfied. But one family in the Creek nation had authority to take up the poles the second time, and that was the Ho-tul-gee, or family of the *Wind*. The parties might absent themselves until the Boosketuh was over, and then they were free from punishment for this and all other offenses, except murder, which had to be atoned for by death inflicted upon the guilty one or his nearest relative.*

* Hawkins' "Sketch of the Creek Country," pp. 73-74.

The Creeks buried their dead in the earth, in a square pit, under the bed where the deceased lay in his house. The grave was lined on the sides with cypress bark, like the curbing of a well. The corpse, before it became cold, was drawn up with cords, and made to assume a squatting position; and in this manner it was placed in the grave and covered with earth. The gun, tomahawk, pipe, and other articles of the deceased, were buried with him.*

In 1777, Bartram found, in the Creek nation, fifty towns, with a population of eleven thousand, which lay upon the rivers Coosa, Tallapoosa, Alabama, Chattahoochie and Flint, and the prominent creeks which flowed into them. The Muscogee was the national language, although in some of these towns, the Uchee or Savannah, Alabama, Natchez and Shawnee tongues prevailed. But the Muscogee was called, by the traders, the "mother tongue," while the others mentioned were termed the "stinkard lingo."†

The general council of the nation was always held in the principal town, in the centre of which was a large public square, with three cabins of different sizes in each angle, making twelve in all. Four avenues led into the square. The cabins, capable of containing sixty persons each, were so situated that from one of them a person might see into the others.

1776 One belonging to the Grand Chief fronted the rising sun, to remind him that he should watch the interests of his people. Near it was the grand cabin, where the councils were held. In the opposite angle, three others belonged to the old men, and faced the setting sun, to remind them that they were growing feeble, and should not go to war. In the two remaining corners were the cabins of the different Chiefs of the nation, the dimensions of which were in proportion to the rank and services of those Chiefs. The whole number in the square was painted red, except those facing the west, which were white, symbolical

* Bartram, pp. 513-514. † Bartram's Travels, pp. 461-462.

of virtue and old age. The former, during war, were decorated with wooden pieces sustaining a chain of rings of wood. This was a sign of grief, and told the warriors they should hold themselves in readiness, for their country needed their services. These chains were replaced by garlands of ivy leaves during peace.

In the month of May, annually, the Chiefs and principal Indians assembled in the large square formed by these houses, to deliberate upon all subjects of general interest. When they were organized they remained in the square until the council broke up. Here they legislated, eat and slept. During the session, no person, except the principal Chiefs, could approach within less than twenty feet of the grand cabin. The women prepared the food, and deposited it at a prescribed distance, when it was borne to the grand cabin by the subordinate Chiefs. 1776
In the center of the square was a fire constantly burning. At sunset the council adjourned for the day, and then the young people of both sexes danced around this fire until a certain hour. As soon as the sun appeared above the horizon, a drum-beat called the Chiefs to the duties of the day.*

Besides this National Legislature, each principal town in the nation had its separate public buildings, as do the States of this American Union; and like them, regulated their own local affairs. The public square at Auttose, upon the Tallapoosa, in 1777, consisted of four square buildings, of the same dimensions and uniform in shape, so situated as to form a tetragon, enclosing an area of an half acre. Four passages, of equal width at the corners, admitted persons into it. The frames of these buildings were of wood, but a mud plaster, inside and out, was 1777
employed to form neat walls; except two feet all around under the eaves, left open to admit light and air. One of them was the council house, where the Micco (King), Chiefs and warriors, with the white citizens, who had business, daily assembled

* Milfort, pp. 206-208.

to hear and decide upon all grievances, adopt measures for the better government of the people, and the improvement of the town, and to receive ambassadors from other towns. This building was enclosed on three sides, while a partition, from end to end, divided it into two apartments, the back one of which was totally dark, having only three arched holes large enough for a person to crawl into. It was a sanctuary of priestcraft, in which were deposited physic-pots, rattles, chaplets of deer's hoofs, the great pipe of peace, the imperial eagle-tail standard, displayed like an open fan, attached to which was a staff as white and clean as it could be scoured. The front part of this building was open like a piazza, divided into three apartments—breast high—each containing three rows of seats, rising one above the other, for the legislators. The other three buildings fronting the square were similar to the one just described, except that they had no sanctuary, and served to accommodate the spectators; they were also used for banqueting houses.

The pillars and walls of the houses of the square abounded with sculptures and caricature paintings, representing men in different ludicrous attitudes; some with the human shape, having the heads of the duck, turkey, bear, fox, wolf and deer. Again, these animals were represented with the human head. These designs were not ill-executed, and the outlines were bold and well proportioned. The pillars of the council house were ingeniously formed in the likeness of vast speckled snakes ascending—the Auttoses being of the Snake family.*

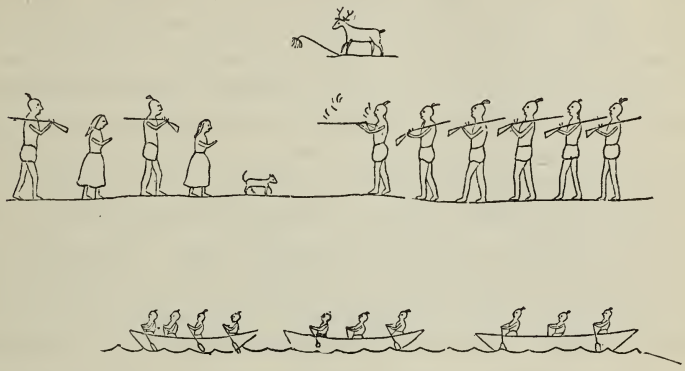
Rude paintings were quite common among the Creeks, and they often conveyed ideas by drawings. No people could present a more comprehensive view of the topography of a country with which they were acquainted, than the Creeks

1776 could, in a few moments, by drawing upon the ground.

Sept. 30 Barnard Roman, a Captain in the British Army, saw at Hoopa Ulla, a Choctaw town, not far from Mobile, the

* Bartram's Travels, pp. 448-454.

following drawing, executed by the Creeks, which had fallen into the possession of the Choctaws.



This represents that ten Creek warriors, of the family of the Deer, went into the Choctaw country in three canoes; that six of them landed, and in marching along a path, met two Choctaw men, two women and a dog; that the Creeks killed and scalped them. The scalp, in the deer's foot, implies the horror of the action to the whole Deer family.*

The great council house in Auttose, was appropriated to much the same purpose as the square, but was more private. It was a vast conical building, capable of accommodating many hundred people. Those appointed to take care of it, daily swept it clean, and provided canes for fuel and to give lights. Besides using this rotunda for political purposes, of a private nature, the inhabitants of Auttose were accustomed to take their "black drink" in it. The officer who had charge of this ceremony ordered the cacina tea to be prepared under an open shed opposite the door of the council house; he directed bundles of dry cane to be brought in, which were previously 1777
split in pieces two feet long. "They were now placed

* Barnard Roman's Florida, p. 102.

obliquely across upon one another on the floor, forming a spiral line round about the great centre pillar, eighteen inches in thickness. This spiral line, spreading as it proceeded round and round, often repeated from right to left, every revolution increased its diameter, and at length extended to the distance of ten or twelve feet from the centre, according to the time the assembly was to continue." By the time these preparations were completed, it was night, and the assembly had taken their seats. The outer end of the spiral line was fired. It gradually crept round the centre pillar, with the course of the sun, feeding on the cane, and affording a bright and cheerful light. The aged Chiefs and warriors sat upon their cane sofas, which were elevated one above the other, and fixed against the back side of the house, opposite the door. The white people and Indians of confederate towns sat, in like order, on the left—a transverse range of pillars, supporting a thin clay wall, breast high, separating them. The King's seat was in front; back of it were the seats of the head warriors, and those of a subordinate condition.

1777 Two middle-aged men now entered at the door, bearing large conch shells full of black drink. They advanced with slow, uniform and steady steps, with eyes elevated, and singing in a very low tone. Coming within a few feet of the King, they stopped, and rested their shells on little tables. Presently they took them up again, crossed each other, and advanced obsequiously. One presented his shell to the King, and the other to the principal man among the white audience. As soon as they raised them to their mouths the attendants uttered two notes—*hoo-ojah!* and *a-lu-yah!*—which they spun out as long as they could hold their breath. As long as the notes continued, so long did the person drink or hold the shell to his mouth. In this manner all the assembly were served with the "black drink." But when the drinking begun, tobacco, contained in pouches made of the skins of the wild cat, otter, bear and rattlesnake, was distributed among the assembly, together with pipes, and a general smoking

commenced. The King began first, with a few whiffs from the great pipe, blowing it ceremoniously, first toward the sun, next toward the four cardinal points, and then toward the white audience. Then the attendants passed this pipe 1777 to others of distinction. In this manner, these dignified and singular people occupied some hours in the night, until the spiral line of canes was consumed, which was a signal for retiring.*

Twenty-one years after the visit of Bartram to the Creek nation, Col. Benjamin Hawkins, to whom Washington had confided important trusts in relation to the tribes south of the Ohio, penetrated these wilds. He found the public buildings, at that period similar to those already described, with, however, some exceptions, which may have been the result of a slight change of ancient customs.

Every town had a separate government, and public buildings for business and pleasure, with a presiding officer, who was called a King, by the traders, and a Micco, by the Indians. This functionary received all public characters, 1798 heard their talks, laid them before his people, and, in return, delivered the talk of his own town. He was always chosen from some noted family. The Micco of Tookabatcha was of the Eagle tribe (Lum-ul-gee.) When they were put into office, they held their stations for life, and when dead, were succeeded by their nephews. The Micco could select an assistant when he became infirm, or for other causes, subject to the approval of the principal men of the town. They generally bore the name of the town which they governed, as Cusseta Micco, Tookabatcha Micco, etc.

"Choo-co-thiuc-co, (big house) the town house or public square, consists of four buildings of one story, facing each other,

* Bartram's Travels, pp. 448-454. The site of Auttose is now embraced in Macon county, and is a cotton plantation, the property of the Hon. George Goldthwaite, Judge of the Eighth Judicial Circuit. On the morning of the 29th of November, 1813, a battle was fought here between the Creeks and the Georgians—the latter commanded by Gen John Floyd

forty by sixteen feet, eight feet pitch; the entrance at each corner. Each building is a wooden frame supported on posts set in the ground, covered with slabs, open in front like a piazza, divided into three rooms, the back and ends clayed up to the plates. Each division is divided lengthwise into two seats. The front, two feet high, extending back half way, covered with reed mats or slabs; then a rise of one foot and it extends back, covered in like manner, to the side of the building. On these seats they lie or sit at pleasure.

"THE RANK OF THE BUILDINGS WHICH FORM THE SQUARE.

"1st. Mic-ul-gee in-too-pau, the *Micco's cabin.* This fronts the east, and is occupied by those of the highest rank. The center of the building is always occupied by the Micco of the town, by the Agent for Indian affairs, when he pays a visit to a town, by the Miccos of other towns, and by respectable white people.

"The division to the right is occupied by the Mic-ug-gee (Miccos, there being several so called in every town,
1798 from custom, the origin of which is unknown), and the councillors. These two classes give their advice in relation to war, and are, in fact, the principal councillors.

"The division to the left is occupied by the E-ne-hau-ulgee (people second in command, the head of whom is called by the traders *second man.*) These have the direction of the public works appertaining to the town, such as the public buildings, building houses in town for new settlers, or working in the fields. Tney are particularly charged with the ceremony of the a-ce, (a decoction of the cassine yupon, called by the traders black drink), under the direction of the Micco.

"2d. Tus-tun-nug-ul-gee in-too-pau, the *warriors' cabin.* This fronts the south. The head warrior sits at the end of the cabin, and in his division the great warriors sit beside each other. The next in rank sit in the center division, and the young warriors in

the third. The rise is regular by merit from the third to the first division. The Great Warrior, for this is the title of the head warrior, is appointed by the Micco and councillors from among the greatest war characters.

"When a young man is trained up and appears well qualified for the fatigues and hardships of war, and is promising, the Micco appoints him a governor, or, as the name imports, a *leader* (Is-te-puc-cau-chau), and if he distinguishes himself they elevate him to the center cabin. A man who distinguishes himself repeatedly in warlike enterprises, arrives to the rank of the Great Leader (Is-te-puc-cau-chau-thlucco.) This title, though greatly coveted, is seldom attained, as it requires a long course of years, and great and numerous successes in war.

"The second class of warriors is the *Tusse-ki-ul-gee.* All who go to war, and are in company when a scalp is taken, get a war-name. The leader reports their conduct and they receive a name accordingly. This is the *Tus-se-o-chif-co* or war-name. The term leader, as used by the Indians, is a proper one. The war parties all march in Indian file, with the leader in front, until coming on hostile ground. He is then in the rear.

"3d. Is-te-chaguc-ul-gee in-too-pau, the *cabin of the beloved men.* This fronts the north. There are a great many men who have been war leaders and who, although of various ranks, have become estimable in long course of public service. They sit themselves on the right division of the cabin of the Micco, and are his councillors. The family of the Micco, and great men who have distinguished themselves occupy this cabin of the Beloved Men.

"4th. Hut-te-mau-hug-gee, the *cabin of the young people and their associates.* This fronts the west.

"THE CONVENTION OF THE TOWN.

"The Micco, councillors and warriors meet every day in the public square, sit and drink of the black tea, talk of the news, the

public and domestic concerns, smoke their pipes, and play Thlachal-litch-cau (roll the bullet). Here all complaints are introduced, attended to and redressed.

"5th. Chooc-ofau-thluc-co, the *rotundo or assembly room*, called by the traders '*hot house.*' This is near the square, and is constructed after the following manner: Eight posts are driven into the ground, forming an octagon of thirty feet in diameter. They are twelve feet high, and large enough to support the roof. On these five or six logs are placed, of a side, drawn in as they rise. On these, long poles or rafters, to suit the height of the building, are laid, the upper ends forming a point, and the lower ends projecting out six feet from the octagon, and resting on the posts, five feet high, placed in a circle round the octagon, with plates on them, to which the rafters are tied with splits. The rafters are near together and fastened with splits. These are covered with clay, and that of pine bark. The wall, six feet from the octagon, is clayed up. They have a small door, with a small portico curved round for five or six feet, then into the house.

"The space between the octagon and wall is one entire sofa, where the visitors lie or sit at pleasure. It is covered with reed, mat or splits.

"In the centre of the room, on a small rise, the fire is made of dry cane, or dry old pine slabs, split fine, and laid in a spiral line. This is the assembly room for all people, old and young. They assemble every night and amuse themselves with dancing, singing or conversation. Amd here, sometimes, in very cold weather, the old and naked sleep.

1798 "In all transactions which require secrecy, the rulers meet here, make their fire, deliberate and decide."*

A very interesting festival, common not only to the Creeks, but to many other tribes, will now be described. As Col. Hawkins was, in all respects, one of the most conscientious and reliable men that ever lived, his account, like the preceding, will be

* Sketch of the Creek Country in 1798-1799, by Benjamin Hawkins, pp. 68-72.

copied in his own style. Of the many descriptions of the Green Corn Dance, in our possession, that by the honest and indefatigable Creek Agent is the most minute and most readily understood.

"BOOS-KE-TAU.

"The Creeks celebrate this festival in the months of July and August. The precise time is fixed by the Micco and councillors, and is sooner or later, as the state of affairs of the town or the early or lateness of their corn will suit. In Cus- 1798
setuh this ceremony lasts for eight days. In some towns of less note it is but four days.

"FIRST DAY.

"In the morning the warriors clear the yard of the square, and sprinkle white sand, when the black drink is made. The fire-maker makes the fire as early in the morning as he can, by friction. The warriors cut and bring into the square four logs, each as long as a man can cover by extending his two arms. These are placed in the center of the square, end to end, forming a cross, the outer ends pointed to the cardinal points; in the center of the cross the new fire is made. During the first four days they burn out these first four logs.

"The Pin-e-bun-gau (turkey dance) is danced by the women of the Turkey tribe, and while they are dancing the possau is brewed. This is a powerful emetic. It is drank from twelve o'clock to the middle of the afternoon. After 1798
this, Toc-co-yula-gau (tad-pole) is danced by four women and four men. In the evening the men dance E-ne-hou-bun-gau (the dance of the people second in command). This they dance till daylight.

"SECOND DAY.

"About ten o'clock the women dance Its-ho-bun-gau (gun dance). After twelve o'clock the men go to the new fire, take

some of the ashes, rub them on the chin, neck and abdomen, and jump head foremost into the river, and then return into the square. The women having prepared the new corn for the feast, the men take some of it and rub it between their hands, then on their faces and breasts, and then they feast.

"THIRD DAY.

"The men sit in the square.

"FOURTH DAY.

"The women go early in the morning and get the new fire, clean out their hearths, sprinkle them with sand, and make their fires. The men finish burning out the first four logs,
1798 and they take ashes, rub them on their chin, neck and abdomen, and they go into the water. This day they eat salt, and they dance Obungauchapco (the long dance).

"FIFTH DAY.

"They get four new logs, and place them as on the first day, and they drink the black drink.

"SIXTH AND SEVENTH DAYS.

"They remain in the square.

"EIGHTH DAY.

"They get two large pots, and their physic plants, the names of which are:

Mic-ca-ho-you-e-juh,	Co-hal-le-wau-gea,
Toloh,	Chofeinsack-cau-fuck-au,
A-che-nau,	Cho-fe-mus-see,
Cap-pau-pos-cau,	Hillis-hutke,
Chu-lis-sau (the roots),	To-te-cuh-chooe-his-see,
Tuck-thlau-lus-te,	Welau-nuh,
To-te-cul-hil-lis-so-wau,	Oak-chon-utch-co.

These plants are put in pots and beat up with water. The chem-

ists, E-lic-chul-gee, called by the traders physic-makers, blow into it through a small reed, and then it is drank by the men and rubbed over their joints till the afternoon.

"They collect old corn cobs and pine burs, put them into a pot and burn them to ashes. Four very young virgins bring ashes from their houses and stir them up. The men take white clay and mix it with water in two pans. One pan of clay and one of the ashes are carried to the cabin of the Micco, and the other two to that of the warriors. They then rub themselves with the clay and ashes. Two men, appointed to that office, bring some flowers of tobacco of a small kind, Itch-au-chee-le-pue-pug-gee, or, as the name imports, the old man's tobacco, which was prepared on the first day and put in 1798 a pan in the cabin of the Micco, and they gave a little of it to every one present.

"The Micco and councillors then go four times around the fire, and every time they face the east they throw some of the flowers into the fire. They then go, and stand to the west. The warriors then repeat the same ceremony.

"A cane is stuck up at the cabin of the Micco, with two white feathers at the end of it. One of the fish tribe (Thlot-logulgee) takes it, just as the sun goes down, and goes off to the river, followed by all. When he gets half way down the river he gives the death whoop, which he repeats four times between the square and the water's edge. Here they all place themselves as thick as they can stand near the edge of the water. He sticks up the cane at the water's edge, and they all put a grain 1798 of the old man's tobacco on their heads and in each ear. Then, at a signal given four different times, they throw some into the river; and every man, at a signal, plunges into the river and picks up four stones from the bottom. With these they cross themselves on their breasts four times, each time throwing a stone into the river and giving the death whoop. They then wash themselves, take up the cane and feathers, return and stick

it up in the square, and visit through the town. At night they dance *O-bun-gau-hadjo* (mad dance), and this finishes the ceremony.

"This happy institution of the *Boos-ke-tau* restores man to nimself, to his family, and to his nation. It is a general amnesty, which not only absolves the Indians from all
1798 crimes, murder alone excepted, but seems to bring guilt itself into oblivion."*

With some slight variations, the Green Corn Dance was thus celebrated throughout the Creek confederacy. At the town of Tookabatcha, however, it will be recollected, that on the fourth day, the Indians introduced the "brass plates." At Coosawda, the principal town of the Alabamas, they celebrated a Boosketau of four days each, of mulberries and beans, when these fruits respectively ripened.†

James Adair, a man of learning and enterprise, lived more than thirty years among the Chickasaws, and had frequent intercourse with the nations of the Muscogees, Cherokees and Choctaws, commencing in 1735. He was an Englishman, and was connected with the extensive commerce carried on
1735 at an early period with these tribes. While among the Chickasaws, with whom he first began to reside in 1744, he wrote a large work on aboriginal history. When he returned to his mother country, he published this work, the "American Indians," a ponderous volume of near five hundred pages, at London, in 1775. Well acquainted with the Hebrew language, and having, in his long residence with the Indians, acquired an accurate knowledge of their tongue, he devoted the larger portion of his work to prove that the latter were originally Hebrews, and were a portion of the lost tribes of Israel. He asserts, that at the Boosketaus of the Creeks and other tribes within the limits of Alabama, the warriors danced around the

* Hawkins' Sketch of the Creek Country, pp. 75-78.
† Adair's American Indians, p. 97.

holy fire, during which the elder Priest invoked the Great Spirit, while the others responded *Halelu! Halelu!* then *Haleluiah! Haleluyah!* He is ingenious in his arguments, and introduces many strange things to prove, to his own satisfaction, that the Indians were descendants of the Jews—seeking, throughout two hundred pages, to assimilate their language, manners and customs. He formed his belief that they were originally the same people, upon their division into tribes, worship of Jehovah, notions of a theocracy, belief in the ministration of angels, language and dialects, manner of computing time, their Prophets and High Priests, festivals, fasts and religious rites, 1740 daily sacrifices, ablutions and anointings, laws of uncleanliness, abstinence from unclean things, marriages, divorces, and punishments for adultery, other punishments, their towns of refuge, purification and ceremony preparatory to war, their ornaments, manner of curing the sick, burial of the dead, mourning for the dead, raising seed to a deceased brother, choice of names adapted to their circumstances and times, their own traditions, and the accounts of our English writers, and the testimony which the Spanish and other authors have given concerning the primitive inhabitants of Peru and Mexico.

He insists that in nothing do they differ from the Jews except in the rite of circumcision, which, he contends, their ancestors dispensed with, after they became lost from the other tribes, on account of the danger and inconvenience of the execution of that rite, to those engaged in a hunting and roving life. That when the Israelites were forty years in the wilderness, 1740 even then they attempted to dispense with circumcision, but Joshua, by his stern authority, enforced its observance. The difference in food, mode of living and climate are relied upon by Adair, to account for the difference in the color, between the Jew and Indian, and also why the one has hair upon the body in profusion and the other has not.*

* Adair's American Indians, pp. 15-220.

Adair is by no means alone in his opinion of the descent of the American Indians. Other writers, who have lived among these people, have arrived at the same conclusion. Many of the old Indian countrymen with whom we have conversed believe in their Jewish origin, while others are of a different opinion. Abram Mordecai, an intelligent Jew, who dwelt fifty years in the Creek nation, confidently believed that the Indians were originally of his people, and he asserted that in their Green Corn Dances he had heard them often utter in grateful tones the word *yavoyaha! yavoyaha!* He was always informed by the Indians that this meant Jehovah, or the Great Spirit, and that they were then returning thanks for the abundant harvest with which they were blessed.*

Colonel Hawkins concludes his account of the religious and war ceremonies of the Creek Indians as follows:

"At the age of from fifteen to seventeen, the ceremony of initiating youth to manhood is performed. It is called the Boosketau, in like manner as the annual Boosketau of the nation. A youth of the proper age gathers two handfuls of the
1798 Sou-watch-cau, a very bitter root, which he eats a whole day. Then he steeps the leaves in water and drinks it. In the dusk of the evening he eats two or three spoonfuls of boiled grits. This is repeated for four days, and during this time he remains in a house. The Sou-watch-cau has the effect of intoxicating and maddening. The fourth day he goes out, but must put on a pair of new moccasins (stillapicas). For twelve moons he abstains from eating bucks, except old ones, and from turkey cocks, fowls, peas and salt. During this period he must not pick his ears or scratch his head with his fingers, but use a small stick. For four moons he must have a fire to himself to cook his food, and a little girl, a virgin, may cook for him. His food is

* Conversations with Abram Mordecai, a man of ninety-two years of age, whom I found in Dudleyville, Tallapoosa county, in the fall of 1847. His mind was fresh in the recollection of early incidents. Of him I shall have occasion to speak in another portion of the work.

boiled grits. The fifth moon any person may cook for him, but he must serve himself first, and use one pan and spoon. Every new moon he drinks for four days the possau (button snakeroot), an emetic, and abstains for three days from all food, except in the evening a little boiled grits (humpetuh hutke). The twelfth moon he performs, for four days, what he commenced with on the first. The fifth day he comes out of his house, gathers corn cobs, burns them to ashes, and with these rubs his body all over. At the end of this moon he sweats under 1798 blankets, then goes into water, and thus ends the ceremony. This ceremony is sometimes extended to four, six or eight moons, or even to twelve days only, but the course is the same.

"During the whole of this ceremony the physic is administered by the Is-te-puc-cau-chau-thlucco (Great Leader), who, in speaking of the youth under initiation says, 'I am physicing him'—(Boo-se-ji-jite saut li-to mise-cha). Or 'I am teaching him all that it is proper for him to know'—(nauk o-mul-gau e-muc-e-thli-jite saut litomise cha). The youth during this initiation does not touch any one except young persons, who are under a like course with himself. And if he dreams, he drinks the possau." *

Whenever Creeks were forced to take up arms, the Tustenuggee caused to be displayed in the public places a club, part of which was painted red. He sent it to each subordinate Chief, accompanied with a number of pieces of wood, equal to the number of days that it would take that Chief to present himself at the rendezvous. The War Chief alone had the power of appointing that day. When this club had arrived, each 1778 Chief caused a drum to be beat before the grand cabin where he resided. All the inhabitants immediately presented themselves. He informed them of the day and place where he intended to kindle his fire. He repaired to that place before the

* Hawkins', pp. 78-79.

appointed day, and rubbed two sticks together, which produced fire. He kindled it in the midst of a square, formed by four posts, sufficiently extended to contain the number of warriors he desired to assemble. As soon as the day dawned, the Chief placed himself between the two posts which fronted the east, and held in his hand a package of small sticks. When a warrior entered the enclosure, which was open only on one side, he threw down a stick and continued until they were all gone, the number of sticks being equal to the number of warriors he required. Those who presented themselves afterwards could not be admitted, and they returned home to hunt, indicating the place where they could be found if their services should be needed.

1778 Those who thus tardily presented themselves were badly received at home, and were reproached for the slight desire they had testified to defend their country.

The warriors who were in the inclosure remained there, and for three days took the medicine of war. Their wives brought them their arms, and all things requisite for the campaign, and deposited them three hundred yards in front of the square, together with a little bag of parched corn-meal, an ounce

1778 of which would make a pint of broth.* It was only necessary to mix it with water, and in five minutes it became as thick as soup cooked by a fire. Two ounces would sustain a man twenty-four hours. It was indispensable, for, during a war expedition, the party could not kill game.

The three days of medicine having expired, the Chief departed with his warriors to the rendezvous appointed by the Grand Chief. Independently of this medicine, which was taken by all, each subordinate Chief had his particular talisman, which he carefully carried about his person. It consisted of a small bag, in which were a few stones and some pieces of cloth which had been taken from the garments of the Grand Chief, in the return from some former war. If the subordinate Chief forgot his

* Called by the modern Creek traders "coal flour."

bag he was deprived of his rank, and remained a common soldier during the whole expedition. The Grand 1778
Chief presented himself at the rendezvous on the appointed day, and he was sure to find there the assembled warriors. He then placed himself at the head of the army, making all necessary arrangements, without being obliged to rendezvous on account of any one. Being certain that his discipline and orders would be punctually enforced, he marched with confidence against the enemy. When they were ready to march, each subordinate Chief was compelled to be provided with the liquor which they called medicine of war; and the Creeks placed in it such a degree of confidence that it was difficult for a War Chief to collect his army if they were deprived of it. He would be exposed to great danger if he should be forced to do battle without having satisfied this necessity. If he should suffer defeat, which would certainly be the case, because the warriors would have no confidence in themselves, but be overcome by their own superstitious fears, he would be responsible for all misfortunes.

There were two medicines, the great and the little, and it remained for the Chief to designate which of these should be used. The warrior, when he had partaken of the great medicine, believed himself invulnerable. The little medicine served, in his eyes, to diminish danger. Full of confidence in the statements of his Chief, the latter easily persuaded him that when he gave him only the little medicine it was because the circumstances did not require the other. These medicines being purgative in their nature, the warrior found himself less endangered by the wounds which he might receive. The Creeks had still another means of diminishing the danger of their wounds, which consisted in fighting almost naked, for it is well known that particles of cloth remaining in wounds render them more difficult to heal. They observed during war the most rigorous discipline, for
they neither eat nor drank without an order from the 1778
Chief. They dispensed with drinking, even while passing

along the bank of a river, because circumstances had obliged their Chief to forbid it, under pain of depriving them of their medicine of war, or, rather, of the influence of their talisman. When an enemy compelled them to take up arms they never returned home without giving him battle, and at least taking a few scalps. These may be compared to the *colors* among civilized troops, for when a warrior had killed an enemy he took his scalp, which was an honorable trophy for him to return with to his nation. They removed them from the head of an enemy with great skill and dexterity. They were not all of the same value, but were classed, and it was for the Chiefs, who were the judges of all achievements, to decide the value of each. It was in proportion to the number and value of these scalps that a Creek advanced in civil as well as military rank. It was necessary, in order to occupy a station of any importance, to have taken at least seven of them. If a young Creek, having been at war, returned without a single scalp, he continued to bear the name of his mother, and could not marry, but if he returned with a scalp, the principle men assembled at the grand cabin, to give him a name, that he might abandon that of his mother. They judged of the value of the scalp by the dangers experienced in capturing it, and the greater these dangers, the more considerable were the title and advancement derived from it, by its owner.

In time of battle, the Great Chief commonly placed himself in the centre of the army, and sent reinforcements wherever danger appeared most pressing. When he perceived that his forces were repulsed and feared that they would yield entirely to the efforts of the enemy, he advanced in person, and com-
1778 bated hand to hand. A cry, repeated on all sides, informed the warriors of the danger to which a Chief was exposed. Immediately the *corps de reserve* came together, and advanced to the spot where the Grand Chief was, in order to force the enemy to abandon him. Should he be dead, they would all die rather than abandon his body to the enemy, without first se-

curing his scalp. They attached such value to this relic, and so much disgrace to the loss of it, that when the danger was very great, and they were not able to prevent his body from falling into the hands of the enemy, the warrior who was nearest to the dead Chief, took his scalp and fled, at the same time raising a cry, known only among the savages. He then went to the spot which the deceased Chief had indicated, as the place of rendezvous, should his army be beaten. All the subordinate Chiefs, being made aware of his death by this cry, made dispositions to retreat; and, this being effected, they proceeded to the election of his successor, before taking any other measures. The Creeks were very warlike, and were not rebuffed by defeat. On the morrow, after an unfortunate battle, they advanced with renewed intrepidity, to encounter their enemy anew.

When they advanced towards an enemy, they marched one after another, the Chief of the party being at the head. They arranged themselves in such a manner as to place the foot of every one in the track made by the first. The last one concealed even that track with grass. By this means they kept from the enemy any knowledge of their number. When 1778 they made a halt, for the purpose of encamping, they formed in a circle, leaving a passage only large enough to admit a single man. They sat cross-legged, and each one had his gun by his side. The Chief faced the entrance of the circle, and no warrior could go out without his permission. At the time of sleeping he gave a signal, and after that no person could stir. Rising was performed at the same signal. It was ordinarily the Grand Chief who marked out positions, and placed sentinels to watch for the security of the army. He always had a great number of runners, both before and behind, so that an army was rarely surprised. They, on the contrary, conducted wars against the Europeans entirely by sudden attacks, and they were very dangerous to those who were not aware of them.*

* Sejour dans la nation Creck, par Le Clerc Milfort, pp. 240, 252, 218, 219.

When the Creeks returned from war with captives, they marched into their town with shouts and the firing of guns. They stripped them naked and put on their feet bear-skin moccasins, with the hair exposed. The punishment was always left to the women, who examined their bodies for their war-marks. Sometimes the young warriors, who had none of these honorable inscriptions, were released and used as slaves. But the warrior of middle age, even those of advanced years, suffered death by fire. The victim's arms were pinioned, and one end of a strong grape vine tied around his neck, while the other was fastened to the top of a war-pole, so as to allow him to track around a circle of fifteen yards. To secure his scalp against fire, tough clay was placed upon his head. The immense throng of spectators were now filled with delight, and eager to witness the inhuman spectacle. The suffering warrior was not dismayed, but, with a manly and insulting voice, sang the war-song. The women then made a furious onset with flaming torches, dripping with hot, black pitch, and applied them to his back and all parts of his body. Suffering excruciating pain, he rushed from the pole with the fury of a wild beast, kicking, biting and trampling his cruel assailants under foot. But fresh numbers came on, and after a long time, and when he was nearly burned to his vitals, they ceased and poured water upon him to relieve him—only to prolong their sport. They renewed their tortures, when, with champing teeth and sparkling eye-balls, he once more broke through the demon throng to the extent of his rope, and acted every part that the deepest desperation could prompt. Then he died. His head was scalped, his body quartered, and the limbs carried over the town in triumph.*

An enumeration of the towns found in the Creek
1798 nation by Col. Hawkins, in 1798, will conclude the notice of the manners and customs of these remarkable

* Adair, pp. 390–391.

people, though, hereafter, they will often be mentioned, in reference to their commerce and wars with the Americans.

TOWNS AMONG THE UPPER CREEKS.

Tal-e-se, derived from Tal-o-fau, *a town*, and e-se, *taken*—situated in the fork of the Eufaube, upon the left bank of the Tallapoooosa.

Took-a-batcha, opposite Tallese.

Auttose, on the left side of Tallapoosa, a few miles below the latter.

Ho-ith-le-waule—from h-ith-le, *war*, and waule, *divide*—right bank of the Tallapoosa, five miles below Auttose.

Foosce-hat-che—fooso-wau, *a bird*, and hat-che, *tail*—two miles below the latter, on the right bank.

Coo-loo-me was below and adjoining the latter.

E-cun-hut-ke—e-cun-nau, *earth*, and hut-ke, *white*—below Coo-loo-me, on the same side of the Tallapoosa.

Sou-van-no-gee, left bank of the river.

Mook-lau-sau, a mile below the latter, same side.

Coo-sau-dee, three miles below the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, on the west bank of the Alabama.

E-cun-chate—e-cun-na, *earth*, chate, *red*—(now a 1798
part of the city of Montgomery).

Too-was-sau, three miles below, same side of the Alabama.

Pau-woe-te, two miles below the latter, on the same side.

Au-tau-gee, right side of the Alabama, near the mouth of the creek of the same name.

Tus-ke-gee—in the fork of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, on the east bank of the former—the old site of forts Toulouse and Jackson.

Hoochoice and Hookchoie-ooche, towns just above the latter.

O-che-a-po-fau—o-che-ub, *hickory tree*, and po-fau, *in* or *among*—east bank of the Coosa, on the plain just below the city of Wetumpka.

We-wo-cau—we-wau, *water*, wo-cau, *barking* or *roaring*—on a creek of that name, fifteen miles above the latter.

Puc-cun-tal-lau-has-see—epuc-cun-nau, *may-apple*, tal-lau-has-see, *old town*—in the fork of a creek of that name.

Coo-sau, on the left bank of that river, between the mouths of Eufaule and Nauche (creeks now called Talladega and Kiamulgee).

Au-be-cho-che, on Nauche creek, five miles from the Coosa.

Nau-che, on same creek, five miles above the latter.

Eu-fau-lau-hat-che, fifteen miles still higher up on the same creek.

Woc-co-coie—woc-co, *blow horn*, coie, *a nest*—on Tote-paufcau creek.

Hill-au-bee, on col-luffa-creek, which joins Hillaubee creek on the right side, one mile below the town.

Thla-noo-che-au-bau-lau—thlen-ne, *mountain*, ooche, *little*, au-bau-lau, *over*—on a branch of the Hillaubee.

1798 Au-net-te-chap-co--au-net-te, *swamp*, chap-co, *long*--on a branch of the Hillaubee.

E-chuse-is-li-gau, *where a young thing was found* (a child was found here)—left side of Hillaubee creek.

Oak-tau-hau-zau-see—oak-tau-hau, *sand*, zau-see, *great dea* — on a creek of that name, a branch of the Hillaubee.

1778 Oc-fus-kee—oc, *in*, fus-kee, *a point*, right bank of the Tallapoosa.

New-yau-cau, named after *New York*, when Gen. McGillivray returned from there in 1790, twenty miles above the latter, on the left side of the Tallapoosa.

Took-au-batche-tal-lau-has-se, four miles above the latter, right side of the river.

Im-mook-fau, *a gorget made of a conch*, on the creek of that name.

Too-to-cau-gee--too-to, *corn-house*, cau-gee, *standing*--twenty miles above New-yau-cau, right bank of the Tallapoosa.

Au-che-nau-ul-gau—auche-nau, *cedar*, ul-gau, *all*—forty miles above New-yau-cau, on a creek. It is the farthest north of all the Creek settlements.

E-pe-sau-gee, on a large creek of that name.

Sooc-he-ah—sooc-cau, *hog*, he-ah, *here*—right bank 1798 of the Tallapoosa, twelve miles above Oc-fus-kee.

Eu-fau-lau, five miles above Oc-fus-kee, right bank of the river.

Ki-a-li-jee, on the creek of that name, which joins the Tallapoosa on the right side.

Au-che-nau-hat-che—au-che, *cedar*, hat-che, *creek*.

Hat-che-chub-bau—hat-che, *creek*, chub-bau, *middle* or *half way*.

Sou-go-hat-che—sou-go, *cymbal* (musical instrument), hat-che, *creek*—joins the Tallapoosa on the left side.

Thlot-lo-gul-gau—thlot-lo, *fish*, gul-gau, *all*—called by traders "*Fish Ponds*," on a creek, a branch of the Ul-hau-hat-che.

O-pil-thluc-co—o-pil-lo-wau, *swamp*, thlucco, *big*—twenty miles from the Coosa, a creek of that name.

Pin-e-hoo-te—pin-e-wau, *turkey*, choo-te, *house*—a branch of the E-pee-sau-gee.

Po-chuse-hat-che—po-chu-so-wau, *hatchet*, hat-che, *creek*—(in Coosa county).

Oc-fus-coo-che, *little ocfuskee*, four miles above New-yau-cau.

TOWNS AMONG THE LOWER CREEKS.

Chat-to-ho-che—chat-to, *a stone*, ho-che, *marked* or *flowered*. Such rocks are found in the bed of that river above Ho-ith-le-te-gau. This is the origin and meaning of the name of that beautiful river.

Cow-e-tough, on the right bank of the Chat-to-ho-che, three miles below the falls.

O-cow-ocuh-hat-che, *falls creek*, on the right side of the river at the termination of the falls.

Hatche-canane, *crooked creek.*

Woc-coo-che, *calf creek.*

O-sun-nup-pau, *moss creek.*

Hat-che-thlucco, *big creek.*

1798 Cow-e-tuh Tal-hau-has-se—Cowetuh Tal-lo-fau, *a town*, hasse, *old*—three miles below Cowetuh, on the right bank of the Chattahoochie.

We-tum-cau—we-wau, *water*, tum-cau, *rumbling*—a main branch of the Uchee creek.

Cus-se-tuh, five miles below Cow-e-tuh, on the left bank of the Chattahoochie.

Au-put-tau-e, a village of Cussetuh, on Hat-che-thluc-co, twenty miles from the river.

U-chee, on the right bank of the Chat-to-ho-che, ten miles below Cowetuh Tallauhassee, and just below the mouth of the Uchee creek.

In-tuch-cul-gau—in-tuch-ke, *dam across water*—ul-gau, *all;* a Uchee village, on Opil-thlacco, twenty-eight miles from its junction with the Flint river.

Pad-gee-li-gau—pad-jee, *a pigeon*—li-gau, *sit, pigeon roost*—on the right bank of Flint river (a Uchee village).

Toc-co-qul-egau, *tadpole*, on Kit-cho-foone creek (a Uchee village).

Oose-oo-chee, two miles below Uchee, on the right bank of the Chattahoochie.

Che-au-hau, below and adjoining the latter.

Au-muc-cul-le, *pour upon me*, on a creek of that name, which joins on the right side of the Flint.

O-tel-who-yau-nau, *hurricane town*, on the right bank of the Flint.

Hit-che-tee, on the left bank of the Chattahoochie, one mile below Che-au-hau.

Che-au-hoo-chee, *Little Cheauhaw*, one mile and a half west from Hit-che-tee.

Hit-che-too-che, *Little Hitchetee*, on both sides of the Flint.

Tut-tal-lo-see, *fowl*, on a creek of that name.

Pala-chooc-le, on the right bank of the Chattahoochie. 1798

O-co-nee, six miles below the latter, on the left bank of the Chattahoochie.

Sou-woo-ge-lo, six miles below Oconee, on the right bank.

Sou-woog-e-loo-che, four miles below Oconee, on the left bank of the Chattahoochie.

Eu-fau-la, fifteen miles below the latter, on the left bank of the same river.

From this town settlements extended occasionally to the mouth of the Flint.*

* Hawkins' "Sketch of the Creek Country in 1798–99," pp. 26–66. In addition to the published copy of this interesting pamphlet, sent to me by I. K. Teffit, Esq., of Savannah, the Hon. F. W. Pickens, of South Carolina, loaned me a manuscript copy of the same work, written by Col. Hawkins for his grandfather, Gen. Andrew Pickens, who was an intimate friend of Hawkins, and was associated with him in several important Indian treaties, and whose name will often be mentioned hereafter.

CHAPTER IV.

Mobilians, Chatots, Thomez and Tensas.

In 1718, the French West India Company sent, from Rochelle, eight hundred colonists to Louisiana. Among them was a Frenchman of intelligence and high standing, named Le Page Du Pratz, who was appointed superintendent of the public plantations. After a residence of sixteen years in this country, he returned to France, and published an interesting work upon Louisiana. Du Pratz was often at Mobile, and about the period of 1721 found living, in that vicinity, a few small 1721 tribes of Indians, whom we will now describe.

The Chatots were a very small tribe, who composed a town of about forty huts, adjoining the bay and river of Mobile. They appear to have resided at or near the present city of Mobile. The Chatots were great friends of the French settlers, and most of them embraced the Catholic religion. North from Mobile, and upon the first bluffs on the same side of the river of that name, lived the Thomez, who were not more numerous than the Chatots, and who, also, had been taught to worship the true God. Opposite to them, upon the Tensa river, lived a tribe of Tensas, whose settlement consisted of one hundred huts. They were a branch of the Natchez, and, like them, kept a perpetual fire burning in their temple.

Further north, and near the confluence of the Tombigby and Alabama, and above there, the Mobilians still existed. It was from these people, a remnant of whom survived the invasion of De Soto, that the city, river and bay derive their names.* They, also, kept a fire in their temple, which was never suffered for a

* Du Pratz's Louisiana, pp. 308-309.

moment to expire. Indeed, they had some pre-eminence in this particular—for, formerly, the natives obtained this holy light from their temples.* These small tribes were all living in peace with each other, upon the discovery of their 1721 country by the French, and continued so. Gradually, however, they became merged in the larger nations of the Choctaws and Chickasaws. They were all, sometimes, called the Mobile Indians, by the early French settlers.

The Natchez once inhabited the southwestern portion of the Mexican empire, but on account of the wars with which they were continually harassed by neighboring Indians, they began to wander northeast. Finally they settled upon the banks of the Mississippi, chiefly on the bluff where now stands the beautiful city which bears their name.† They retained, until they were broken up by the French, many of the religious rites and customs of the Mexicans. Their form of govern- 1721 ment was distinguished from that of other tribes in Alabama and Mississippi, by its ultra despotism, and by the grandeur and haughtiness of its Chiefs. The Grand Chief of the Natchez bore the name of the Sun. Every morning, as soon as that bright luminary appeared, he stood at the door his cabin, turned his face toward the east, and bowed three times, at the same time prostrating himself to the ground. A pipe, which was never used but upon this occasion, was then handed him, from which he puffed smoke, first toward the Sun, and then toward the other three quarters of the world. He pretended that he derived his origin from the Sun, acknowledged no other master, and held absolute power over the lives and goods of his subjects. When he or his nearest female relation died, his body-guard was obliged to follow to the land of spirits. The death of a Chief sometimes resulted in that of an hundred persons, who considered it a great honor to be sacrificed upon his death. Indeed few Natchez of note died without being attended to the other

* Charlevoix's "Voyage to North America," vol. 2, p. 273. † Du Pratz's Louisiana.

world by some of their relatives, friends or servants. So eager were persons to sacrifice themselves in this way, that
1721 sometimes it was ten years before their turn came, and those who obtained the favor, spun the cord with which they were to be strangled.*

The cabins of the Natchez were in the shape of pavilions, low, without windows, and covered with corn-stalks, leaves and cane matting. That of the Great Chief, which stood upon an artificial mound, and fronted a large square, was handsomely rough-cast with clay, both inside and out. The temple was at the side of his cabin, facing the east, and at the extremity of the square. It was in an oblong form, forty feet in length and twenty in breadth. Within it were the bones of the deceased Chiefs, contained in boxes and baskets. Three logs of wood, joined at the ends and placed in a triangle, occupied the middle part of the floor, and burned slowly away, night and day. Keepers attended and constantly removed them.† The Great Sun informed Du Pratz, who had, in 1820, taken up his abode among them, that their nation was once very formidable, extending over vast regions and governed by numerous Suns and nobility; that one of the keepers of the temple once left it on some business, and while he was absent his associate keepers fell asleep; that the fire went out, and that, in the terror and dismay into which
1721 they were thrown, they substituted profane fire, with the hope that their shameful neglect would escape unnoticed. But a dreadful calamity was the consequence of this negligence. A horrible malady raged for years, during which many of the Suns, and an infinite number of people, died.‡ This fire was kept constantly burning in honor of the Sun, which they seemed to worship and adore above everything else. In the spring of 1700 Ibenville, in company with a few of his colonial people, visited the Natchez. While there, one of the temples was con-

* Charlevoix's "Voyage to North America," pp. 260-261.
† Charlevoix's Voyage to North America, p. 256. ‡ Du Pratz' Louisiana, p. 333.



A Chief Addressing his Warriors, who are Armed, Painted and Plumed, and Ready to March Against the Enemy. Drawn from life, by Jacob le Moyne, in 1564.

sumed by lightning. The Priests implored the women to cast their children into the flames to appease the anger of
1700 their divinity. Before the French, by prayers and entreaties, could arrest this horrible proceeding, some of the innocent babes were already roasting in the flames.* At this time the Natchez, reduced by war and the death of the nobility, upon whose decease the existence of many others terminated, did not exceed a population of twelve hundred.

Fort Rosalie, erected by the French in 1716, upon the bluff which sustains the city of Natchez, had a garrison of
1729 soldiers and numerous citizens. On the morning of the
Nov. 28 28th November, 1729, the Great Sun and his warriors suddenly fell upon them, and before noon the whole male population were in the sleep of death. The women, children and slaves were reserved as prisoners of war. The consternation was great throughout the colony when this horrible massacre became known. The French and Choctaws united, and drove the Natchez upon the lower Washita, just below the mouth of the Little River. Here they erected mounds and embank-
1733 ments for defense, which covered an area of four hun-
Jan. dred acres. In the meantime, having obtained assistance from France, the colonists marched against this stronghold, and, in January, 1733, made a successful attack. They captured the Great Sun, several of the War Chiefs and four hundred and twenty-seven of the tribe, who were sent from New Orleans to St. Domingo as slaves. The remainder of the tribe made their escape. Some of them sought asylum among the Chickasaws and Creeks, while others scattered in the far West.†

* Gayarre's History of Louisiana, vol. 1, p. 73.

† The Natchez have been mentioned at length by a number of French authors, who were eye witnesses of their bloody rites and ceremonies. See Bossu's Travels in Louisiana, vol. 1, pp. 32-67. Dumont's Louisiana, vol. 1, pp. 118-132. Charlevoix's Voyage to North America, vol. 2, pp. 252-274. Du Pratz's Louisiana, pp. 79-95-291-316. Les Natchez par M. Le Vicompte de Chateaubriand—of this work 400 pages are taken up with the Natchez. Jesuits in America—a recent publication. Many other works in my possession, upon Louisiana and Florida, allude briefly to that tribe.

CHAPTER V.

The Choctaws and Chickasaws.

The Choctaws and Chickasaws descended from a people called the Chickemicaws, who were among the first inhabitants of the Mexican empire. At an ancient period they began to wander towards the east, in company with the Choccomaws. After a time they reached the Mississippi river and crossed it, arriving in this country with an aggregate force of ten thousand warriors. The Choccomaws established themselves upon the head-waters of the Yazoo, the Chickasaws upon the northwestern sources of the Tombigbee, and the Choctaws upon the territory now embraced in southern Mississippi and southwestern Alabama. They thus gradually became three distinct tribes; but the Chickasaws and Choccomaws were generally known by the name of the former, while the Choctaws spoke the same language, with the exception of a difference produced by the intonation of the voice.*

Period unknown

Upon the first settlement of Mobile by the French, they found that the Choctaws and the remnant of the Mobilians employed the same language. Indeed, we have seen that the Mobilian Chief, in 1540, had a name which was derived from two well-known Choctaw words—Tusca, *warrior*, and lusa, *black*. The Indians who fought De Soto at Cabusto, upon the Warrior, and who extended their lines six miles up and down its western banks to oppose his crossing, were the Pafallayas. They are believed to have been no other people than the Choctaws. There is a word

1700

1540

* Adair's American Indians, pp. 5, 66, 352.

in the language of the latter called fallaya, *long*.* It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that the Chickasaws
1541 were living in the upper part of Mississippi when De Soto invaded it, and that they fought him with great courage. Now, as the Choctaws, according to tradition, came with them into this country, and were a portion of the same family, it is reasonable to suppose that the Pafallayas, the brave allies of Tuscaloosa, were the Choctaws—especially when taken in connection with the collateral evidence in our possession. The tradition of the migration of the Chickasaws and
Period unknown Choctaws from the Mexican empire has been preserved by the former alone; while the latter, with few exceptions, have lost it. On the road leading from St. Stephens, in Alabama, to the city of Jackson, Mississippi, was, some years ago, a large mound, embracing at the base about two acres, and rising about forty feet high in a conical form, and enclosed by a ditch encompassing twenty acres. On the top of it was a deep hole, ten feet in circumference, out of which the ignorant portion of the Choctaws believed that their ancestors once sprung as thick as bees, peopling the whole of that part of the country. They had great regard for this artificial elevation, and called it Nannawyah, the signification of which is nanna, *hill*, and wyah, *mother*. When hunting near this mound they were accustomed to throw into the hole the leg of a deer, thus feeding their mother. One day, in 1810, Mr. Geo. S. Gaines, the United States Choctaw Factor, in going to
1810 the Agency, rode up on this mound, which lay near the road. Presently a good many warriors passed by, and, after he had satisfied his curiosity, he rode on and overtook them. The Chief, who was no less a personage than the celebrated Pushmatahaw, with a smile full of meaning and mischief, said: "Well, Mr. '*Gainis*,' I suppose you have been to pay our

* Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society, vol. 2, p. 105. (A paper read before the society by Albert Gallatin.)

mother a visit; and what did she say?" "Your mother," said the Factor, "observed that her children were poor, had become too numerous to inhabit the country they were then occupying, and desired very much that they would sell their lands to the United States, and move west of the Mississippi, to better and more extensive hunting grounds."* The old Chief laughed immoderately, vociferating, "Holauba! holauba! feenah. (*It's a lie, it's a lie, it's a real lie.*) Our good mother never could have made such remarks." On the journey he conversed 1810
much with Mr. Gaines upon the Indian traditions, and said that the true account was that his ancestors came from the west.†

In 1771, the population of the Choctaw nation was considerable. Two thousand three hundred warriors were upon the superintendent's books at Mobile, while two thousand more were scattered over the country, engaged in hunt- 1771
ing. At that period Capt. Roman passed through seventy of their towns.‡ The eastern district of the nation was known as Oy-pat-oo-coo-la, or the *small nation.* The western was called Oo-coo-la, Falaya. Oo-coola, Hanete and Chickasaha.

These people were more slender in their forms than other tribes. The men were raw-boned and astonishingly active. None could excel them in the ball play, or run as fast upon level ground.§ Both sexes were well made, and 1745
the features of the females were lively and agreeable. They had the habit of inscribing their faces and bodies with a blue indelible ink, which appears to have been the practice of all the tribes to which it has been our province to allude. The Choctaws formed the heads of the infants into different shapes by compression, but it was chiefly applied to the forehead, and hence they were called by traders "flat heads." The infant was

* It was the policy of all the Indian Agents to encourage the emigration of the Indians further west, and they never let an opportunity slip of alluding to it.
† Conversations with Mr. George S. Gaines See, also, Barnard Roman's Florida, pp. 71-90. ‡ Roman, pp. 70-90. § Adair.

placed in a cradle, with his feet elevated twelve inches above a horizontal position, while his head was bent back and rested in a hole made for the purpose. A small bag of sand was fixed upon the forehead, and as the little fellow could not move, the shape required was soon attained, for at that age the skull is capable of receiving any impression.*

1745 The dress of the male Choctaw was similar to that of the Creeks, and was influenced in its style by his wealth or poverty. But they all wore the buck-she-ah-ma, *flap*, made of woolen cloth or buckskin. The female had usually only a petticoat reaching from the waist to the knees, while some of the richer classes wore a covering also upon the neck and shoulder, and little bells fastened to a buckskin garter, which clasped the leg just below the knee. They wore ornaments in their ears, noses and around the fingers, like the Creeks.

1759 They were not cleanly in their persons like the Creeks, who were eternally engaged in bathing; but, strange to relate of Indians, very few of the Choctaws could swim, a fact recorded by all early travellers among them. As they seldom bathed, the smoke of their lightwood fires made their bodies assume a soot color.† Peculiarly fond of the taste of horse flesh, they preferred it to beef, even if the animal had died a

1780 natural death; and it was not uncommon for them to devour snakes when hard pressed for food.‡ Yet, notwithstanding, they were, upon the whole, very agreeable Indians, being invariably cheerful, witty and cunning. The men, too, unlike the proud Chiefs of other nations, helped the women to work, and did not consider it a degradation to hire themselves for that purpose to their constant friends, the French, and afterwards to the English.§ No Indians, moreover, excelled them in hos-

1771 pitality, which they exhibited particularly in their hunting camps, where all travelers and visitors were

* Adair, pp. 8-9. † Bossu's Travels, p. 298.
‡ Milfort, p. 290; Adair, p. 133. § Roman, pp. 71-90.

received and entertained with a hearty welcome. In regard to their habits in the chase, it may here be observed, that they excelled in killing bears, wild-cats and panthers, pursuing them through the immense cane swamps with which their country abounded; but that the Creeks and Chickasaws were superior to them in overcoming the fleet deer. While hunting, the liver of the game was divided into as many pieces as there were camp-fires, and was carried around by a boy, who threw a piece into each fire, intended, it would seem, as a kind of sacrifice.

The Choctaws were superior orators. They spoke with good sense, and used the most beautiful metaphors. They had the power of changing the same words into different significations, and even their common speech was full of these changes. Their orations were concise, strong and full of fire.* 1745 Excessive debauchery, and a constant practice of begging, constituted their most glaring faults; and it was amusing to witness the many ingenious devices and shifts to which they resorted to obtain presents.

Timid in war against an enemy abroad, they fought like desperate veterans when attacked at home. On account of their repugnance to invading the country of an enemy, in which they were unlike the Creeks and Chickasaws, they were often taunted by these latter nations with cowardice. Frequently, exasperated by these aspersions, they would boldly chal- 1745 lenge the calumniators to mortal combat upon an open field. But the latter, feigning to believe that true Indian courage consisted in slyness and stratagem, rarely accepted the banter. However, in 1765, an opportunity offered in the streets of Mobile, when Hoopa, at the head of forty Choctaws, fell upon three hundred Creeks, and routed and drove them 1765 across the river, into the marsh. Hooma alone killed fifteen of them, and was then despatched himself, by a retreating Creek. They were pursued no further, because the Choctaws could not swim.

* Adair, p. 11.

They did not torture a prisoner, in a protracted manner, like other tribes. He was brought home, despatched with a bullet or hatchet, and cut up, and the parts burned. The scalp was suspended from the hot-house, around which the women danced until they were tired. They were more to be relied upon as allies than most other American Indians. The Creeks were
1765 their greatest enemies. In August, 1765, a war began
Aug. between them, and raged severely for six years.* Artful in deceiving an enemy, they attached the paws or trotters of panthers, bears and buffaloes to their own feet and hands, and wound about the woods, imitating the circlings of those animals. Sometimes a large bush was carried by the front warrior, concealing himself and those behind him, while the one in the extreme rear defaced all the tracks with grass. Most excellent trackers themselves, they well understood how to deceive the enemy, which they, also, effected by astonishing powers in imitating every fowl and quadruped. Their leader could never directly assume the command, but had, rather, to conduct his operations by persuasion.†

Gambling was a common vice, and even boys engaged in it by shooting at marks for a wager. In addition to the great ball play, which was conducted like that of the Creeks, already described, they had an exciting game called CHUNKE, or,
1745 by some of the traders "running hard labor." An alley was made, two hundred feet long, with a hard clay surface, which was kept swept clean. Two men entered upon it to play. They stood six yards from the upper end, each with a pole twelve feet long, smooth, and tapering at the end, and with the points flat. One of them took a stone in the shape of a grind-stone, which was two spans round, and two inches thick on the edges. He gave it a powerful hurl down the alley, when both set off after it, and running a few yards, the one who did not roll, cast his pole, which was annointed with bear's oil, with a true

* Roman, pp. 70-91. † Adair, p. 309—Bossu, p. 297.

aim at the stone in its flight. The other player, to defeat his object, immediately darted his pole, aiming to hit the pole of his antagonist. If the first one hit the stone he counted one, and if the other, by the dexterity of his cast, hit his pole and knocked it from its proper direction, he also counted one. If both of the players missed, the throw was renewed. Eleven was the game, and the winner had the privilege of casting the stone. In this manner the greater part of the day was passed, at half speed; the players and bystanders staking their ornaments, wearing apparel, skins, pipes and arms upon the result. Sometimes, after a fellow had lost all, he went home, borrowed a gun, and shot himself. The women, also, had a game with sticks and balls, something like the game of battledoor.* 1771 1745 1759

The funeral ceremonies of the Choctaws were singular, and, indeed, horrible, but like those of nearly all the aborigines at the time of the invasion of De Soto. As soon as the breath departed from the body of a Choctaw, a high scaffold was erected, thirty-six feet from the dwelling where the deceased died. It consisted of four forks set in the ground, across which poles were laid, and then a floor made of boards or cypress bark. It was stockaded with poles, to prevent the admission of beasts of prey. The posts of the scaffold were painted with a mixture of vermilion and bear's oil, if the deceased was an Indian of note. The body, enveloped in a large bear skin, was hauled up on the scaffold by ropes or vines, and laid out at length. The relations assembled, and wept and howled with mournful voices, asking strange questions of the corpse, according to the sex to which it belonged. "Why did you leave us?" "Did your wife not serve you well?" "Were you not contented with your children?" "Did you not have corn enough?" "Did not your land produce?" "Were you afraid of your enemies?" To increase the solemnity and 1782 1771 1745 1759

* Roman, pp. 70-91.—Adair, p. 402.—Bossu, p. 306.

importance of the funeral of a noted Indian, persons were hired to cry, the males having their heads hung with black moss, and the females suffering their hair to flow loosely to the winds. These women came at all hours, for several weeks, to mourn around the scaffold; and, on account of the horrid stench, frequently fainted and had to be borne away. When the body had thus lain for three or four months, the BONE-PICKER made his appearance. In 1772 there were five of these hideous undertakers in the Choctaw nation, who traveled about in search of scaffolds and the horrible work which will be described. The Bone-Picker apprised the relatives of the deceased that the time had arrived when dissection should take place. Upon the day which he had appointed, the relatives, friends, and others hired to assist in mourning, surrounded the scaffold. The
1745 Bone-Picker mounted upon it, with horrid grimaces and
1771 groans, took off the skin, and commenced his disgust-
1782 ing work. He had very long and hard nails growing on
1777 the thumb, fore and middle fingers of each hand. He tore off the flesh with his nails, and tied it up in a bundle. He cleaned the bones, and also tied up the scrapings. Leaving the latter on the scaffold, he descended with the bones upon his head. All this time the assembly moaned and howled most awfully. They then painted the head with vermilion, which, together with all the bones, was placed in a nice box with a loose lid. If the bones were those of a Chief, the coffin also was painted red. Next, fire was applied to the scaffold, around which the assembly danced and frightfully whooped until it was consumed by the flames. Then a long procession was formed and the bones were carried, amid weeping and moaning, to the bone-house, of which every town of importance had several. These houses were made by four pitchpine posts being placed in the ground, upon the top of which was a scaffold floor. On this a steep
1745 roof was erected, like that of some modern houses, with
1771 the gables left open. There the box was deposited with

other boxes containing bones. In the meantime a great 1782
feast had been prepared, and sometimes three horses were 1777
cooked up, if the deceased was wealthy. But the infernal Bone-Picker still was master of ceremonies, and having only wiped his filthy, bloody hands with grass, served out the food to the whole assembly.*

When the bone-house was full of chests, a general interment took place. The people assembled, bore off the chests in procession to a plain, with weeping, howling and ejaculations of Allelujah! Allelujah! The chests containing the bones were arranged upon the ground in order, forming a pyramid. Then they covered all with earth, which raised a conical mound. Then returning home, the day was concluded with a feast.†

The Choctaws entertained a great veneration for their medicine men or doctors, who practiced upon them constant frauds. Their fees were exorbitant, and required to be 1745
satisfied in advance. When a doctor had attended a patient a long time, and the latter had nothing more to give as payment, he usually assembled the relations in private, informed them that he had done all in his power, and 1771
had exhausted his skill in endeavoring to restore their friend; that he would surely die, and it was best to terminate his sufferings. Reposing the blindest confidence in this inhuman declaration, two of them then jumped upon the 1777
poor fellow and strangled him. In 1782, one of these doc- 1782
tors thus began to consult with the relations upon the case of a poor fellow. While they were out of the house, he suspected their intentions, and making an unnatural effort, crawled to the woods which fortunately were near the house. It was night, and he succeeded in getting beyond their reach. The doctor persuaded them that he was certainly dead, and they erected a scaffold as though he were upon it and wept around it. Fortun-

* Adair, pp. 138-188. Roman, pp. 71-90. Milfort, pp. 293-298.
† Bartram, pp. 514-515.

ately, laying his hands upon an opossum, the poor fellow eat of it from time to time, and gained strength, now that he had escaped the clutches of the doctor, who had nearly smoked and bled him into the other world. At length, after much suffering, he made his way to the Creek nation and threw himself upon the compassion of Colonel McGillivray, who had him restored to health by proper attention. Again going back to his nation, at the expiration of three months, he arrived at the house from which he had escaped, at the very time that the people were celebrating his funeral by burning the scaffold and dancing around it. His sudden appearance filled them with horror and dismay. Some fled to the woods, others fell upon the ground. Alarmed himself, he retreated to the house of a neighbor, who instantly fell on his face, saying, "Why have you left the land of spirits if you were happy there? Why do you return among us? Is it to assist in the last feast which your family and your friends make for you? Go, return to the land of the dead for fear of renewing the sorrow which they have felt at your loss!"

1782 Shunned by all his people, the poor Choctaw went back to the Creek nation, married a Tuskegee woman, and lived in that town the balance of his life. Before his door lay the four French cannon of old Fort Toulouse. When the Choctaws had become satisfied that he did not die, and was really alive, they killed the doctor who had deceived them. They often entreated the fellow to return home, but he preferred to remain among a people who would not strangle him when he was sick.*

The Choctaws had no other religion than that which attached to their funeral rites. The French, to whom they were warmly attached, sought in vain to convert them to Christianity. At Chickasaha, they erected a chapel and gave the control of it to a Jesuit missionary. When the English took possession of this country, the Chocktaws of that place would, for the amuse-

* Milfort, pp 298-304.

ment of their new friends, enter the old chapel, and go through the Catholic ceremonies, mimicing the priest with surprising powers. In 1771, Capt. Roman saw the lightwood cross still standing, but the chapel had been destroyed.

The Chickasaws, although at the period of 1771 a small nation, were once numerous, and their language was spoken by many tribes in the Western States. They 1771 were the fiercest, most insolent, haughty and cruel people among the Southern Indians. They had proved their bravery and intrepidity in constant wars. In 1541, they attacked the camp of De Soto in a most furious midnight assault, threw his army into dismay, killed some of his soldiers, 1541 destroyed all his baggage, and burnt up the town in which he was quartered. In 1736, they whipped the French under Bienville, who had invaded their country, and forced them to retreat to Mobile. In 1753, MM. Bevist and Regio encountered defeat at their hands. They continually attacked the boats of the French voyagers upon the Mississippi 1753 and Tennessee. They were constantly at war with the Kickapoos and other tribes upon the Ohio, but were defeated in most of these engagements. But, with the English as their allies, they were eminently successful against the Choctaws and Creeks, with whom they were often at variance.

The Chickasaws were great robbers, and, like the Creeks, often invaded a country, killing the inhabitants and carrying off slaves and plunder. The men considered the cultivation of the earth beneath them; and, when not engaged in hunting or warfare, slept away their time or played upon flutes, while their women were at work. They were athletic, well-formed and graceful. The women were cleanly, industrious, and generally good-looking.

In 1771, they lived in the centre of a large and 1771 gently rolling prairie, three miles square. They obtained their water from holes, which dried up in summer. In

this prairie was an assemblage of houses one mile and a half long, very narrow, and irregular, which was divided into seven towns, as follows:

Mellattau—*hat and feather.*
Chatelau—*copper town.*
Chuckafalaya—*long town.*
Hickihaw—*stand still.*
Chucalissa—*great town.*
Tuckahaw—a certain *weed.*
Ash-wick-boo-ma—*red grass.*

The last was once well fortified with palisades, and there they defeated D'Artaguette. The nearest running water was two miles distant; the next was four miles off, to which point canoes could ascend from the Tombigby in high tide. The ford, which often proved difficult of crossing, was called Na-
1771 hoola Inalchubba—*the white man's hard labor.* Horses and cattle increased rapidly in this country. The breed of the former descended from importations from Arabia to Spain, from Spain to Mexico, and from thence to the Chickasaw nation. Here they ran wild in immense droves, galloping over the beautiful prairies, the sun glittering upon their various colors. They were owned by the Indians and traders.

The Chickasaws were very imperious in their carriage towards females, and extremely jealous of their wives. Like the Creeks, they punished adultery by beating with poles
1771 until the sufferer was senseless, and then concluded by cropping the ears, and, for the second offence, the nose or a piece of the upper lip. Notwithstanding they resided so far from large streams, they were all excellent swimmers, and their children were taught that art in clay holes and pools, which remained filled with water unless the summer was remarkably dry

Of all the Indians in America, they were the most expert in tracking. They would follow their flying enemy on a long gallop over any kind of ground without mistaking, where perhaps only

a blade of grass bent down told the footprint. Again,
when they were leisurely hunting over the woods, and 1782
came upon an indistinct trail recently made by Indians, 1745
they knew at once of what nation they were by the 1759
footprints, the hatchet chops upon the trees, their camp-
fires, and other distinguishing marks. They were also esteemed to be admirable hunters, and their extensive plains and unbroken forests afforded them the widest field for the display of their skill. In 1771 their grounds extended from Middle Mississippi to the mouth of the Ohio, and some distance into the territory of the present State of Tennessee. But this extreme northern ground they visited with caution, and only in the win-
ter, when their northern enemies were close at home. 1745
They were often surprised on the sources of the Yazoo, 1782
but below there, and as far east as the branches of the 1759
Tombigby to Oaktibbehaw they hunted undisturbed.
This last point they regarded as the boundary between them and the Choctaws. With the latter they had no jealousies in regard to the chase, and they sported upon each others' grounds when not at war. Although the country of the Chickasaws abounded with that valuable animal, the beaver, they left
them for the traders to capture, saying, "Anybody can 1771
kill a beaver." They pursued the more noble and diffi-
cult sport of overcoming the fleet deer, and the equally swift and more formidable elk.

The summer habitations of the Chickasaws were cabins of an oblong shape, near which were corn-houses. In the yard stood also a winter house of a circular form. Having no chimneys, the smoke found its way out of this "hot-house" wherever it could.
These they entered and slept all night, stifled with
smoke, and, no matter how cold the morning, they came 1745
forth naked and sweating as soon as the day dawned.
These houses were used by the sick also, who, remaining in them

until perspiration ensued, jumped suddenly into holes of cold water.

They dried and pounded their corn before it came to maturity, which they called Boota-capassa—*coal flour*. A small quantity of this thrown into water swelled immediately, and made a fine beverage. They used hickory nut and bear's oil,
1771 and the traders learned them to make the hams of the bear into bacon. In 1771 the whole number of gunmen in the Chickasaw nation only amounted to about two hundred and fifty. It is astonishing what a handful of warriors had so long kept neighboring nations of great strength from destroying them.

They buried their dead the moment vitality ceased, in the very spot where the bed stood upon which the deceased
1771 lay, and the nearest relatives mourned over it with woeful lamentations. This mourning continued for twelve moons, the women practising it openly and vociferously, and the men silently.*

The modern reader may form some idea of the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations, as they once existed, by briefly tracing the route of Captain Roman through their country. He began his tour at Mobile, encamped at Spring Hill, passed the head
1771 waters of Dog river, and again encamped at Bouge
Sept. 20 Hooma—*red creek*—the boundary between the English and the Choctaws. Pursuing his journey, the camp was pitched at Hoopa Ulla—*noisy owl*—where he saw the Creek painting described upon page 95. Then passing Okee
Sept. 30 Ulla—*noisy water*—and the towns of Coosa, Haanka Ulla—*howling goose*—he crossed a branch of the Sookhan-Hatcha river. He reached a deserted town called Etuck Chukke—*blue wood*—passed through Abecka, an inhab-
Oct. 5 ited town, and there crossed another branch of the Sookhan-Hatcha, and arrived at Ebeetap Oocoola, where the Choctaws had erected a large stockade fort. A southwestern di-

* Barnard Roman's Florida, pp. 59-71.

rection was now assumed, and Captain Roman passed through the following towns: Chooka, Hoola, Oka Hoola, Hoola Taffa, Ebeetap Ocoola Cho, Oka Attakkala, and crossing Bouge Fooka and Bouge Chitto, which runs into Bouge Aithe Tanne, arrived at the house of Benjamin James, at Chickasaha. Oct. 23

He set out from this place for the Chickasaw nation, and crossed only two streams of importance—Nashooba and Oktibbehaw. Without accident he arrived at the Chickasaw towns enumerated upon page 134, and lying within a few miles of Pontitoc. He proceeded east-by-south five miles and crossed Nahoola-Inal-chubba—*town creek*—and then assumed a southeast direction, and arrived at the Twenty-mile creek, a large branch of the Tombigby. At the mouth of Nahoola-Inalchubba, Captain Roman found a large canoe, in which he and his companions embarked and proceeded down the Tombigby. One mile below, on the west bank, they passed a bluff on which the French formerly had a fortified trading post. Captain Roman next saw the mouth of the Oktibbehaw, the dividing line between the two nations, and passed the mouth of the Nasheba, on the east. Floating with rapidity down the river, he next came to the Noxshubby, on the west side, and then to the mouth a creek called Etomba-Igaby—*box maker's creek*—where the French had a fort.* From this creek, the name of which has been corrupted by the French to "Tombeckbe," and by the Americans to "Tombigby," the river takes its name. Upon it lived an Indian who made chests to hold the bones of the Choctaws. Nov. 10 Dec. 8 1771 Dec. 26 1772 Jan. 5-7

Roman came to the confluence of the Tombigby and Warrior, and, a little below, passed some steep chalky bluffs, which the traders called the *Chickasaw Gallery*, because from this point they were accustomed to shoot at Jan. 10

* Now Jones' Bluff.

the French boats. On the top of this bluff was a vast plain, with some remains of huts standing upon it.* Three miles below the mouth of the Soukan-Hatcha, Roman came upon the old towns of the Coosawdas and Oahchois, commencing at Sactaloosa—*black bluff*—and extending from thence down the river for some distance.† Next, passing a high bluff called Nanna Fallaya, he reached Batcha Chooka, a bluff on the east side, where he encountered a desperate band of thieves, belonging

1772 Jan. 13 to the town of Okaloosa, of the Choctaws. He then came to some bluffs called Nanna Chahaws, where a gray flat rock, called Teeakhaily Ekutapa, rises out of the water. Here the people of Chickasaha once had a settlement. Lower down, the party saw a bluff upon the east side, called Yagna Hoolah—*beloved ground*—and encamped at the

1772 Jan. 20 mouth of Sintabouge—*snake creek*—three miles below which was the English line separating them from the the Choctaws. Having entered the British settlements, Captain Roman continued his voyage until he reached Mobile.‡

* Now the site of Demopolis.

† Some of the Alabamas living at the town of that name below the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, and some Creeks of the town of Oakchoy, to be nearer the French, who were their friends, moved upon the main Tombigby, and the deserted towns which Roman mentions were those in which they had formerly lived.

‡ Roman's Florida.

CHAPTER VI.

The Cherokees.

It has been seen that De Soto passed over a portion of the country of these Indians in the territory which embraces Northern Georgia. The name Cherokee is derived from Chera, *fire;* and the Prophets of this nation were called Cherataghge, *men of divine fire.* 1540

The first that we hear of the Cherokees, after the Spanish invasion, is their connection with the early British settlers of Virginia. A powerful and extensive nation, they even had settlements upon the Appomattox river, and were allied by blood with the Powhattan tribe. The Virginians drove them from that place, and they retreated to the head of 1623 the Holston river. Here, making temporary settlements, the Northern Indians compelled them to retire to the Little Tennessee river, where they established themselves permanently. About the same time, a large branch of the Cherokees came from the territory of South Carolina, near Charleston, and formed towns upon the main Tennessee, extending as far as the Muscle Shoals. They found all that region unoccupied, except upon the Cumberland, where resided a roving band of Shawnees. But the whole country bore evidence of once having sustained a large Indian population.

Such is the origin of the first Cherokee settlements upon the main Tennessee, but the great body of the nation appears to have occupied Northern Georgia and Northwestern Carolina as far back as the earliest discoveries can trace them.

But very little was known of these natives until the English

formed colonies in the two Carolinas. They are first
1693 mentioned when some of their Chiefs complained that the Savannas and Congerees attacked their extreme eastern settlements, captured their people and sold them as slaves in the town of Charleston. Two years afterwards, Governor Archdale, of Carolina, arrested this practice, which
1712 induced the Cherokees to become friends of the English. They joined the latter in a war against the Tuscaroras. But three years afterwards they became allies of the Northern Indians and once more fought their European friends. At length Governor Nichalson concluded a peace with them, which
1730 was confirmed by Alexander Cummings, the British General Superintendent of Indian Affairs. The Cherokees assisted the English in the capture of Fort Duquesne. When returning home, however, they committed some
1758 depredations upon the settlers of Virginia, which were
Nov. 24 resented. This, together with the influence of French emissaries, had the effect again to array them against the people of Georgia and the Carolinas. Various expeditions marched against them, and their country was finally invaded with success, by Colonel Grant. Having sued for peace,
1761 articles of amity and alliance were signed at Long
Nov. 19 Island, upon the Holston. According to the traditions preserved by Judge Haywood, who wrote the History of Tennessee, the Cherokees originally came from the territory now embraced by the Eastern States of the Union, in which they differ from the other tribes of whom it has been our province to speak, all of whom came from the west.

When they began to be visited by the Carolina traders, their nation was powerful and warlike, and was divided into two parts. The Upper Cherokees lived upon the rivers Tellico, Great and Little Tennessee, the Holston and French Broad. The Lower Cherokees inhabited the country watered by the sources of the Oconee, the Ockmulgee and the Savannah. The great Unaka or

Smoky mountain lay between and divided the two sections.* Their whole country was the most beautiful and romantic in the known world. Their springs of delicious water gushed out of every hill and mountain side. Their lovely rivers 1735 meandered, now smoothly and gently, through the most fertile valleys, and then, with the precipitancy and fleetness of the winds, rushed over cataracts and through mountain gaps. The forests were full of game, the rivers abounded with fish, the vales teemed with their various productions, and the mountains with fruit, while the pure atmosphere consummated the happiness of the blest Cherokees. 1700

About the period of 1700, the Cherokee nation consisted of sixty-four towns. But the inhabitants of those situated in the upper district, were continually engaged in wars with the Northern Indians, while those below were harassed by the Creeks. Then again, the Cherokees had to en- 1738 counter, first, the French, and then the English. From these causes, (added to which was the terrible scourge of the small pox, introduced into Charleston by a slave ship, and thence carried into their country,) the population 1740 had greatly decreased—so that, in 1740, the number of warriors were estimated at only five thousand. That year fully one thousand of these were destroyed by that disease.†

The Cherekees were so similar to the Creeks in their form, color, general habits and pursuits, that the reader is requested to refresh his recollection in relation to our description of the latter, and will not be required, tediously, to retrace the same ground. Their ball plays, green corn dances, constant habit of indulging in the purifying black drink, their manner of conducting wars and of punishing prisoners, their council-houses, their common apparel, and also their appearance during war, 1735 were all precisely like those of the Creeks. And, in

* Haywood's Aboriginal History of Tennessee, pp. 233-234. Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society, vol. 2, pp. 89-90. Adair's American Indians.
† Historical Collections of Georgia, vol. 2, p. 72.

addition, they played Chunke, like the Choctaws. However, a careful examination of several authorities, has unfolded a few peculiarities, which will now be introduced.

Unlike other Indian nations, who once trod our soil, the Cherokees had no laws against adultery. Both sexes were unrestrained in this particular, and marriage was usually of short duration.

On account of the pure air which they breathed, the exercise of the chase, the abundance of natural productions which the country afforded, and the delicious water which was always near, the Cherokees lived to an age much more advanced than the other tribes which have been noticed in this chapter.*

They observed some singular rules in relation to the burial of the dead. When a person was past recovery, (to prevent pollution,) they dug a grave, prepared a tomb, anointed the hair of the patient and painted his face; and when death ensued, interment was immediately performed. After the third day, the attendants at the funeral appeared at the council-house and engaged in their ordinary pursuits, but the relatives lived in retirement and moaned for some time.† Such ceremonies, practiced upon the poor fellow in his last moments, and while in his senses, was certainly a cooler and more cruel method than that of the Choctaws, who, as we have seen, suddenly jumped down upon the patient and strangled him to death, after the doctor had pronounced his recovery impossible.

It was formerly the habit of the Cherokees to shoot all the stock belonging to the deceased, and they continued to bury, with the dead, their guns, bows and household utensils. If one died upon a journey, hunt, or war expedition, his companions erected a stage, upon which was a notched log pen, in which the body was placed to secure it from wild beasts. When it was supposed that sufficient time had elapsed, so that nothing remained but the bones, they returned to the spot, collected these, carried them

* Adair, pp. 226-228. † Adair, p. 126.

home and buried them with great ceremony. Sometimes heaps of stones were raised as monuments to the dead, whose bones they had not been able to "gather to their fathers," and every one who passed by added a stone to the pile.*

Henry Timberlake, a lieutenant in the British service, was despatched with a small command from Long Island, upon the Holston, to the Cherokee towns upon the Tel- 1761
lico and the Little Tennessee rivers. His object was to Nov. 28
cultivate a good understanding with these people, who had, indeed, invited him to their country. He descended the Holston in canoes to the mouth of the Little Tennessee, and thence passed up that stream to their towns. Spending some weeks here, he returned to Charleston with three Cher-
okee Chiefs, and sailed for England. Three years after- 1762
wards he published a book, from which we have been enabled to gain some information respecting the Cherokees.†

The Cherokees were of middle stature, and of an olive color, but were generally painted, while their skins were stained with indelible ink, representing a variety of pretty figures. According to Bartram, the males were larger and more robust than any others of our natives, while the women were tall, slen-
der, erect, and of delicate frame, with features of perfect 1776
symmetry. With cheerful countenances, they moved about with becoming grace and dignity. Their feet and hands were small and exquisitely shaped. The hair of the male was shaved, except a patch on the back part of the head, which was ornamented with beads and feathers, or with a colored deer's tail. Their ears were slit and stretched to an enormous size, causing the persons who had the cutting performed to undergo incredible pain. They slit but one ear at a time, because the patient had to lay on one side forty days for it to heal. As soon as he could bear the operation, wire was wound around them to expand them,

* Adair—Bartram.
† Memoirs of Lieutenant Henry Timberlake, London: 1765.

and when they were entirely well they were adorned with silver pendants and rings.

Many of them had genius, and spoke well, which paved the way to power in council. Their language was pleasant. It was very aspirited, and the accents so many and va- 1761 rious that one would often imagine them singing in their common discourse.

They had a particular method of relieving the poor, which ought to be ranked among the most laudable of their religious ceremonies. The head men issued orders for a war dance, at which all the fighting men of the town assembled. But here, contrary to all their other dances, only one danced at a time, who, with a tomahawk in his hand, hopped and capered for a minute, and then gave a whoop. The music then stopped till he related the manner of his taking his first scalp. He concluded his narration, and cast a string of wampum, wire, plate, paint, lead, or anything he could spare upon a large bear skin spread for the purpose. Then the music again began, and he continued in the same manner through all his warlike actions. Then another succeeded him, and the ceremony lasted until all the warriors had related their exploits and thrown presents upon the skin. The stock thus raised, after paying the musicians, was divided among the poor. The same ceremony was used to recompense any extraordinary merit.

The Cherokees engaged oftener in dancing than any other Indian population; and when reposing in their towns, almost every night was spent in this agreeable amusement. They were likewise very dexterous at pantomimes. In one of these, two men dressed themselves in bear-skins, and came among the assembly, winding and pawing about with all the motions of that animal. Two hunters next entered, who, in dumb show, acted in all respects as if they had been in the woods. After many attempts to shoot the bears, the hunters fired, and one of them was killed and the other wounded. They attempted to cut the throat

of the latter. A tremendous scuffle ensued between the wounded bruin and the hunters, affording the whole company a great deal of diversion. They also had other amus- 1761
ing pantomimic entertainments, among which was "taking the pigeons at roost."

They were extremely proud, despising the lower class of Europeans. Yet they were gentle and amiable to those whom they thought their friends. Implacable in their enmity, their revenge was only completed in the entire destruction of the enemy. They were hardy, and endured heat, cold and hunger in a surprising manner. But when in their power to indulge, no people on earth, except the Choctaws, carried debauchery to greater excess.*

William Bartram, who penetrated the Cherokee nation, mentions the following towns. We use his orthography:

ON THE LITTLE TENNESSEE RIVER, EAST OF THE SMOKY MOUNTAINS.

Echoe; Nucasse; Whataga; Cowe. 1776

ON THE BRANCHES OF THAT RIVER. Spring season

Ticaloosa; Jore; Conisca; Nowe.

ON THE LITTLE TENNESSEE, NORTH OF THE SMOKY MOUNTAINS.

Tomothle; Noewe; Tellico; Clennuse; Ocunnolufte; Chewe; Quanuse; Tellowe.

INLAND TOWNS ON THE BRANCHES OF THAT RIVER, AND OTHERS NORTH OF THE SMOKY MOUNTAINS.

Tellico; Chatuga; Hiwassee; Chewase; Nuanha.

OVERHILL TOWNS ON THE TENNESSEE OR CHEROKEE RIVERS.

Tallasse; Chelowe; Sette; Chote-great; Ioco; Tahasse; Tamohle; Tuskege; Big Island; Nilaque; Niowe.

LOWER TOWNS, EAST OF THE MOUNTAINS.

Sinica; Keowe; Kulsage; Tugilo; Estotowe; Qualatche; Chote; Estotowe, great; Allagae; Iore; Nacooche.†

* Timberlake's Memoirs, pp. 49-80; Bartram, pp. 368-369. † Bartram, 371-372.

Gov. Blount, of the Tennessee Territory, made a report to the Indian Department of the Federal Government, in
1792 which he described the other towns of the Cherokee
Mar. 5 nation. It appears that a portion of the Cherokees established themselves upon Chicamauga Creek, one hundred miles below the mouth of the Holston, being averse to any terms of friendship with the English. But believing these new settlements to be infested with witches, they aban-
1782 doned them, moved forty miles lower down the Tennessee, and there laid out the foundation of the "five towns" which they inhabited for many years afterwards, and until their final removal to Arkansas. These towns were :

Running Water—on the south bank of the main Tennessee, three miles above Nickajack, containing one hundred huts, the inhabitants of which were a mixed population of Cherokees and Shawnees.

Nickajack—on the south bank of the Tennessee, containing forty houses.

Long Island Town—on the south side of the Tennessee, on an island of that name, containing several houses.

Crow Town—on the north side of the Tennessee, half a mile from the river, up Crow creek. This was the largest of the towns.

Lookout Mountain Town—between two mountains, on Lookout Mountain creek, fifteen miles from its confluence with the Tennessee.

The first four of these towns were considerable Indian thoroughfares for a long period, being the crossing places of the Southern and Northern Indians during their wars with
1792 the Cumberland American settlements. Of these five towns, the sites of Nickajack and Long Island only are in Alabama, situated in the northeast part of De Kalb county. But still lower down, in the present State of Alabama, were Will's Town and Turkey Town—important Cherokee establish-

ments. The former was named for a half breed called *Red-headed Will.* At these towns lived the British Superintendent, (the celebrated Col. Campbell,) before and during the Revolutionary War.*

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 264-289.

CHAPTER VII.

Ancient Mounds and Fortifications in Alabama.

In the Southern and Northwestern States mounds of various dimensions and descriptions are yet to be seen, and continue to elicit no little speculation in regard to the race of people who formed them, and the objects which they had in view.

Mounds are most commonly heaps of earth, but in some instances they are made of fragments of rock. In Florida, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, they are of two classes.
1540 We will first treat of the large mounds, some of which are round, some elliptical, and others square. Many of them are flat on top, while others present conical forms. They ascend to the height of from forty to ninety feet, and some are eighteen hundred feet in circumference at the base. Especial contrivances appear to have been resorted to, to ascend these singular and imposing elevations, by means of steps cut in the sides, inclining at an easy angle, and reaching from the ground below to their tops.* During the invasion of De Soto, they were used as elevated platforms, sustaining the houses of the Chief, his family and attendants, while the common people lived around the base. The writers upon that expedition describe the manner in which the natives brought the earth to the spot and formed these elevations. Garcellasso de la Vega states that the erection of a mound was the first object in building a new town, which was generally located upon some low alluvial ground. When completed, the Chief's houses, from ten to twenty in number, were placed upon its top, and a public square laid out at the

* See Chapter 2, pp. 65-66.

base, around which were the houses of the prominent Indians, while the humbler wigwams of the common people stood around the other side of the mound.

Such, then, three hundred and ten years ago, was found to be the use of these mounds. By the writers of De Soto, they are repeatedly mentioned as being almost daily 1540 seen in all the territory through which that remarkable adventurer passed. Yet, many very learned and wise antiquaries have contended, in various works which they have published, that these mounds must have been constructed at a very ancient period, by a race far advanced in civilization—that the aborigines who were first discovered by Europeans were incapable of erecting such works on account of their ignorance of the arts and their want of sufficient population. Our readers have seen what a numerous population De Soto and other discoverers found here, and that they possessed much ingenuity in 1564 the building of boats, fortifications, temples, houses, etc. Of all people upon earth the American Indians had most time to engage in such works, for they were never accustomed to regard their time of the least importance. Indeed, the American citizen of the present day, who has lived upon the Indian frontiers, knows that they often assembled together in great numbers and performed public works of all kinds. But much later authority than that offered by the writers of De Soto 1730 will be presented. It will be recollected that when the French drove the Natchez tribe from the spot now occupied by the city of that name, that the latter established themselves upon the Lower Washita, where they "erected 1731 mounds and embankments for defence, which covered 1732 an area of four hundred acres." These mounds are still to be seen there, and some of them are very large. These Indians were driven from Natchez in 1730. Two years afterwards the French defeated them upon the Washita, where they were protected by their embankments and mounds, which they had only

been a little over two years in constructing. Let it be borne in mind that this was about one hundred and ninety-one years after the invasion of De Soto; and the facts are attested by numerous Frenchmen and other authors, some of whom were eye-witnesses.*

Charlevoix and Tonti both mention that they found Indians a little south of Lake Michigan, who well understood the construction of mounds and fortifications. Even during the administration of Jefferson, Lewis and Clarke, who had been despatched upon an overland route to Oregon, discovered the Sioux and other Western Indians erecting earthen embankments around their camps and towns. Were it deemed necessary, other authorities could be adduced to overthrow the speculations of those antiquarians who endeavor to inculcate the belief that our country was once inhabited by an almost civilized race. We heartily concur in the opinion expressed by McCulloh, in his "Researches," that the "mounds were sites for the dwellings of the Chiefs, for council halls and for temples, which fancy and conceit have constructed into various shapes and variously situated, one to the other." This author has reference, of course, to the larger mounds.†

Bartram found, in East Florida, many peculiar mounds. He saw groups of square mounds surrounded walls of earth, and pyramidal mounds of great height. "From the river St.
1776 John, southwardly to the point of the peninsula of Florida, are to be seen high pyramidal mounds, with spacious and extensive avenues leading from them out of the town to an artificial lake or pond of water." In another place he says: "At about fifty yards distance from the landing place stands a magnificent Indian mount. But what greatly contributed to the beauty of the scene, was a noble Indian highway, which led from the great mount, in a straight line three-quarters

* See Chapter 2, Part 3, pp. 132–133.

† Researches, Philosophical and Antiquarian, concerning the aboriginal history of America, by J. H. McCulloh, Jr., M.D. Baltimore, 1829; pp. 516.

of a mile, through a forest of live-oaks, to the verge of an oblong artificial lake, which was on the edge of an extensive level savannah. This grand highway was about fifty yards wide, sunk a little below the common level, and the earth thrown on each side, making a bank of about two feet high."

On the east side of the Ockmulgee, and a little below the city of Macon, in Georgia, are some large and interesting mounds. In the town of Florence, Lauderdale county, Alabama, is a very large and peculiar mound. Near Carthage, in the same State, there are many mounds of various sizes, some of which are large.

Dr. Charles A. Woodruff—a native of Savannah, but now a resident of Alabama—a man of letters and research, who has travelled over Georgia, Mississippi, Florida, Louisiana, Arkansas and Alabama, engaged in geological researches—has called our attention to a very remarkable group of mounds on the lands of Judge Messier, twenty-one miles in a southeastern direction from Fort Gaines. A reference to the sketch which he has furnished us, and his description of it, which follows, will make the reader acquainted with these remarkable artificial elevations. (See page 165).

"No. 1. The large sacrificial mound, seventy feet in height and six hundred feet in circumference. This mound is covered with large forest trees, from four to five hundred years old. A shaft has been sunk in the center to the depth of sixty feet, and at its lower portion a bed of human bones, five feet in thickness, and in a perfectly decomposed state, was passed. 1847

"No. 2, 2. Like the former, have hearthstones on the summit, with charred wood around them, which would show that they, too, were used for sacrifices. They are thirty feet high.

"No. 3. A wall of earth enclosing these mounds.

"No. 4, 4, 4, 4. Mounds outside of the enclosure, twenty feet high, and probably used as watch towers.

"No. 5. Entrance to the enclosure.

"In the rear of these mounds is a creek, No. 6, and from the large mound there has been constructed an arched pas-
1847 sage, three hundred yards in length, leading to the creek, and probably intended to procure water for religious purposes."

The smaller mounds, to be found in almost every field upon the rivers Tennessee, Coosa, Tallapoosa, Alabama, Cahaba, Warrior and Tombigbee, will next be considered.

Many of these elevations are cultivated in cotton and corn, the plough ascending and descending from year to year, with more ease as they gradually wear away. They are usually from five to ten feet high, from fifteen to sixty feet in circumference at the base, and of conical forms, resembling haystacks. Where they have been excavated they have, invariably, been found to contain human bones, various stone ornaments, weapons, pieces of pottery, and sometimes ornaments of copper and silver, but of a rude manufacture, clearly indicating Indian origin. Layers of ashes and charcoal are also found in these mounds.

It will be recollected that the Spaniards, during the invasion of De Soto, discovered temples in all the chief towns, in
1539 which the dead were deposited in baskets and wooden
1540 boxes. At a late day this custom was found to exist
1541 only among the Choctaws, Natchez, and a few other tribes. The Muscogees and Alabamas, who came into the country after it had been overrun by De Soto, had, as we have seen, simple modes of burial, and hence knew nothing about the construction of these mounds. The bone-houses of the Choctaws were miniature temples of the Indians of 1540. We
1735 have seen in what manner the Choctaws placed their
1777 dead upon scaffolds, and afterwards picked off all the
1759 flesh and fragments from the bones, and deposited the
1782 latter in bone-houses. It is positively asserted by Bartram that every few years, when these houses became full of bones, the latter were carried out upon a plain, buried in a

common grave, and a mound raised over them.* According to Charlevoix, another conscientious author, the Six Nations and the Wyandots every eight or ten years disinterred their dead, who had been deposited where they had died, and carried all the bones to a certain place, where they dug a pit, thirty feet in diameter and ten in depth, which was paved at the bottom with stones. In this the various skeletons, with the property which the deceased possessed, were thrown. Over the heap a mound was raised, by throwing in the earth they had dug out, together with rubbish of every kind. Much later authority will be adduced. Lewis and Clarke, whom, as we have said, Jefferson sent to explore Oregon, saw a mound twelve feet in diameter at the base, and six feet high, which had just been erected over the body of a Maha Chief. It appears to have always been the custom to erect a mound over a Chief or person of distinction, and no other bodies were interred with him. Indeed, no practice has been more universal than that of erecting a mound or tumulus over the dead, not only in America, but over the world. Adair asserts that it was the practice of the Cherokees to collect the skeletons of those who had died far from home, and erect over them stone mounds, and every person who passed by was required to add a stone to the heap.† This, then, accounts for heaps of stone to be found in the northern part of Georgia and Northeastern Alabama, resembling mounds in form. In North Alabama and Tennessee, skeletons have been found in caves. In mountainous countries this may have been one of the modes of disposing of the dead, or, which is more probable, persons died there suddenly, and their bones were not afterwards gathered together, buried in a common grave, and a mound erected over them, as was the general custom of ancient times.

1735

The small mounds in Alabama, which have been excavated,

* Bartram's Travels, p. 516. See also Bossu's Travels, vol. 1, p. 299.
† "Adair's American Indians."

contained different strata. Beginning to dig at the top, the operators first pass through a stratum of earth about two feet thick, then they come to a bed of ashes and charcoal, and then a bed of human bones mixed with pieces of pottery, pipes, arrow-heads and various Indian ornaments. Muscle shells are often mixed with these. Continuing to dig downwards, the excavators pass through a stratum of earth, which is succeeded by strata of bones, charcoal, pottery, Indian ornaments and arrow-points.

1735 1777 1759 1782 Now, from all that we have read and heard of the Choctaws, we are satisfied that it was their custom to take from the bone-houses the skeletons, with which they repaired in funeral procession to the suburbs of the town, where they placed them on the ground in one heap, together with the property of the dead, such as pots, bows, arrows, ornaments, curious shaped stones for dressing deer-skins, and a variety of other things. Over this heap they first threw charcoal and ashes, probably to preserve the bones, and the next operation was to cover all with earth. This left a mound several feet high. In the course of eight or ten years, when the bone-house again became full of skeletons, the latter were carried in the same manner to the mound, placed upon top of it, and covered with ashes and earth. When the mound became high enough to excite a kind of veneration for it, by depositing upon it heaps of bones, from time to time, another was made not far from it, and then another, as time rolled on. This accounts for the different strata of bones to be found in the same mound, and for the erection of several mounds, often found near each other.

1775 1735 1759 1782 As for the ancient ditches at Cahaba, and in other portions of Alabama, in which are now growing the largest trees of the forest, indicating the works to have been of very remote date, we have been unable, in our investigations, to ascribe them to European origin, as they are generally supposed to be. De Soto erected no forts, in passing through this country, and had no

occasion to do so, for his army was competent to subdue the natives without such means of defense. It is true he cut some temporary ditches upon the Warrior, near Erie, to repel the savages, who were charging him constantly from the other side of the river. These were soon abandoned, and his journalists mention no other works of the kind which he made.* The French and Spaniards, who afterwards occupied Alabama, erected no forts, except those at Mobile, upon the Tensaw River, at St. Stephens, at Jones' Bluff upon the Tombigby, and four miles above the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, upon the east bank of the former.

The English, at an early period, constructed a fort at Ocfuskee upon the Tallapoosa. If any other forts or entrenchments were made by the Europeans who first established themselves upon our soil, we have not been so fortunate as to trace them. The conclusion, then, seems to us to be apparent, that these ancient entrenchments or fortifications were the works of the aborigines of the country. It will be recollected 1540 that De Soto, and the French authors who succeeded 1700 him, nearly two centuries afterwards, discovered towns 1792 which were well fortified with immense breastworks of timber, around which were cut large ditches. It was easy, within a short space of time, for a few hundred Indians to have cut an immense ditch, or to have thrown up a great mound. The same tools employed in the erection of the latter, certainly the work of the ancient Indians, could well have been used in the cutting of these old entrenchments or ditches. Hence, we contend, that at the town of Cahaba there once existed a large Indian establishment, which was fortified with palisades, and that the ditch, which has produced so much modern speculation among the good people of that place, was cut around these pali-

* "Had Hernando De Soto erected one-tenth of the works which have been ascribed to him, in the States bordering on the Gulf, in Tennessee, and even in Kentucky, he must have found ample demands on his time and exertions."—"Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley," by E. G. Squier, A. M., p. 112.

sades, or rather around the town, having the Alabama river open on one side. There is a ditch near the Talladega Springs, which formerly had trees growing in it, and which surrounds an elevation, embracing a few acres and taking in a beautiful spring, which gushes out of the rocks at the side of a hill.* No doubt, this, and all other works like it, now frequently seen over the territories of Alabama and Mississippi, are the works of our ancient Indians, for they invariably erected their defences at those places which admitted of the encompassment of running water; while, on the other hand, the Europeans who came to this country at an early period, always dug wells within the fortifications which they made.

In the month of October, 1850, we visited a remarkable place at the Falls of Little River, situated in the northeastern corner of Cherokee county, Alabama, and very near the line of DeKalb county, in the same State. (See page 364.) What

1850 Oct. is rather singular Little River has its source on the top of Lookout Mountain, and runs for many miles on the most elevated parts of it. In the winter and spring it is a stream of considerable size, affording a rapid and dangerous current of water; but when it was seen upon the present occasion, a very protracted drought had nearly dried it up. The river flows along the top of the mountain with very inconsiderable banks, until it reaches a precipice of solid rock, in the form of a half circle, over which it falls seventy feet perpendicularly, into a basin. After being received in this rock basin, the river flows off without much interruption, and, in winding about, forms a peninsula about two or three hundred yards below the falls. The banks of the river bordering on this peninsula are the same unbroken rock walls which form the falls,

1850 Oct. and are equally high and bold. Across the neck of the peninsula are yet to be traced two ancient ditches, nearly parallel with each other, and about thirty feet apart in

* Formerly the property of Henry G. Woodward.

the middle of the curve which they form, though they commence within ten feet of each other upon the upper precipice, and when they have reached the lower precipice are found to run into each other. These ditches have been almost filled up by the effects of time. On their inner sides are rocks piled up and mixed with the dirt which was thrown up in making these entrenchments, indicating them to be of the simplest and rudest Indian origin. The author has seen many such entrenchments in his travels over Alabama, Mississippi and Florida, and hesitates not to say that they are the works of the aborigines of the country.

On one side of the bend of the peninsula, and about ten feet below the top of the rock precipice, are four or five small caves, large enough, if square, to form rooms twelve by fourteen feet. They are separated from each other by strata of rock, two of which resemble pillars, roughly hewn out. Three of of them communicate with each other by means of holes 1850 which can be crawled through. These caves open im- Oct. mediately upon the precipice, and from their floors it is at least seventy feet down to the surface of the river. Many persons who have visited this singular place, call these "De Soto's Rock Houses," and they have stretched their imagination to such an extent as to assert that they have distinctly traced his pick-axes in the face of the rocks. There can be no question, however, but that these caves have been improved, to a slight extent, in size and shape, by human labor. But it was the labor of the Red people. Occasionally we could see where they smoothed off a point, and leveled the floors by knocking off the uneven places. It was, doubtless, a strong Indian fortification, and long used as a safe retreat when the valleys below were overrun by a victorious enemy. The walls are black with smoke, and everything about them bears evidence of constant occupation for years. These caves or rock houses constituted a most admirable defence, especially with the assistance of the walls at the head of the peninsula. In order to get into the first cave,

a person has to pass along a rock passage wide enough for only one man. Below him, on his right, is the awful precipice, and on his left, the rock wall reaching ten feet above his head. A few persons in the first rock house with swords or spears, could keep off an army of one thousand men; for, only one assailant being able to approach the cave at a time, could be instantly despatched and hurled down the abyss below. In regard to the inner walls of the ditches, the author saw no cement among the rocks, although he had heard that that ingredient (never used by Indians) was to be found there.

Upon creeks and rivers in Alabama, where they meander through mountainous regions, are occasionally seen cuttings upon rocks, which have also been improperly attributed to European discoverers. In the county of Tallapoosa, not far below the mouth of the Sougohatchie, and a few miles east from the Tallapoosa river, are cliffs of a singular kind of gray rock, rather soft, and having the appearance of containing silver ore. The face of these cliffs is literally cut in pieces, by having round pieces taken out of them. The ancient Indians used to resort to this place to obtain materials for manufacturing pipes, of large and small sizes, and, more particularly, for bowls and other household vessels. They cut out the pieces with flint rocks fixed in wooden handles. After working around as deep as they desired, the piece was prized out of the rock. Then they formed it into whatever vessel, toy or implement they pleased. Hence, bowls, small mortars, immense pipes, and various pieces resembling wedges* in shape, are often ploughed up in the fields in Macon, Tallapoosa and Montgomery, and other counties in Alabama, of precisely the same kind of rock of which these cliffs are composed. The author is also sustained in this position by unquestionable Indian testimony, which has been secured by him.

1847 April

* These wedges, in appearance, were used by the Indians in dressing their deer skins. They were also used as clubs in war, having handles fixed to them.

A few miles from Elyton, in the county of Jefferson, the author is informed that there stands a large quadrangular mound, about fifty feet high, and flat on the top; that, near its base, are to be seen cuttings in the rock something like mortars, some of which would hold over a gallon. These were done by the Indians, for the limestone rock could easily be worked into any shape by means of flint picks.

The reader has observed that we have often mentioned the published works of Bartram, the botanist, who was in our country just before the Revolutionary War. We now quote from his MS., never published entire, but occasionally introduced by Squier in his "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley." Squier embodies in his work the following account, from Bartram's MS., of the "CHUNK YARDS" of the Creeks or Muscogees: "They are rectangular areas, generally occupying the centre of the town. The public square and rotunda, or great winter council house, stood at the two opposite corners of them. They are generally very extensive, especially in the large old towns. Some of them are from six hundred to nine hundred feet in length, and of proportionate breadth. The area is exactly level, and sunk two, and sometimes three, feet below the banks or terraces surrounding it, which are occasionally two in number, one behind and above the other, and composed of the earth taken from the area at the time of its formation. These banks or terraces serve the purposes of seats for spectators. In the centre of this yard or area there is a low circular mound or eminence, in the middle of which stands the *Chunk Pole*, which is a high obelisk, or four-square pillar, declining upward to an obtuse point. This is of wood, the heart of a sound pitch pine, which is very durable. It is generally from thirty to forty feet in height, and to the top is fastened some object which serves as a mark to shoot at with arrows, or the rifle, at certain appointed times."

1777

CHAPTER VIII.

The French in Alabama and Mississippi.

After the Spanish invasion of De Soto, to which allusion has so often been made, our soil remained untrodden by European feet for nearly a century and a half. At the end of that long and dark period it became connected with the history of the distant French possessions of Canada, which were contemporaneous with the oldest English colonies in America. For more than fifty years the French fur traders of Canada, associated with the enterprising Jesuit Fathers, had continued to advance southwestward upon the great lakes, discovering new regions, different races of Indians, more abundant game, and wider and brighter waters. At length, from the tribes upon the southern shore of Lake Superior, Father Allouez heard some vague reports of a great western river. Subsequently, Father Marquette was despatched from Quebec with Joliet, a trader of that place, five other Frenchmen, and a large number of Indian guides, to seek the Mississippi, and thus add new regions to the dominion of France, and new missions to the empire of the Jesuits. Ascending Fox river to the head of navigation, and crossing the portage to the banks of the Wisconsin, with birch bark canoes, the adventurers again launched their tiny boats and floated down to the Mississippi river. Descending it to the mouth of the Arkansas, and encountering decided evidences of a southern
1673 climate, Marquette finally found himself among the
June 17 Chickasaws, whose reports that hostile tribes thronged the banks from thence to the sea, served to arrest his progress. Reluctantly commencing his return up the stiff and

turbid tide, he found the mouth of the Illinois river, ascended to its head, crossed the portage to Chicago, launched his canoes upon Lake Michigan, and paddled to Green Bay, where he resumed his missionary labors. Joliet proceeded to Quebec with the news of the discovery.

The young and gifted La Salle, a native of Rome, in France, educated as a Jesuit, went to Canada to acquire fortune and fame by finding an overland passage to China. Becoming fired at the discovery which Marquette had made, he returned to France and obtained a royal commission for perfecting the exploration of the Mississippi, for which he was granted a monopoly in the trade of the skins of the buffalo. Sailing back to Canada, with men and stores, and accompanied by the Chevalier Tonti, 1678
an Italian soldier, who acted as his lieutenant, La Salle proceeded, by way of the lakes, upon his important enterprise. Consuming over two years in exploring those vast sheets of water, in building forts and collecting furs, he at length rigged a small barge, in which he descended the Mississippi to its mouth. Here, upon a small marshy elevation, in full view of the sea, he took formal and ceremonious possession in the name of the King of France. The country received the name of Louisiana, in honor of Louis XIV., who then occupied the French throne; but the attempt to give the river the name of Colbert, in honor of his Minister of Finance, did not succeed, and it retained that by which the aborigines had designated it. 1682
Leaving the Chevalier Tonti in command of Fort St. Apr. 9
Louis, which La Salle had established in the country of Illinois, the latter returned to France, where the report of his discoveries had already given rise to much excitement and joy. The government immediately furnished him with a frigate and three other ships, upon which embarked two hundred and eighty persons, consisting of priests, gentlemen, soldiers, hired mechanics and agricultural emigrants, for the purpose of forming a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. But the fearless adven-

turer, having crossed the Atlantic, and being unable to find, from the Gulf, the entrance to that river, was forced to
1687 disembark upon the coast of Texas. Here, erecting Fort
Feb. St. Louis, and leaving the larger portion of the colonists, he explored the surrounding country, with the hope of finding the Mississippi, but returned unsuccessful. Death had hovered over the colony, which was now reduced to thirty-six persons; and with sixteen of these, La Salle again departed, with the determination to cut his way to Canada by land. After three months' wanderings, he was murdered by two of his
1687 companions, in the prairies of Texas, near the western
Mar. 19 branch of the Trinity river. In the meantime the Chevalier Tonti, with twenty Canadians and thirty Indians, descended from the Illinois to meet his old commander; but, disappointed in not finding the French fleet at the Balize, he returned to the mouth of the Arkansas, where he established a little post. The few colonists left upon the coast of Texas all perished obscurely, except the brother of La Salle and six others, who made their way to Canada. Such was the melancholy termination of the first attempt to colonize Louisiana.*

Louis XIV. of France, the most splendid sovereign whom Europe had yet seen, had long been engaged in a war with William III. of England, which had extended to their respective colonies in North America. In consequence of these troubles, further efforts to colonize the Mississippi were not attempted until after the peace of Ryswick. By the terms of the treaty each party was to enjoy the territories in America which they possessed before the war. The attention of the French monarch was now once more turned to the new country which La Salle had discovered. A number of Canadians had been left upon the shores of France

* Hildreth's History of the United States New York: 1849; vol. 2, pp. 81-99. Historie de la Louisiane, par Charles Gayarre; vol. 1, pp. 23-61. Journal Historique du Dernier Voyage que feu M. de la Sale, fit dans le Golfe de Mexique, pour trouver l'embouchure, et le cours de la Riviere de St. Louis, qui traverse la Louisiana A Paris: 1713—386 pages. The History of Louisiana from the earliest period, by Francois Xavier Martin, vol. 1. pp. 59-121. New Orleans: 1827. Also many other authorities.

upon the conclusion of the war, and among them was a distinguished naval officer named Iberville, who had acquired great military renown by his exploits against the English on the shores of Hudson Bay and Newfoundland, and by the capture of Pemaquid. He was one of seven sons, all natives of Quebec, all men of ability and merit, and all engaged in the king's service.

To Iberville was confided the project of peopling Louisiana. He sailed from Rochelle with the Badine, of thirty guns, of which he had the immediate command, and with the Marir, commanded by Count Sugeres, together with two harbor boats, each of forty tons. On board these vessels were his two young but gallant brothers, Bienville and Sauvolle, and two hundred colonists, mostly Canadians, who had gone to France to assist in her defence. Among them were some women and children. Arriving at Cape Francoise, in the Island of St. Domingo, he was joined by the Marquis Chateau Morant, with a fifty-two gun ship. There he received on board a famous buccaneer named De Grace, who had pillaged Vera Cruz some years before. Leaving St. Domingo, Iberville sailed for the coast of Florida, and after a prosperous voyage stood before the Island of St. Rosa, from which point he discovered two men-of-war at anchor in the harbor of Pensacola, at whose mast-heads floated the colors of Spain. One month previous to this Don Roalli, with three hundred Spaniards, from Vera Cruz, had established a battery upon the site of the present town of Pensacola.

1698 Sept. 24

1699 Jan. 20

A deputation sent by Iberville were received with much politeness, but the Don declined to permit the French vessels to enter the harbor, for fear of a treacherous surprise.* The French then made sail to the west, and presently cast anchor off an island, which, from the quantity of human bones discovered upon it by Midshipman Bienville, was called the Isle of Massacre.

* The Spaniards, who still claimed the whole circuit of the Gulf, had hastened to occupy the Pensacola harbor, the best upon it. The barrier thus formed, made the dividing line between Florida and Louisiana.

The small vessels passed through the channel between two elevations, to which they gave the name of Cat and Ship
1699 Islands. The fifty-two gun ship sailed for St. Domingo,
Jan. 31 while the frigates lay off a group of banks, which received the names of the Chandeliers. Iberville despatched two boats to the main land, the crews of which found seven recently abandoned canoes, and succeeded in capturing two sick old Indians, whom they left with presents. The next day, a woman being taken and likewise sent off with presents, returned with two of her people, who belonged to the Biloxi tribe, whose name was given by the French to the bay. Four savages of this nation were then carried on board of Iberville's ship, while his brother, Bienville, remained upon the beach a hostage. On the same evening, twenty-four Bayagolas arrived upon the shore, being on their way to fight the Mobilians, who, they said, lived on the banks of a great river which flowed into the sea, not far to the east.*

When Iberville had caused some huts to be erected upon Ship Island, he entered a boat with thirty men, accompanied by his brother, Bienville, and Father Athanase, a Francis-
1699 can friar, the companion of the unfortunate La Salle in
Feb. 27 his descent of the Mississippi, and at the time when he was killed upon the plains of Texas. Upon the third day, Iberville made the Balize, and was the first to enter the great river from the sea. He ascended for the space of ten days, until he arrived at a town of the Bayagola nation. There he found, preserved by these Indians, a prayer book which belonged to the first expedition of La Salle, some cloaks which the discoverer had given them, a coat of mail which had belonged to the troop of De Soto, and a letter written by the Chevalier Tonti to La Salle, whom he had been disappointed in not meeting, as we have already seen. All these things combined to dispel the

* Journal Historique de l'Etablissement des Francais a la Louisiane, par Bernard de la Harpe, pp. 4-8. La Harpe was one of the first French settlers in Mobile, and he kept a journal of all he witnessed in that place, at Dauphin, Biloxi, Ship Island, etc.



Ancient Indian Fortifications and Mounds, in Early County, Georgia, from a Sketch by the Visitor, Dr. C. A. Woodruff.

doubts which Iberville had entertained, that this was really the Mississippi, and re-assured the convictions of Father
1699 Athanase. Continuing the voyage to a point which he named Portage de la Croix, Iberville turned his boat down stream and touched at Bayou Manchac. Here Bienville, who was placed in command of the main boat, presently descended the river to the sea, while Iberville passed through the bayou in birch-bark canoes, guided by a Bayagola Indian. Entering the river Amite, he soon fell into Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, which he named in honor of the two principal Ministers of his King. Bienville joined him soon after he reached his shipping.

At the eastern extremity of the Bay of Biloxi and within the limits of the present State of Mississippi, a fort, with four bastions and mounted with twelve pieces of artillery,
1699 was now erected, the command of which was given to
May 1 Sauvolle, the elder of the two brothers of Iberville, while Bienville, the youngest of the three, was made lieutenant. After the colonists had built huts and houses around it, Iberville and the Count Sugeres sailed in the two frigates for France. Sauvolle despatched a vessel to St. Domingo for provisions, and Bienville, with a small command, to visit the neighboring tribes, with whom he desired to cultivate friendly relations. Visiting the Callapissas upon the northern shore of Lake Pontchartrain, and the Pascagoulas upon the river of that name, among whom he distributed presents, and going by land from Mobile Point to Pensacola, to observe the movements of the Spaniards, he returned to Fort Biloxi; but in a few days set off in a boat, again to explore the Mississippi river. After having ascended it
1699 some distance, and while returning, he met, not far below
Aug. 16 the site of New Orleans, an English Captain named Bar, in charge of a vessel of sixteen guns, who asserted that there was another vessel of the same class belonging to him at the mouth of the river, and that his intention was to establish an

English colony upon the banks of the Mississippi. The ingenious Bienville turned him toward the Gulf, by telling him that France had already taken possession of the river in which he then was, and above there had occupied it with a fort and garrison, and, furthermore, that the Mississippi river lay considerably to the west.

In the meantime, Sauvolle received two Canadian missionaries, who had some time before established themselves among the Yazoos. These holy men dropped 1699
down the Mississippi, entered the lakes by the Bayou Manchac, and paid their brethren an unexpected but most pleasing visit. Upon a bluff on the Mississippi, the site of old Fort Adams, lived one of these men, Father Davion, who erected a cross in the open air, and kept his holy relics in the hollow of a large tree. Here he told the Indians who the true God was, and baptized those who were converted with the waters of the ancient Mississippi. Could a life so entirely solitary, and attended with so many dangers, have been influenced by any other motives than such as are prompted by the purest piety?

At length, the roar of distant cannon at sea announced the arrival of two large ships of war, commanded by Iberville and the Count Sugeres, direct from France, laden with provisions for the colony, and having on board thirty laborers and sixty Canadians, intended as military pioneers, with their commanders, St. Dennis and Malton, together with a person named Dec. 7
Le Sueur, who had acquired some celebrity in his voyage to Canada. They brought the pleasing intelligence that Sauvolle had been appointed Governor of Louisiana, and Bienville Lieutenant Governor. Boisbriant, who also came with the ships, was commissioned to take the command of Fort Biloxi.

Dreading the advance of the British, and determined to secure the banks of the Mississippi from their 1700
grasp, Iberville sailed, with fifty Canadians, to a point Jan. 15
eighteen leagues above the Balize, which had been se-

lected by the indefatigable young Bienville, who had arrived for that purpose a few days before, by way of Manchac, with some Bayagolas, who were acquainted with the inundations of the river. Here they immediately began the construction of a fort, and, after a short time, were joined by the aged Tonti, who came from Canada, down the Mississippi, with a few Frenchmen and Indians. This veteran pioneer was joyfully received by those who had so often heard of his intrepid and fearless adventures.

In the meantime Sauvolle wrote to the minister, regretting that he was not allowed to accompany Iberville upon the Mississippi, where he could have learned so much of the country, condemned the location at Biloxi as too low, sterile and sickly, and gave it as his opinion that the country offered no inducement to enterprise, except in the solitary article of hides. He
1700 closed his letter by expressing the hope that some mines of precious metals would be discovered. About this time Governor Roalli, of Pensacola, advanced to Ship Island with a man-of-war and some smaller vessels, for the purpose of expelling the French; but, deterred by Iberville's fleet, he hastened back, leaving only a proclamation protesting against the settlement of any portion of the coast, the whole breadth of which, he contended, belonged to His Catholic Majesty's Mexican possessions.

Taking with them the Chevalier Tonti, Iberville and Bienville left their new fort and ascended the Mississippi,
Mar. 11 visiting the different tribes upon its shores, and finally resting at the site of the present city of Natchez, where lived the Indians who bore that name, and whose manners and customs have already been described. Delighted with this place, and resolved to plant a settlement there, Iberville marked out a town, and called it Rosalie—the name of the Countess Pontchartrain. From this place the Chevalier Tonti went up the river, and Bienville and St. Dennis, with twenty-two Canadians, started to the west, by an overland route, to reconnoitre the Spanish settlements, while Iberville floated down the river to rejoin his fleet.

Returning from the west to Biloxi, Bienville was sent to take the command of the new establishment upon the Mississippi, and then Iberville once more spread the sails of his ships for beloved France. Meanwhile the colony languished; the earth was not cultivated, and, relying for supplies from St. Domingo, horrible famine and sickness reduced the number of inhabitants to one hundred and fifty souls! Sauvolle himself died, leaving the cares of the colony to the more redoubtable Bienville. The latter, deploring the condition of his people, and seeing the necessity of tilling the earth, in a despatch to the French government, urged them to send him laborers, rather than the vicious and the idle, who roamed the forests in search of mines and Indian mistresses. 1700 May 28 1701 Aug. 22

A delegation of Choctaws and Mobilians visited Fort Biloxi. and requested assistance in their war with the Chickasaws, These were succeeded by twenty other Mobilians, and the Chief of the Alabamas, all of whom were dismissed with presents and exhortations to remain at peace with each other. At this time, the Spaniards of Pensacola and the French colony were not only upon good terms, but of mutual assistance to each other; so much so that Bienville arrested eighteen Spanish deserters and sent them back to Don Martin, the Governor of Pensacola. Sept.

Iberville and his brother, Serigny, arriving at Pensacola, direct from France on board two men-of-war, despatched supplies to the colonists in smaller vessels, which were joyfully received, as a meagre portion of corn had for a long time barely kept them alive. Having received orders to break up the colonial establishment at Biloxi, and to remove it upon the Mobile, Bienville left only twenty soldiers at the fort, under Boisbriant, and sailed with his people to Dauphin Island, to which, as we have seen, they first gave the name of Massacre. Here he met his brother, Serigny, and a person named La Salle. The latter had been sent out to perform 1701 Dec. 18 1702

the duties of Marine Commissary. With forty sailors and some ship carpenters, Bienville began the construction of a warehouse on Dauphin Island. With a sufficient force of soldiers, artisans and laborers he then sailed up the bay of Mobile, and at the mouth of Dog river commenced the erection of a fort, a warehouse and other public buildings. This place received the name of Mobile, from the spacious bay upon which it was situated, which

1540 Oct. 18 was called after the tribe of Indians who had so resolutely fought De Soto upon the field of Maubila. The fort itself was long designated as Fort St. Louis de la Mobile.* Here was the seat of government for the space of nine years, when, in 1711, as we shall see, the French moved up to the mouth of Mobile river, where they founded the town of Mobile, which has since become the beautiful commercial emporium of the State of Alabama. A few days of activity and bustle had scarcely been passed at the new place, at the mouth of Dog river, before it was made sad by the meeting of Bienville and Iberville, who wept for the loss of Sauvolle while affectionately locked in each other's arms.

Iberville had passed with his ship-of-war, the Palmier, over the bar of Mobile point, finding at least twenty feet of

1702 Feb. 18 water. It was not long before La Salle and his family came up to Mobile, which now presented the appearance of a settlement, with houses and shelters. Bienville, anxious to obtain the friendship of all the tribes upon the Mobile river and its tributaries, and to institute friendly relations between the different savage nations themselves, had sent Tonti with a small command to the Choctaw and Chickasaw countries. They now returned, with seven Chiefs of those tribes. The

Feb. 31 Governor gave them handsome presents, and exhorted them to remain at peace with the French and with each

* In 1777 Bartram, being on a voyage from Mobile to Pearl river, in a French trading boat, touched at the mouth of Dog river, and saw there the ruins of old Fort St. Louis de la Mobile, where lay some iron cannon and some immense iron kettles, formerly used by the French for boiling tar into pitch.—Bartram's Travels, pp, 416-417.

other. Then Iberville and his retinue dropped down the bay of Mobile, went to Pensacola, and from thence sailed for France.

Mobile being now the seat of government, various delegations of Chiefs, Spaniards from Vera Cruz, and Canadians from the northern lakes and rivers, constantly repaired there to see Governor Bienville upon business. Among others, a delegation of eight Chiefs of the Alabamas arrived, whom his Excellency treated with kindness, and dissuaded from making war upon the Mobilians, Tomez and Chickasaws. Don Robles came with a letter from the Governor of Pensacola, requesting the loan of provisions for his famishing gar- June
risons, with which the generous Frenchman readily 1702
complied. Midshipman Becaucourt, commanding the colonial marine, made several trips to Vera Cruz and returned with provisions, the King of Spain having granted the French free access to his colonial ports. Father Davion, the missionary upon the Mississippi, and Father Liomoge, a Jesuit, came by way of the Bayou Manchac, and reported that one of their companions and four other Frenchmen had been killed Summer
by the Indians above the Yazoo river. News also reached Bienville, that St. Dennis, at the head of the Canadian scouts, had wantonly made war upon and killed some Indians with whom they were at peace, for the purpose of obtaining slaves. Bienville, grieved at his conduct, endeavored, unsuccessfully, to have the slaves restored to their people. Governor Martin, of Pensacola, came to Mobile, with the information that France and Spain had gone to war with England, and his request to be furnished with arms and ammunition was granted by Bienville. He was succeeded by two Spanish officers from St. Augustine, with a letter from Serda, Gover- Autumn
nor of that place, requesting military supplies, as he had been blockaded by the English and Indians. Bienville sent to his assistance a liberal supply of powder and ball.

The English of Carolina began to disturb the French 1702

colonies, by sending emissaries among the Muscogees and Alabamas. In a very short time two artful Alabamas came down the river, to decoy the French into the country.

1703 Having assured the Governor that their homes abounded in corn, which would be furnished at the most reasonable price, the latter forthwith dispatched Labrie, with four Canadians in canoes, to procure some. They had not pro-

May 3 ceeded far, before they were all killed except one of the Canadians, who returned to Mobile with his arm nearly severed by a blow which he received from an axe. To avenge this outrage, Bienville began the ascent of the Mobile in seven canoes, in which were forty soldiers and Canadians. In fourteen days he arrived in the vicinity of the Alabamas,

Dec. 23 upon the river of that name, where he discovered ten canoes without occupants, but saw smoke floating upon the air and rising over the forest trees and cane, upon the bluff. St. Dennis and Tonti advised him not to make the attack until night, to which he assented, contrary to his better judgment. The night was very dark, and the path which led to the Indian camp was full of weeds and briars. However, an engagement ensued, in which three Frenchmen were slain, and

1704 the savages dispersed. Capturing the canoes, which

Jan. 11 were laden with provisions, Bienville returned to Mobile. But he did not relax in his efforts to be revenged, for he presently engaged parties of Chickasaws and Choctaws to pursue the Alabamas, who brought some of their scalps to Mobile, for which they received rewards.*

An official dispatch represented the following to be the condition of the feeble colony of Louisiana at this period:

1704 "180 men capable of bearing arms.

Apr. 30 2 French families, with three little girls and seven little boys.

* Journal Historique de l'Etablissement des Francais a la Louisiane, par Bernard de la Harpe, pp. 35-83.

6 young Indian boys, slaves, from fifteen to twenty years of age.

A little of the territory around Fort Louis (Mobile) has been cultivated.

80 wooden houses, of one story high, covered with palm leaves and straw.

9 oxen, five of which belonged to the King.

14 cows.

4 bulls, one of which belonged to the King.

6 calves.

100 hogs.

3 kids.

400 hens."

This account did not, of course, include the officers.

The colonists, suffering from severe famine, were temporarily relieved by the Governor of Pensacola, but again became destitute of provisions; and, while forced to disperse themselves along the coast, procuring subsistence upon fish and oysters, a vessel of war from France, commanded by Chateaugne, another brother of Bienville, happily re-established abundance among them. This vessel was succeeded by the Pelican, another man-of-war, laden with provisions, and having on board seventy-five soldiers intended for the various posts, La Vente, of the foreign mission, sent as rector by the Bishop of Quebec, four Priests, and four Sisters of Charity, together with four families of laborers. But what created more novelty and excitement than all the rest of the arrivals, were twenty-three girls, whom Bienville was informed, by the Minister's despatch, were all of spotless chastity, pious and industrious, and that his Majesty had enjoined upon the Bishop of Quebec to send no females to Mobile who did not bear characters as irreproachable as these. He was instructed to have them married to Canadians and others, who were competent to support them. Only a few days rolled round, before they all found husbands. These

July 24

1704

July 24

Aug.

were the first marriages which were solemnized in old Mobile, or, indeed, upon any part of the soil of Alabama, by Christian marital rites.*

But sickness and disasters soon dispelled the joy which these arrivals had occasioned. Half the crew of the Pelican died. Tonti and Levassuer, invaluable officers—Father Dange,
Sept. a Jesuit—and thirty of the soldiers lately arrived, soon followed them to the grave. The fort and out-houses at Pensacola were wrapped in flames. Lambert, with his Canadians, driven from the post of Washita by the Indians, had fled to Mobile, where the Chicasaws and Choctaws had began a war with each other, which was exceedingly embarrassing to Bienville. More than seventy of the former, of both sexes, being in Mobile, and imploring Bienville to have them safely conducted to their nation, the route to which lay over the country of their
1704 enemies, he despatched twenty Canadians, under Bois-
Dec. briant, with them. Arriving at one of the Choctaw towns, the inhabitants assembled in great numbers to put them to death, but Boisbriant interposing, they fell upon a stratagem to accomplish their purposes. Pretending that they only desired to rebuke the Chickasaws for their conduct, while the Chief was accordingly making his speech to them, he let a feather fall, which was the signal for attack. The Chick-
1705 asaw warriors were all instantly put to death, and the
Feb. women and children reserved for slaves. Boisbriant was accidentally wounded by a ball, which was exceedingly regretted by the Choctaws, three hundred of whom carried him on a litter to Mobile, in mournful procession. Bienville was shocked and mortified at the ruthless massacre, and saw at a glance, that the Chickasaws would suspect him of decoying these unhappy people there to meet the fate which they received.

* "The first child born in the colony, and, consequently, the first 'Creole,' was named Claude Jousset, and was the son of a Canadian who carried on a small trading business at Mobile."—Louisiana, its Colonial History and Romance, by Charles Gayarre. New York, 1851. pp. 464-465.

When Boisbriant recovered from his wound, he was despatched up the Alabama river, with sixty Canadians, to fight the Alabamas and Muscogees. After a long absence he returned with only two scalps and an Indian slave. In 1706
the meanwhile the Chickasaws and Choctaws continued Feb.
their war, which raged with the most savage ferocity.
The French unavoidably became implicated in these feuds. Being considered the exclusive friends of the Choctaws, on account of their proximity, they were often suddenly slain by skulking Chickasaws. Iberville wrote to the Minister that famine again prevailed in the unhappy colony of Louisiana; that the Spaniards could afford them but little corn, which the men only had become accustomed to eat, the Parisian women eschewing
it, and blaming the Bishop for not telling them what 1706
they had to encounter in the "promised land"; that
fifty men had come to make a settlement at Mobile from the Upper Mississippi; and that the colonists would not unite to resist the savages and combat famine, but quarrelled among themselves. At this period, Commissary General La Salle had commenced a series of vindictive and unprincipled assaults
upon the character of Bienville, in his despatches to the Sept. 7
Court. In one of these he said that "Iberville, Bienville
and Chateaugne, the three brothers, are guilty of all kinds of malpractices, and are extortioners and knaves, who waste the property of his Majesty." Father La Vente, the rector of Mobile, a man of bad temper and sordid feelings, and unpopular with the priests over whom he was placed, became a willing coadjutor of La Salle in his indiscriminate abuse of the
Governor. He, too, wrote letters to the Court, the bur- Oct.
den of which was the corruption of Bienville's colonial
government. He essayed to persuade the inhabitants that their sufferings were owing alone to the conduct of their Governor, who too tardily ordered supplies from France. He attempted to buy up the sick soldiers whom he visited by giving them (as his

own) money which had been placed in his hands for charitable purposes. The Lady Superior also vented her spleen against Bienville, by writing to the Minister that Boisbriant had intended to have *married* her, but had been prevented by the Governor. Hence, she adds, "Bienville does not possess the qualities necessary for a Governor."

The colonists continued to lead unpleasant lives; the Muscogees and Alabamas threatened their existence; their
1706 hearts were troubled with the Chickasaw and Choctaw
Dec. war; while the quarrels among the authorities continued to increase. Father Gravier, a Jesuit, took up the cudgels for Bienville, and defended him in a letter which he addressed to the Minister. But Bienville, disdaining these
1707 cabals, continued to discharge his duty faithfully to the
Feb. 27 government, as far as it could be done with his means and ability, and in his despatches refrained from alluding to the animosities of the commissary and rector, except casually to mention that he had encountered much opposition from the former. Iberville, the indefatigable founder of Louisiana and the devoted friend of the colonists, died of yellow fever at Havana, where he had touched with his fleet while on his way to attack Charleston and Jamaica. This was a severe blow, added to the general suffering of the colony, and seri-
Jan. 1 ously retarded its advance. About the same time, Berguier, Grand Vicar of the Lord of Quebec, came from the Illinois country to Mobile, and reported that St. Come, a missionary among the Natchez, with three other Frenchmen, had been murdered, while descending the Mississippi, by the Chaumachas. This induced Bienville to send presents to all the nations of the Lower Mississippi, which would cause them to make war upon those savages. The English from Carolina, aided by troops from Great Britain, had continued to advance
1706 upon the Spanish settlements of the Floridas, assisted by large bands of Muscogee Indians, and had overrun

the greater portion of Middle and East Florida, laying waste the Spanish settlements, and forcing the inhabitants and friendly Indians almost to abandon the country. News reached Bienville that they had besieged the fort of Pensacola, which had recently been rebuilt, he advanced from Mobile with 1707
one hundred and twenty Canadians; but, on reaching Nov. 24
that place, he found that the thirteen Englishmen and three hundred and fifty Muscogees, who for two days had lain around the fort to attack it, becoming destitute of provisions, had already retired.

In the meanwhile, Bienville, in a despatch to the Minister, urged the necessity of sending out more colonial supplies, as the inhabitants had not yet made plantations ample enough from which to derive a support. He stated that the lands were fertile up the Mobile River, but too unhealthy during the period of cultivating the crops. The want of negroes, horses and oxen also contributed its share in embarrassing the feeble efforts of the Louisiana planter, and failures were often made. He informed the Minister, further, that he had intended establishing a fort upon the "Tombecbe," in the vicinity of the Chickasaws, in order to secure the friendship of those Indians, who were the most warlike of all, and who were daily tampered with by the English of Carolina, but that the distance to that point, and the general distress of the colony, had prevented it; that all the Indians were treacherous, and often assassinated the French, for whose strength they had begun to entertain a most contemptible opinion; that three-fourths of the soldiers were too young to prosecute a war, and constantly deserted, while the Canadians, whom he had de- 1707
clined to discharge, contrary to the orders of Begar, Intendant of Rochefort, were the sole pillars of the colony. In consequence of these things, he had been compelled to abandon the establishment upon the Mississippi. In addition, he stated that La Salle had refused to pay the colonists their just dues, and had

withheld payment from those who had been sent to a distance upon important duties.

The continued reports of the malpractices of Bienville, which had reached the ears of the Minister, induced the French government to order his arrest. DeMuys was appointed Gov-
July 23 ernor of Louisiana, "to prove the facts charged against this person, to arrest him if they were true, and to send him a prisoner to France." Thus the unjust and singular position was assumed, of leaving to Bienville's *successor* to decide whether he was guilty or innocent! In the meantime, Bienville, hearing of his disgrace at Court, demanded to be dismissed from his post, to enable him to return to France. This startled the inhabitants of Mobile, who were warmly attached to him, and who immediately petitioned the government that, if Bienville's request should be allowed, that he should immediately be sent back to them as their Governor. But DeMuys, his successor and his judge, died at Havana on his passage out. Diron D'Artaguette was appointed Commissary General in the place of the growling La Salle, whom the government had also removed. D'Artaguette, more fortunate than his companion, had reached Mobile in safety, and was directed to investigate the charges against Bienville, without letting him know what they were. However, fortunately for the cause of justice, and perhaps the future wel-
1708 fare of the colony, D'Artaguette, in the report of his in-
Feb. 26 vestigations to the Minister, was enabled to close by saying, that "all the accusations brought against Bienville were most miserable calumnies." Subjoined to this statement was the attestation of Boisbriant, now Major of the fort at Mobile. But the disappointed and vindictive La Salle renewed his accusations, in which he assured the Minister that an understanding existed between Bienville and the new Commissary, and that the report of the latter was not to be believed. At the same time he denounced Barrot, the surgeon of the colony, as "an

ignorant man—a drunkard and a rogue, who sold, for his own profit, the medicines belonging to the king."

The following is a statement of the condition of the colony of Louisiana at this period: 1708 Aug.

GARRISON.

14 superior officers, comprising a midshipman attending on the commandant.

76 soldiers, comprising four military officers.

13 sailors, comprising four naval officers.

2 Canadians, serving as clerks in the warehouses, by order of Bienville.

1 superintendent of the warehouses.

3 priests, comprising one rector.

6 workmen.

1 Canadian, serving as interpreter.

6 cabin boys, learning the Indian language, and intended to serve by land and sea as workmen.

INHABITANTS.

24 inhabitants who have no grants of land, which prevents the majority from working plantations.

28 women. 1708

25 children. Aug.

80 slaves, men and women, of various Indian nations.

157

TOTAL.

279, of whom six are sick.

In addition to these there are more than 60 Canadians who live in the Indian villages on the Mississippi, without the permission of the Governor, and who destroy, by their evil and lib-

ertine life with the Indian women, all that the missionaries and others have instructed them in the mysteries of religion.

ANIMALS.

50 cows.
40 calves.
4 bulls.
8 oxen, four of which belong to the King.
1400 hogs and sows.
2000 hens, or thereabouts.

In consequence of the death of the recently appointed Governor of Louisiana, and the complete overthrow of the charges brought against the old one, the French government permitted the latter to continue at his responsible and thankless post. Knowing that the colony could not prosper unless the earth was cultivated, Governor Bienville endeavored in vain to make the whites under him labor in the fields. On the other hand, the savages, whom the French had endeavored to enslave,
1708 would escape to their native woods, at the slightest ap-
Oct. 12 pearance of coercion. In a despatch to the Minister, Bienville recommended that the colonists be allowed to send Indians to the West India Islands, and there to exchange them for negroes, asserting that these Islanders would give two Africans for three savages. His proposition was laid before M. Robert, one of the heads of the Bureau of the Minister
Nov. 28 of Marine, who pronounced against it, upon the ground that the inhabitants of the West Indies would not part with their good negroes, and that the only way to obtain such was by purchasing from Guinea. Another idea of Bienville's seemed still more unreasonable. He had given orders to watch several inhabitants of Mobile, to prevent them from leaving the country. As they had "amassed considerable property in the colony, by keeping public-house, it was but just," said he to the Minister, "to compel them to remain."

Although discharged from office, La Salle, far from remaining quiet, continued to complain of the administration of the colony. He urged the Minister to send thirty females to Mobile, to prevent, by marriage, the debauchery which was committed with Indian women. He said that such an importation would serve to keep at home a number of Canadians who roamed the country in search of female slaves. He agreed in opinion with Bienville that negroes were indispensable to the prosperity of the colony; and in this he was right, for experience has proved that neither South Carolina, Louisiana, nor any other Southern State, with such low, rich lands, and with a humid atmosphere so destructive to the constitutions of the whites, could ever have been successfully brought into cultivation without African labor. 1709 May 12

Commissary D'Artaguette, visiting the country lying between Lake Pontchartrain and the Mississippi river, now a portion of New Orleans, found there seven Frenchmen, who had each planted an acre of Indian corn, brought from the Illinois, and which grew most luxuriantly. He wrote to the Minister, as Iberville and Bienville had often done before, urging the establishment of colonies upon that river, and for their protection against the floods, the erection of embankments along the margin. 1709

Although LaSalle had died at Mobile early in the year 1710, a short time after the death of his second wife, who, like the first, had been reared in the hospitals, yet Bienville failed not to find those who were equally willing to comment, in the most illiberal manner, upon his administration. Marigny, an officer of the garrison, in a despatch to the Minister, accused him with disregarding the interests of the colony. La Vente, the curate, who appeared officiously desirous to attend to the temporal as well as the spiritual affairs of Louisiana, also abused him without measure, attributing to him every misfortune which attended the inhabitants of Mobile. He assured the 1710

Minister, that if the permission of the government could be obtained, they had determined to form a colony upon Dau-
1710 phin Island, where there were twenty fortified houses, for the purpose of catching fish, and being more convenient to the supplies which might be sent to them from Pensacola and France. Under these repeated assaults, Bienville lost the dignity and patience which had formerly characterized his conduct, and now retorted upon his adversaries with considerable acrimony. In one of his despatches, he said, that "the curate, La Vente, endeavored to excite everybody against him;" that the curate was "not ashamed to keep an open shop and sell like an avaricious Jew." Verily, this father must have been a man who possessed too much malignity, avarice and bad temper, to have been a successful missionary in the holy cause in which he was ostensibly engaged.

December Thus the year 1710 closed with such controversies, while Bienville had been obliged to distribute his men among the Indian towns to procure something to eat.* How unfortunate that the colonists, like mere children, should have depended upon the mother country for everything which went into their mouths, when moderate industry, bestowed higher up the Tombigby and Alabama rivers, upon the more elevated and less sickly lands, would have ensured them an abundance.

* Histoire de la Louisiane, par Charles Gayarre, vol. 1, pp. 78-91.

CHAPTER IX.

The Colony of Louisiana Granted to Crozat.

The high floods having inundated the settlements around Fort St. Louis de la Mobile, Bienville determined to place his people upon more elevated ground. All the inhabitants, except the garrison of the fort, removed upon the Mobile river, where, upon the site of the present beautiful and wealthy commercial emporium of Alabama, they established themselves. Here Bienville built a new wooden fort, which, in a few years, was destroyed to give place to an extensive fortress of brick, called, in French times, Fort Conde, and in English and Spanish times, Fort Charlotte. The seat of government was permanently fixed here, and the leading characters of the colony made Mobile their headquarters. Only a small garrison was left at the old settlement at the mouth of the Dog river, which, however, continued to guard that point for several years after this period.

1711 March

The Chickasaws having again engaged in a war with the Choctaws, at the instance of the English, and thirty of the former tribe being at Mobile at the time, they implored Bienville to have them safely conducted home, through the country of their enemies. Desiring to acquire the confidence of the Chickasaws by acts of kindness that would induce them to break up their alliance with the Carolinians, Bienville readily granted their request, and despatched his brother, Chateaugne, with thirty soldiers, to escort them. He was successful in his mission, and returned to Mobile without having met any serious adventures.

The colony of Louisiana still remained in a precarious situ-

ation. It is true, the inhabitants had to some extent begun the cultivation of tobacco, the first samples of which were
1711 supposed to be superior to the quality raised in Vir-
Oct. 27 ginia. Wheat came up most luxuriantly, but the damp atmosphere destroyed it when it commenced maturing. Notwithstanding the long war which had existed between France and England, no attacks of the enemy had been directed against any part of the Louisiana colony, until about this time, when a pirate ship from Jamaica disembarked on Dauphin Island, and plundered the inhabitants of nearly all which they possessed. Not long afterwards, this first and last act of hostility during the present war, was succeeded by the arrival of a ship which came upon a more agreeable mission. She brought large sup-
1711 plies for the colony, and when she hoisted her sails to return to France, D'Artaguette, the commissary general, an accomplished man, who well understood his business, became a passenger on board of her, to the regret of all the inhabitants, who ardently desired him to remain longer with them.

The following is a statement of the colonial disbursements of the year 1711:

PAYMENTS.

To 12 workmen on the fortification	4,480	*livres.*
" 23 naval officers, soldiers and cabin boys	4,572	
" superior officers	19,988	
" medicine chest	506	
" wax candles in the chapel	270	
" presents to the Indians	4,000	
maintenance of military companies	27,688	
	61,504	*livres.*

D'Artaguette, the colonial commissary, had a prosperous voyage to France, and arrived there "at the time," to use the eloquent language of Gayarre, "when the star of Louis XIV.,

which had shed such brilliant glory around for half a century, was almost extinguished, and the doors of the old cathedral of St. Dennis had already opened in expectation of receiving the great monarch, whom age and misfortune urged rapidly to the tomb." The country, too, over which he had so long reigned, was then groaning under the effects of the long, bloody and expensive wars which he had waged. The report which D'Artaguette now made of the unhappy condition of the colony of Louisiana, induced the French Government to number that fruitless and extravagant bantling among its other misfortunes. It determined to hand the colony over to the care of a company, or to some rich merchant, with a grant of its exclusive commerce and other important privileges. Accordingly, an opulent merchant, named Antoine Crozat, entered into a contract with the King of France. The King granted to him for the term of fifteen years, the exclusive commerce of all the country known as the colony of Louisiana, embracing the country upon the Alabama and Tombigby, with their various tributary streams; of all the islands at or near their entrance to the sea; of all the lakes, rivers and islands connected with the lakes Pontchartrain, Mauripas, Borne, etc.; of all the country upon the Mississippi and its numerous tributaries, from the sea as high up as the Illinois river, together with that of Texas. He also ceded to him "*forever*" all the lands which he could establish himself upon, all the manufactures which he could put into operation, and all the structures which he should erect. The King also granted to him the proceeds of all the mines which he might find and work, and agreed to appropriate fifty thousand livres annually toward the payment of his officers and troops in Louisiana. 1712 Sept. 14

For all these privileges, Crozat obligated, on his part, to appropriate one-fourth of the proceeds of the mines of precious metals to the King's use; to forfeit the lands which were granted to him "*forever*," if the improvements or manufactures which he

placed upon them should be abandoned by him or should cease to exist; to send a vessel annually to Guinea for slaves for the colony, and to send every year two ships from France,
Sept. 14 with a certain number of emigrants to Louisiana; and, at the expiration of nine years, to pay the salaries of the King's officers in the colony during the remainder of his time, with the privilege of nominating those officers for his majesty's appointment.

All this country was to be a dependency upon the government of New France. The ordinances and usages of the Provost and Viscount of Paris were to rule the colony, in connection with a council similar to that which then existed in St. Domingo.

About the time that France thus abandoned our soil and the few white inhabitants upon it, to the wealthy Parisian merchant, the King, by the treaty of Utrecht, ceded to England the country of Nova Scotia, with its ancient boundaries.

The population of Louisiana, now turned over to Crozat, consisted of twenty-eight families, twenty negroes, seventy-
1712 five Canadians, and two companies of infantry of fifty
Sept. 14 men each, the whole numbering three hundred and twenty-four souls. They were scattered over the colony, and separated by large rivers and expansive lakes, protected by only six forts of miserable construction, built of stakes, trees and earth, and portions of them covered with palm leaves. These forts were situated as follows: one upon the Mississippi, one upon Ship Island, one upon Dauphin Island, one at Biloxi, one at the old and the other at the new settlement of Mobile.

At length a vessel of fifty guns disembarked at Dauphin Island the officers intended for the government of Louis-
1713 iana under Crozat's charter. Among them were Lamotte
May 17 Cadillac, the new Governor; Duclos, the Commissary General; Lebas, the Comptroller; and Dirigoin and Laloire de Ursins, directors of the affairs of Crozat in the colony. Governor Cadillac had served with distinction in the wars of

Canada, and brought with him to the colony of Louisiana his daughter, whom he attempted, as we shall see, to marry to Bienville. He was a man of poor judgment, of weak feelings, and much selfishness. To interest him in the deepest manner, in accomplishing his various schemes of colonial aggrandizement, Crozat had promised him a portion of his profits. But Cadillac, in his first despatch to the Minister, began to complain of everybody and everything appertaining to the colony; and 1713
all his other documents to that high functionary were, May 17
likewise, filled with carping epithets, which would only emanate from a selfish and childish mind like his. Dauphin Island, which, he said, had been represented to him as a terrestrial paradise, he assured the Minister, was a poor and miserable spot, supporting but a few improvements, with a few fig trees and sapless vines of the grape and lemon. Wheat did not grow upon the whole continent, having been abandoned upon the borders of Lake Pontchartrain and at Natchez, where one Larigne had endeavored to raise it. Other colonial officers, also, July 15
hastened to complain. Duclos wrote to the Minister that twelve girls had lately arrived from France, who were too ugly and badly formed to secure the affections of the men, and that but two of them had yet found husbands. He was afraid that the other ten would remain on hand a long time. He thought proper to suggest that those who sent girls to the colony in future should attach more importance to beauty than to virtue, as the Canadians were not scrupulous as to the lives which their spouses may have formerly led. But if they were only to be offered girls as ugly as these they would rather attach themselves to Indian females, particularly in the Illinois country, where the Jesuit priests sanctioned such alliances by the marital ceremony.

Duclos again wrote to the Minister, accusing Cadillac with having appropriated the presents intended for the Indians, to his own use, and recommended that the Gov- 1712
ernor should, in future, be required to confer with Bien- Oct. 25

ville in relation to the distribution of these presents; the latter, he remarked, having for so many years, by justice, honor and good advice, so happily conciliated the different tribes.

On the same day Cadillac wrote to the Minister, the
Oct. 25 Count Pontchartrain, that the inhabitants knew nothing of the culture of silk, tobacco and indigo, but confined their attention to the production of Indian corn and vegetables. That the commerce of the colony consisted merely in skins of deer, bear, and other animals and lumber. That the *coureurs de bois* hunted for peltry and slaves, which they brought to Mobile and sold, and that the peltry was then re-sold, together with vegetables and poultry, to the Spaniards at Pensacola, or to ships which touched upon the coast, while the Indian slaves were employed to saw out lumber and till the earth. But the very next day Cadillac made another despatch, in which he pronounced the country to be good for nothing, and the inhabitants "a mass of rapscallions from Canada, a cut-throat set, without subordination, with no respect for religion, and abandoned in vice with Indian women, whom they prefer to French girls." He complained that upon arriving at Mobile he found the garrison dispersed in the woods and Indian villages, where they went in search of bread; that Bienville, his brother Chateaugne, and their cousin Boisbriant, the Major of Mobile, came to the colony too young to know how to drill soldiers, and had not since learned any thing of proper discipline; and that the soldiers all had Indian wives who cooked for them and waited upon them—all of which he pronounced to be intolerable. He believed that the colony presented but two objects of commerce—trade with the Spaniards of Mexico and the working of precious mines, if the lat-
1713 ter could be discovered; but that, unfortunately, Dirigion, one of Crozat's directors, was a man of no capacity, while Lebas, the comptroller, was extremely dissipated. He desired more tradespeople, sailors, Canadians and artizans to be sent out, and a church to be erected at Mobile. But the latter

the inhabitants would be delighted not to have. Indeed, a majority of the gentlemen, priests and missionaries, had not taken sacrament for eight years, the soldiers had not kept Palm Sunday, but followed the example of Bienville and his adherents; that the sea captain who brought out the twelve girls had seduced more than half of them upon the passage, which was the cause of their not having married respectable persons in the colony, and he contended that it was best, under the circumstances, that the *soldiers* should be allowed to marry them, for fear that their poverty would drive them to prostitution. In relation to the council which was to co-operate in the government of the colony, Cadillac said that it had not convened for the want of suitable members. To this string of complaints were added many others in a subsequent despatch, among which were the following: That Bienville had governed the colony for years without having discovered any mines, which he (Cadillac) could have done in a short time; that Duclos 1714 was guilty of great impudence and presumption in Feb. 20 censuring his official acts; that the French government was entirely too lenient with its colonial officers and soldiers, who threatened to revolt and burn up Crozat's establishment; and libertinism was carried to such an extent, that even the boys had Indian mistresses! In again alluding to the council, he stated that Duclos had nominated for Attorney-General a storekeeper; for Councillor, the chief surgeon; for Secretary, Doorkeeper and Notary, one Roquet, a low soldier; and that the Assembly, which for the present was to meet at his house, wanted nothing but the bonnet and robe to make it perfect! He said that if the Minister did not crush the cabals formed against him by Bienville and his clan, who kept up an intercourse with the inhabitants of Pensacola, to whom they sold and from whom they bought, that Crozat would be compelled to abandon his colonial project. He denied that he had withheld grants of land to the inhabitants, but admitted that his requirement that such grants

as he had given should be subject to the ratification of the King, gave great dissatisfaction. He concluded this remarkable despatch with the assertion that none of the lands were worth granting!

In the meantime, a ship had arrived from the mother country with a large supply of provisions and considerable merchandize. She was followed by the Louisiana, owned by Crozat, also laden with provisions for the colony. Delegations of Chiefs of different tribes visited Mobile and smoked the pipe with Cadillac and Bienville, who received them with friendship,
1714 gratified them with presents, and dismissed them under pledges that they would abandon the interests of the English of Carolina and Virginia. But even after this, twelve Englishmen came among the Choctaws with a large number of Creeks or Muscogees, and were graciously received by the inhabitants of all save two towns, who fortified themselves, and while besieged by the Creeks, one night made their escape to Cadillac at Mobile.*

During the reign of Charles I. of England, the re-
1630 gion south of the Chesapeake Bay was granted by that
1663 monarch to Sir Robert Heath, but the projected colony was neglected, and the grant was forfeited. Charles II. decreed that this territory should assume the name of Carolina, and embrace the region from Albemarle Sound southward to the River St. Johns and westward to the Pacific, forming a province vast in extent, which was conveyed to eight joint proprietors. In the meantime some adventurers from New England had planted a little colony at the mouth of the Cape Fear river. From that time emigrants gradually settled upon the coast now
1670 known as that of North Carolina, and extended their enterprises to South Carolina, where they formed a settlement several miles above the mouths of the Ashley and Cooper

* Historie de la Louisiane, par Charles Gayarre, vol. 1, pp. 91-112. Journal Historique de l'Etablissement des Francais a la Louisiane, par Bernard de la Harpe, 78-115.

rivers, and at length established themselves upon the site of the present city of Charleston.*

From the time that South Carolina was thus colonized, down to the period of 1714, to which we have brought the history of the French colony of Louisiana, forty-four years had passed. During much of that time, Carolina and Virginia traders had penetrated portions of the great Muscogee nation, which extended from the Savannah nearly to the Warrior, in Alabama. They also carried their merchandise further west into the heart of the Chickasaw nation, among whom they established trading shops, in defiance of the French settlements upon the Mobile. Notwithstanding that the French were the first, since the invasion of De Soto, to discover and occupy the country where the Tombigby and Alabama lose themselves in the sea—and although the indefatigable Bienville had explored those rivers to their highest navigable points, at a very early period, freely interchanging friendly assurances with the Chickasaws living upon the one, and the Muscogees and Alabamas upon the other—yet the grasping English government attempted, through its enterprising traders and special emissaries, to occupy this region, and to induce the inhabitants to expel the French, not only from the head waters of those streams, but from their very mouths. These fearless British traders conveyed, upon the backs of pack-horses, such goods as suited these Indians, from distant Charleston to the remote Chickasaw nation, over creeks without bridges, rivers without ferries, and woods pathless and pregnant with many dangers. They did not, however, establish any permanent trading shops upon the Coosa, Tallapoosa or Alabama, at the period under review, but occasionally traded with the Indians upon those streams, dwelling in their towns no

1680

1700 to 1714

* Hildreth's History of the United States, vol. 2, pp. 25-36. Coxe's Carolana, 2; London, 1741. Steven's History of Georgia, vol. 1, pp. 140, 141, 58, 59. Simms' History of South Carolina, pp. 56-57. Carroll's Historical Collections of South Carolina, vol. 1, pp. 42-52. Ramsay's History of South Carolina, vol. 1, pp. 2-3. Hewett's History of South Carolina.

longer than sufficed to dispose of their goods, and receive, in return, valuable peltries, which they conveyed back to Charleston. But their intercourse with these tribes was vastly pernicious to the French below, and to the Spaniards inhabiting the provinces of Florida. The Creeks, in conjunction with their British allies, invaded the latter provinces, as we have already seen.

1702 to 1714 Bienville had repeatedly suggested to the French government the necessity of establishing a fort and trading post upon the Alabama river, in the immediate stronghold of the powerful Creeks, to counteract the influence of the Carolinians; but a war ensued between him and the Creeks, with whom he had an engagement, as we have seen, and against whom he found it imperative, for the preservation of his colony, to incite the Choctaws and other tribes. About the commencement of the year 1714, and when Crozat's charter had been in operation for near a twelve-month, Bienville, who was still retained high in authority as royal lieutenant, only second to the Governor, was most fortunate in making peace with the Creeks. Having obtained from them their consent for the erection of a fort high up in their country, he was authorized by the colonial council at Mobile to immediately establish it. Crozat's directors deemed the location a most suitable one for the advancement of his commerce, besides the barrier it would interpose to the enemies of that commerce.

Accordingly Bienville embarked at Mobile, with eight iron cannon, many fire arms, a large supply of ammunition, merchandise suitable for the Indians, and a liberal supply of provisions, on board two small sailing vessels. With these vessels also went a number of canoes of various descriptions. The expedition was composed of soldiers, Canadians, and Mobile and Choctaw Indians.

1714 Apr. 4 Bienville sailed up the Mobile river to the confluence of the Tombigby and Alabama. Here, passing with his singular fleet into the latter stream, he slowly ascended it. After a long and tedious voyage, he arrived at one

of the Alabama villages, not far above the site of the modern town of Selma. Continuing the voyage up the river, he successively passed the towns of Autauga,* Powacte and Ecuncharte;† and at length moored his boats at the beautiful Indian town of Coosawda. These towns were inhabited by the Alabamas, who, as we have seen, were members of the great Creek nation, which was composed of several different tribes, whom they had conquered and incorporated into their confederacy. Many of these people joined the fleet on its passage up the Alabama, and joyfully greeted Bienville, who was popular with all the savages, and who, with wonderful facility, acquired a perfect knowledge of their different dialects. He was met at Coosawda by some of the most prominent Chiefs; and here, leaving his fleet, he embarked in a canoe, and explored the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers for several miles up. He then resolved to erect his fort at the town of Tuskegee, which was then situated on the east bank of the Coosa, four miles above the junction of that stream with the Tallapoosa. Bienville displayed much judgment in the selection of this place. It was at the head of a peninsula formed by the windings of these rivers, which here approached within six hundred yards of each other; after which they diverged considerably before they finally came together. It was in the neighborhorhood of some of the most populous towns, the inhabitants of which could easily bring down to the fort their articles of commerce by either river. Returning to Coosawda, Bienville now advanced his fleet from thence to the junction, where, entering the Coosa, he arrived at Tuskegee, where the voyage terminated. The crew left the boats, ascended the bluff, formed themselves in religious order, and surrounded a cross which had been hastily constructed. Two priests, who accompanied the expedition, chanted praises to the Most High, and went through other solemn ceremonies, in presence of a number of the natives, who contemplated the scene with

June 21

1714
June 22

* Now the site of Washington. † Now the site of Montgomery.

calmness and respect, and who preserved the most profound silence. With the assistance of the natives, Bienville began the erection of a wooden fort with four bastions, in each one of which he mounted two of the cannon. As the history of these cannon is rather singular, and may interest some of our readers, we must be allowed to digress a little from the main narrative, by a brief reference to it. These cannon remained upon the entrenchments of Fort Toulouse from 1714 to 1763. Then the French commandant spiked them, broke off the trunions, evacuated the fort, and left the cannon there in that situation. The English, who, in 1763, succeeded to the possession of this country, threw a garrison into Fort Toulouse, but in a very short time also evacuated it and it fell into rapid decay; but still the French cannon remained there. A few years after Col. Hawkins had been stationed among the Creeks, as their agent, he induced the government, as a means of encouraging agriculture, to send some blacksmiths to the nation. One of these men succeeded in filing away the spikes from two of the cannon. These the Indians used to fire with powder for amusement. Afterwards, the army of Jackson occupied the site of the old fort. In due time they marched away, and still these French pieces remained there.

Finally, the town of Montgomery, now our capital, began to be settled, and the inhabitants went up to old Fort Toulouse, then Fort Jackson, and brought down two of these cannon, which they fired at 4th of July festivals, and upon other extraordinary occasions. When it was known that John Quincy Adams had been elected President of the United States, his warm friends in Montgomery determined to make the forests resound with the noise of powder. One of the cannon was over-charged, and when touched off by Ebenezer Pond, burst into pieces and mangled that gentleman in such a horrid manner, that he was a long time recovering. The breech of the other cannon was, some years afterwards, burst off by heavy charges, and the portion which remains now stands at Pollard's corner in Montgomery, being there planted in

the ground, the muzzle up, for the purpose of protecting the corner of the sidewalk. About the year 1820, another of these cannon was carried to the town of Washington, then county seat of Autauga, where the inhabitants used to fire it upon the celebration of the 4th July, and whenever a steamboat arrived, but at length it was also burst, by a party rejoicing one night at the result of a county election. Another of these old French pieces was carried to Wetumpka when that town was first established, and was fired upon like occasions. It is now at Rockford, in Coosa county, in the possession of the same Ebenezer Pond who was so badly wounded at Montgomery by the explosion of one of its mates. What became of the other four cannon we do not know, but have understood that they, together with a fine brass piece, are in the river opposite Fort Jackson.

But to return to Bienville and his romantic expedition. Around the stockading the governor cut entrenchments, and one hundred years afterwards, Jackson placed an American fort upon the ruins, which assumed his name. Bienville occupied the summer and fall in completing the fort and out-houses, and in exploring the surrounding country. He visited Tookabatcha, upon the Tallapoosa, and extended his journey among the Lower Muscogees, upon the Chattahoochee—even crossing that river, and conferring with the Chiefs in the towns of Coweta and Cusseta, within the present limits of Georgia. Upon all these dangerous excursions he was accompanied by only a few faithful Canadians, and always performed his journeys on foot. Was not this whole expedition most interesting—nay, romantic? Here was the former Governor of Louisiana, and now the Lieutenant Governor, in the centre of Alabama, in the deepest depths of her forests, among people with whom he had been at war, and who were yet tampered with by the English, visiting their towns, distributing presents, and exhorting them to form alliances with the French colony of Louisiana, and

1714 Aug.

Nov.

to expel the English who should attempt to form posts among them. Yes! citizens of the counties of Montgomery, Coosa, Tallapoosa, Macon and Russell, reflect that one hundred and thirty-seven years ago* the French Governor of Louisiana—the great and good Bienville—*walked* over your soil, and instituted
1714 friendly relations with its rude inhabitants—among whom not a solitary white man had a permanent abode —and established a small colony upon the east bank of the Coosa!

Giving the fort the name of "Toulouse," in honor of a distinguished French Count of that name, who had much to do with the government of France and her colonies, and leaving
Dec. 27 in command Marigny de Mandaville with thirty soldiers, and one of the priests, Bienville turned his boats down the river, and, after a prosperous voyage, arrived at Mobile with the Indians and Canadians who had accompanied him.†

Thus, we see, that although the French had been residing upon the Mobile river since 1702, and the Canadians had several times explored Central Alabama, yet no attempt was made to form permanent settlements in this region, until twelve years afterwards, when it was so successfully accomplished by Bienville.

Governor Cadillac, in a despatch to the Minister, attempted to acquire all the credit for the peace which had been made with the Creek nation, and boasted, generally, of the important services which, he contended, he had rendered the colony. But he was the same inefficient, selfish and fault-finding officer. A large majority of the inhabitants relied solely upon Bienville, whose most prominent friends were Duclos, Boisbriant, Chateaugne, Richebourg, and du Tisne, and the larger number of the priesthood. The friends of Cadillac were Marigny de Mandaville, Bagot, Bloundel, Latour, Villiers and Terrine. Thus this handful of men were at daggers' points with each other, instead of uniting for their own preservation and prosperity, and that of the

* This being now 1851. † MS. letters obtained from Paris.

feeble settlements over which they had charge. A tyrannical ordinance was issued in France, upon the petition of Crozat, which further embarrassed affairs. All persons were forbidden to bring any merchandise into Louisiana, or to carry any out of it, under penalty of confiscation to the profit of Crozat. No person in the colony was allowed to have a vessel fit to go to sea, and all subjects of the King were prohibited from sending vessels to the colony to carry on commerce. Crozat was determined to avail himself of the monopoly which had been granted him, and this ordinance was based upon the representations of Cadillac, who had, more than once, complained to the Minister, that the inhabitants of the colony were *making a little for themselves*, in a commerce with the Spaniards, which was deemed a very unwarrantable thing by that illiberal man. Cadillac hated Bienville for several reasons, the most prominent of which were, that he was too popular with the Canadians and Indians, too much respected and obeyed by the inhabitants generally, and had absolutely refused to become his son-in-law. Cadillac's daughter, who had been educated in France, and who, like her father, thought much of the blood and honor of the family, fell in love with Bienville, soon after her arrival in Mobile. The proud governor could not, at first, brook the idea of an alliance with a *Canadian*, but he saw, as he supposed, the strong attachment of his daughter, who now began, like many other hypocritical girls, to pine away and sicken in consequence of his refusal. Believing that Bienville's great influence with the inhabitants, as well as with the various Indian tribes, would materially strengthen his administration and advance the commerce of Crozat, the profits of which he was to share, if he could but once secure his friendship and obedience, he resolved to sacrifice his family dignity by gratifying the wishes of his daughter. One day he accosted Bienville, with much respect and suavity of manner, and invited him into his closet. He then disclosed to him his entire willingness to sanc-

1714 Dec. 27

1714

tion the contemplated match between him and his daughter, charged him to treat her with affection, and concluded his conversation with a very patronizing air. Bienville, much surprised at the whole affair, as he had never alluded to marriage in the few visits which he had paid the daughter, gravely assured Cadillac that he had "determined never to marry." This was too bad; and, from that moment, Bienville found, in the persons of the Governor and his daughter, two most cordial haters.

The redoubtable Curate de la Vente continued to declaim, not only against the colonial government, but against
1714 everybody except his friend Cadillac. In his despatches
Dec. to the Minister, he said that the Canadians particularly, "did not wish to connect themselves with any women by marriage, much preferring to carry on scandalous concubinage with the young Indian squaws, who were hurried by their nature into all kinds of irregularities." That they scarcely ever saw a church, never performed mass, and never partook of the sacraments; that, while a few of the inhabitants did celebrate Sundays and festival days, the large majority resorted to taverns and to public game—"whence it is easy to comprehend, that they are almost all drunkards, gamesters, blasphemers of the holy name of God, and declared enemies of all good, making a matter of ridicule of our holy religion and of the persons who perform its exercises." They corrupted the soldiers by such horrid examples; and even officers, who wore the sword and plume, had children by Indian females. The missionaries found themselves useless to a people who were led away by such vices, and to the Indians, who were corrupted by the sins of the latter, and consequently they would be forced to leave a land so accursed. La Vente suggested to the Minister two plans "to rectify the affairs of the past and those of the future," either to solely colonize Louisiana with Christian families, or permit the French to marry the Indian women by religious rites.

Or, if these plans could not be carried into effect, that a large number of girls, "better chosen than the last, and especially some who will be sufficiently pleasing and well-formed to suit the officers of the garrisons and the principal inhabitants," should be sent over from France as a partial remedy. Verily, the worthy curate's head appeared to run much upon women of various grades! 1714 Dec.

According to the orders which he had received, De la Loire des Ursins made a settlement at Natchez, to promote the commerce of Crozat. Cadillac set off on an expedition to discover mines of gold and silver in the Illinois country, and did not return from his chimerical excursion until October, when he wrote to the Minister that he had everywhere set the Indians upon the English; but, in truth, he had aroused the anger of the savages against himself wherever he had appeared among them; and, in descending the Mississippi, upon his way to Mobile, he had refused to smoke with the powerful and war-like Natchez Chiefs, which was highly resented on their part, and afterwards led to a war with the French. 1715

An English officer from Carolina, named Hutchey, who had passed through the Creek and Chickasaw nations, came into the territory of the Natchez. From thence he began the descent of the Mississippi, to form alliances with the tribes below. But Des Ursins, who had gained intelligence of his movements, pursued him in a boat, captured him near Manchac, and carried him to Mobile. From thence Bienville sent him to Pensacola; but having determined to reach Carolina by land, he was killed upon the route by a Thomez Indian. A large canoe, containing seven Alabamas, an Englishman and a Canadian named Boutin, arrived at Mobile. They reported that the Indians, bordering upon Carolina, had risen in war against the inhabitants of that province, had killed those upon the frontiers, and that even Port Royal and several other towns had been destroyed. The war extended to the distant Chickasaw na- 1715 July

tion. There, fifteen English traders, who had taken shelter in one cabin, were instantly slain in the presence of De St. Helene, a Frenchman, who was then among the tribe, and who, a few minutes after the massacre, was killed himself, through
1715 mistake, by two young Chickasaws, engaged in the bloody scene, they supposing him to be one of the enemy. His death was regretted by all the Chickasaws who were present.

To profit by this intelligence, so agreeable to the French colony, Bienville immediately despatched emissaries among the Alabamas and Muscogees, to renew the alliances which he had formed with them, and to engage them to turn their whole commerce into French channels. He sent messengers to the Choctaws, demanding the head of Outactachito, who had introduced the English into their nation, and who had driven off the inhabitants of the two Choctaw towns that were faithful to the French and who still lay around Mobile, anxious to return home. The messengers returned to Mobile with the head of this warrior, which had been reluctantly stricken off by the Chiefs, who were afraid to disobey Bienville. They bore an invitation to those Choctaws whom they had forced to leave their homes, to return in peace.

The storeship Dauphin came to anchor in Mobile
1715 bay, where she landed two companies of infantry,
Aug. commanded by Mandaville and Bagot, which increased the expenditures of the colony to the amount of thirty-two thousand livres a year. One of the passengers, named Rogeon, came to fill the place of Dirigoin, one of the directors of Crozat, who had been removed from office. At the same time a frigate from Rochelle, and a brigantine from Martinique, arriving in the bay, requested permission to dispose of their cargoes to the inhabitants; but the authorities, anxious to perfect the monopoly of Crozat, refused them the privilege.

In the meantime, Cadillac had not forgotten how to fill the

sheets, which he sent to Count Pontchartrain, with gloomy pictures of the colony, and the licentiousness of its inhabitants. In one of these despatches he denominated Louisiana "a monster which had neither head nor tail." He complained of the manner in which the council unscrupulously altered the decrees of the French government. He said that the whole country was the poorest and most miserable upon the globe, the people of which would sooner believe a lie than the truth. He recommended that a stone fort be erected at Mobile, but immediately interposed an obstacle to the project by saying that the topographical engineer was a man without firmness and judgment, and was always drunk. He was violently opposed to the establishment of a colony upon the Mississippi, on the ground which 1715 sustains New Orleans, a measure now contemplated by Crozat, through the recommendation of Bienville. He asserted that the Mississippi river was too crooked, too rapid in high tides, and too low in the dry season, for the navigation of canoes!

At length Cadillac went to reside on Dauphin Island, where he had formerly spent much of his time. It was fortified with four barracks of palisades, covered with 1715 rushes, and a guard-house, with a prison of the same July 20 style—the whole surrounded with palisades very irregularly arranged. From this island he immediately issued the following singular ordinance:

ORDINANCE OF M. DE LEMOTTE CADILLAC.

"As we have obtained certain knowledge of several cabals and conspiracies which tend to revolt and sedition, and on account of some disturbances from which evil consequences may ensue, in order to abolish and obviate the misconduct caused by drunkenness, and also disturbances fomented by women of irregular life, or by the instigation of other persons who excite to vengeance those who are so unfortunate as to expose themselves by evil discourse, and as every one takes it upon himself to carry a

sword and other weapons without having any right to do so, we most positively prohibit to all persons of low birth, to all clerks of M. Crozat, sailors and strangers lately arrived from France, if they are not provided with his majesty's commission, from carrying a sword or any other weapons, either by day or night, on Dauphin Island, or at any other settlements where there is an actual garrison, under the penalty of three hundred *livres* fine, to be applied to the erection of a church on Dauphin Island; and in default of payment, the offender shall be confined in prison for the space of one month, and the penalty shall be greater for each repetition of the offence. We grant to all gentlemen the privilege of wearing a sword after having proved their nobility, and presented their titles to the secretary of the council for examination, and not otherwise, under the same penalties. We grant, also, to all civil and military officers, actually serving in the country, permission to wear a sword, &c."

Thus, while this ridiculous governor was establishing himself in a court of heraldry, in a miserable cabin of palm logs on Dauphin Island, and pronouncing upon titles of nobility, Bienville was in the interior of the immense wilds of Louisiana, establishing trading posts and advancing the interests of the colony. Cadillac, whom the excellent commissary, Duclos, pronounced to be "an avaricious, cunning and obstinate man, who kept for himself everything which the court sent to the savages," was fast losing ground with the authorities in France. Crozat, in one of his last communications to him, used this language: "It is my opinion that all the disorders of which M. Cadillac complains in the colony proceed from the mal-administration of M. Cadillac himself." The Minister added this postscript: "Messrs. Cadillac and Duclos, whose characters are utterly incompatible with each other, and who, at the same time, lack the intelligence necessary to the performance of their duties,
1716 are recalled, and their places are filled by others." It was unjust that Duclos should have been made to lose

his station because his views of colonial policy clashed with those of the Governor.

The King of France had ordered Bienville to form several establishments upon the Mississippi, and to commence with that among the Natchez, with eighty soldiers. As soon as possible he began the construction of large canoes to be used as transports. Cadillac refused to place at his disposal the number of soldiers designated by his majesty, and Bienville, when all things were ready, departed with only thirty-four soldiers under the command of Richebourg. To these were added fifteen sailors. Bienville advanced to a town of the Tonicas, Apr. 23 eighteen leagues below Natchez, and there learning from Father Davion, still a missionary among those people, that they were not to be trusted, and would probably become allies to the Natchez, he established himself temporarily upon an island in the Mississippi, where he erected three barracks, which he enclosed with piles. His object was to obtain possession of the persons of those Chiefs and prominent warriors of the Natchez, who had recently murdered some Frenchmen, in consequence of the refusal of Cadillac to smoke with them, which they viewed as a declaration of war. He intended, after he had made an example of a few Chiefs, and had intimidated the common people, to proceed to their towns and there construct a fortification in obedience to the orders of his King. Father Davion further informed Bienville that the Natchez Chiefs did not suspect that the murders which they had committed were known to the French authorities, and were anxious to keep them concealed. Bienville then despatched messengers up the river, who were instructed to pass by the Natchez during the night, and proceed toward the Wabash settlements, and inform all Frenchmen, whom they met descending, to be upon their guard, for that he was stationed at the Tonicas, and that he was preparing to be revenged upon the murderers of the Frenchmen, which would possibly produce a serious war with that tribe.

Three Natchez, who were sent by their Chiefs to Bienville, arrived with the pipe of peace, but the latter declined to receive it, and stated that the messengers might smoke with his soldiers, but that he would only smoke with the Great Sun Chiefs,
1716 for he was the Great Chief of the French. He affected
Apr. 27 indifference about establishing a trading post among them, and intimated an intention to give the Tonicas the benefit of his merchandise, as the Natchez Chiefs had exhibited such a want of respect and friendship, in not coming themselves to greet him.

The three savages speedily returned home with this startling message, and with a French interpreter, who could further explain the reply of Bienville. One morning, Bienville
May 8 saw four magnificent canoes descending the river, and bearing toward the island. Eight warriors stood erect and sung the pipe-song, while three Chiefs, in each canoe, sat under immense umbrellas. They were the Natchez Chiefs, allured thither by the snare which the royal lieutenant had laid for them. Concealing one-half of his soldiers, and advancing, with apparent friendship, he conducted them within his rude military works, which they entered singing the song of peace, and holding the pipe over his head. Afterwards, they passed their hands over his stomach without rubbing, and then over themselves. Bienville refused the pipe with contempt, and desired, first, to know the nature of their visit. Much disconcerted, the Chiefs went out and presented their pipes to the Sun. The High Priest, with his arms extended and his eyes fixed upon the bright luminary which he daily worshipped, invoked it to soften the tem-
1716 per and change the resolution of the stern Bienville. Again entering the works, he presented the pipe to Bienville, who scornfully refused it. At that moment the Chiefs were seized, ironed, and placed in the prison. At night, Bienville informed the Grand Sun, and his brothers, the Angry Serpent and the Little Sun, whom he had caused to be separated

from the others and brought into his presence, that nothing would satisfy him but to be placed in possession of the heads of the Chiefs who advised the murder of the five Frenchmen, and of those who executed the horrid deed; that he knew that *they* were not concerned in the transaction themselves, and, consequently, he did not desire to take their lives, unless they failed to comply with his demands. He gave them until morning to determine upon his requisition, and by daylight the three brothers appeared before him, and implored him to remember that no one now remained in their town of sufficient authority to chop off the heads of the men whom he demanded, and requested that the Angry Serpent might be permitted to return home to accomplish the dangerous mission. Bienville refused, but sent the Little Sun in his place, with an officer and twelve soldiers, who conveyed him in a canoe within six miles of Natchez, where he was placed on shore. The Little Sun returned to Bienville, with three heads, two of which the French commander recognized as those which he had demanded. The other head was that of an innocent person, the brother of one of the murderers, who had fled to the forests. Bienville expressed his deep regret to the Chiefs, that they had thus caused an innocent person to suffer, and assured them that nothing would compromise his resentment but the possession of the head of the Chief, White Earth. Notwithstanding the Little Sun had acted with so much promptness, and had brought with him a Frenchman and two Illinois Indians, whom he found tied to stakes in one of the Natchez towns, ready to be burned to death, yet Bienville caused him to be ironed and remanded to prison with the others.

May 9

1716 May 14

The next day he despatched to the Natchez the High Priest of the Temple and two Chiefs of War for the head of White Earth. They were conducted by a detachment almost to their village. In the meantime, by a confession of the imprisoned Chiefs, Bienville ascertained that the English had been

May 15

encouraged and the Frenchmen had been killed at the instance of White Earth, Grigars, and two Chiefs and two warriors then in his custody. The Indians whom he had sent to the Natchez having returned without the head of White Earth, who had made his escape, and the inundation of the Mississippi having caused much sickness on the island, Bienville determined to end the affair by a treaty with the Chiefs, who willingly acceded to his terms, and were grateful that he had spared their lives. They bound themselves to kill White Earth whenever he could be captured, to restore all the goods which they had seized, to cut two thousand five hundred piles of acacia wood, thirty feet long and ten inches in diameter, and to deposit them at the spot, at Natchez, where it was contemplated to erect a fort; and to furnish the bark of three thousand cypress trees, for covering the houses, by the end of July.*

Adjutant Pailloux departed, with two soldiers, to the town of the Natchez, with the Chiefs and other warriors; 1716 Bienville, however, retained the Angry Serpent and his June 3 brother, the Little Sun, as hostages, and also kept the four murderers, who now rent the prison with their doleful death-songs and loud speeches of defiance. Pailloux, upon arriving among the Natchez, found them assembled in council, and learned, with pleasure, that they were satisfied with the compact which their Chiefs had made with Bienville. He selected an eminence, near the Mississippi, advantageously situated for that purpose, for the site of a fort. In the meantime, Bienville had been visited at the island by nine old Natchez men, who 1716 came with much show of solemnity, and invited him to June 8 smoke the pipe of peace with them, which he now no longer refused to do. He sent them home with the Little Sun June and four soldiers, who conveyed, in a large canoe, axes, 9-11 spades, pickaxes, nails and other irons, to construct the fort. The next day, the soldiers, at the island, struck

* Histoire de la Louisiane, par Charles Gayarre, vol. 1, pp. 114-144. Journal Historique de l'Etablissement des Francais a la Louisiane, par Bernard de la Harpe, pp. 115-128.

off the heads of the two warriors. Afterwards Captain Richebourg was obliged to depart for Mobile, on account of sickness. A number of Canadian *voyageurs*, whom Bienville detained at the island, while on their way from the Illinois country, with peltries and supplies for the people of the lower part of Louisiana, now that the difficulty with the Natchez had ended, were permitted to proceed down the Missis- June 13
sippi; the loyal lieutenant caused them to take with them the two Chiefs, whose heads he ordered to be struck off twelve leagues below, which was faithfully executed.

The Natchez, directed by the French officer and assisted by a few soldiers, labored upon the fort and ditches with great assiduity, and soon brought the works to a state of completion. Bienville had arrived a few days before, in Aug.
company with the Angry Serpent, whom he had re- 2-25
tained about his person until every seeming obstacle was overcome. Before the gate of the fort, six hundred Natchez warriors appeared, unarmed, and joined three hundred women in a dance in honor of Bienville; afterwards the Chiefs crossed the threshold and smoked the pipe of peace with him. Such was the end of the first Natchez war.

Leaving Pailloux in command of the post at Natchez, Bienville descended the Mississippi, and sailed to Mobile for the purpose of reporting to Governor Cadillac. Here he Oct. 4
received a packet from the Marine Council, in which he was ordered by the King of France to govern as chief of the colony, until L'Epinay, the successor of Cadillac, should arrive. He was thus saved the disagreeable necessity of reporting to his old enemy, who had, in advance, denounced his conduct to the Minister, as fraught with cruelty and the deepest treachery towards the Natchez Chiefs. We are not prepared to defend Bienville from these charges, although his course was approved by the government and by all the colonial authorities, with the exception of Cadillac and his junto.

The King of France, acceding to the request of Crozat, allowed one hundred salt-makers to be sent annually to Louisiana, who, after laboring there for three years, were to receive land. He also consented to send thither eight companies of soldiers, with permission to two, out of each company, to settle in the country, together with a hundred hospital girls, annually, to increase the colonial population. The King refused to adopt the suggestion of the Curate La Vente, of permitting Frenchmen to marry Indian women.

For the payment of colonial expenses, for the year 1716, now nearly brought to a close, Duclos, the commissary-general, required of the French government an appropriation of the following amounts:

A governor	6000	*livres.*
A commissary	6000	"
A royal lieutenant	2000	"
An adjutant	900	"
Four captains of companies	4800	"
Four lieutenants	3600	"
Ensigns	2400	"
A secretary	1000	"
A store-keeper	800	"
A surgeon	800	"
A chaplain	800	"
Incidental expenses	80992	"
	110,092	*livres.**

* Historie de la Louisiane, par Charles Gayarre, vol. 1, pp. 148-152.

CHAPTER X.

The India or Mississippi Company.

L'Epinay, the new governor, and the fourth which had been placed over the colony of Louisiana, Hubert, the new commissary-general, three companies of infantry and fifty colonists, arrived from France, on board three vessels, which be- 1717
longed to Crozat. Among the colonists were Roi Du- Mar. 9
breuil, Guennot, Trefontaine and Massy, men of worth and intelligence, who had formed themselves into an association to settle some portion of the almost boundless country of Louisiana.

To prevent the struggle for power which had never failed to display itself between the former governor, commissaries and officers of the colony, the King of France, by written instructions, defined the duties of each. He declared that all military regulations, and the "dignity of command," should pertain to the governor alone; but in the building of public houses and fortifications, the marching of expeditions, and the means of raising funds, he was to confer with the commissary, whose joint views were to be presented for the ratification of his majesty. The administration of the funds, provisions, merchandise and everything which related to the warehouses was confided to the commissary, who, however, could make no bargain or sale without the consent of the governor. The administration of the hospitals was also confided to the commissary, with the supervision of the governor. The administration of justice was committed to the commissary in his function of first councillor and chief judge. The affairs of the police, and

the power of conferring grants of land were given jointly to these officers. Letters patent established a Supreme Council of Louisiana, the meetings of which his majesty authorized to be held either at Fort St. Louis, of Mobile, or upon Dauphin Island. The King granted to Bienville, for his numerous services, the Island of Come, not as a fief, but in villanage, and instructed L'Epinay to present him with the cross of St. Louis. These marks of favor did not reconcile Bienville, who considered himself, beyond all others, entitled to the government of Louisiana. Consequently jealousies and disputes soon created a disagreeable and unhappy state of things, arraying the friends of Bienville on one side, and those of the governor and commissary on the other. As Crozat attempted to bribe Cadillac, in order to attain his most vigorous and successful exertions in advancing his commerce, so, for the same end, he entered into a contract with L'Epinay, engaging to give him two thousand livres a year, and divers other advantages. The great monopolist had designed to establish a large contraband trade with the Spanish possessions if he could not carry on a legitimate one. But he succeeded in neither, and next, turning his attention to a commerce with the various Indian tribes upon the Mississippi, Alabama, Tombigby, and their tributaries, he found that so far from being

1717 remunerated, he had to encounter the heaviest losses.

Aug. At length, aware that he had assumed a burthen beyond his strength, he humbly offered to return to the King that charter, the extensive privileges of which he had once imagined would make him the richest man in the world! The proposition was accepted, and the Council of State transmitted orders to L'Epinay to transfer the colonial government

Oct. 27 to Bienville, and to return to France. The gubernatorial career of the former gentleman was of short duration, and remarkable for nothing, except a proclamation, in which he forbade the sale of brandy to the Indians—at that period a very unpopular measure.

During the five years of the existence of the colony, under the charter of Crozat, commerce and agriculture had not prospered, yet the population had slowly increased, and now numbered about seven hundred souls. The colonists, also, possessed some four hundred horned cattle. The inhabitants had devoted themselves to a trade in provisions and Indian slaves, and to a commerce with the Spaniards, who, despite of the watchfulness of Crozat's agents, had managed to carry off, annually, about twelve thousand piastres.

The Marine Cabinet of France, composed of De Bourbon and D'Estrees, came to the conclusion that as the enterprise which Crozat had assumed had proved itself of too gigantic a character for any one man, and as it would not be proper for the King to take charge of Louisiana, and embarrass himself by entering into its thousand cares and commercial details, it would better comport with the welfare of France and her colony, to turn the latter over to the management of an association of men. Accordingly, the Western or India Company, with a capital of one hundred thousand livres, was allowed to take the unhappy people of Louisiana under their charge, and to expose them, once more, to an arbitrary and grinding monopoly. The members of this company were not required to be solely subjects of the King of France, but might be foreigners. The charter, which was registered in the Parliament, at Paris, gave this company the exclusive privilege of carrying on all commerce in Louisiana, for the long period of twenty-five years. It also gave them the exclusive privilege, extending from the 1st January, 1718, to the 31st December, 1742, of purchasing beaver skins from Canada—the King reserving the right of regulating their price, and of determining the quantity to be sold. The company possessed the power of conferring grants, making war or peace with the Indians, establishing forts, levying troops, appointing governors, or other officers, for the colony, upon the recommendation of the directors of the company; building ves-

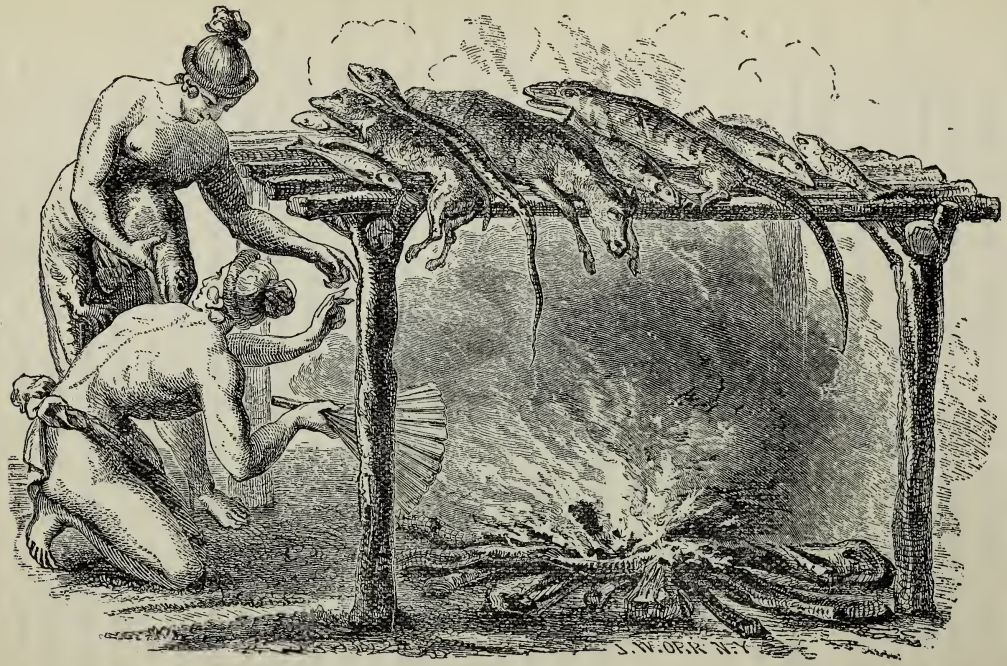
1717 Sept. 6

sels of war, casting pieces of artillery, and of nominating the inferior judges, and all the other officers of justice, the King reserving to himself only the right of appointing the members of the Supreme Council.

It was further provided by the charter that the military officers could enter into the service of the company without losing their rank in the army or navy, but they were not allowed to seize, either in the hands of the directors, or in those of its cashier or its agents, the effects, shares or profits of the stockholders, except in case of failure or open bankruptcy or death of said stockholders. The merchandise of the company was to be free from all charges either of entry or departure, and to those portions of the territory where they made permanent improvements, the company was to have durable rights, which were to extend also to the mines, which they might discover and work.

1717 Sept. 6 The only thing which savored of liberality toward the inhabitants, was their exemption from taxation during the existence of the charter. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction was still to form a part of the diocese of Quebec, while the company was to build churches and pay the clergy. It was to transport to the colony, during the term of its charter, six thousand whites and three thousand negroes; but it was prohibited from sending negroes or whites to the other French colonies, without the permission of the Governor of Louisiana. The directors were to be appointed by the King, for the first two years, and afterwards they were to be elected every three years, by the stockholders, each of whom had a vote for every fifty shares. In short, the India Company was granted all manner of powers and privileges.

A celebrated Scotchman, named Law, who was now director of the Bank of France; D'Artaguette, receiver-general of the finances of Auch; Duche, receiver of those of Rochelle; Moreau, commercial deputy of the city of St. Malo; Piou, deputy of the city of Nantes; and Costaignes and Mauchard, merchants



Indians Preparing Meats to be Deposited in their Winter Hunt Houses. Drawn from life, by Jacob le Moyne, 1564.

of Rochelle, were nominated by the King of France as the first directors for the colony of Louisiana, under the new charter. The company then sent over three companies of infantry, and sixty-nine colonists. The three vessels which bore them
1718 arrived at Dauphin Island, and the inhabitants were re-
Feb. 9 vived with pleasing anticipations of better times, especially as the great and good Bienville, whom they almost idolized, was made Governor with a salary of six thousand livres. He, who had been twenty years in this wild and inhospitable country, and who, amidst the deepest gloom and the greatest suffering of the colonists, had never once left them, but had sustained them with his fearless spirit, mighty arm and benevolent heart, was eminently deserving the high post to which he was now elevated. The first thing he did was to seek a suitable place for the location of the principal settlement of the colony. He selected the site of New Orleans, which had long been a favorite point with him, as we have seen. He proceeded there with fifty persons, carpenters and galley slaves, whom he set to
March work to clear away the woods and erect houses. He next sent a detachment of fifty soldiers, under Chateaugne, to build a fort upon the bay of St. Joseph, situated between Pensacola and St. Marks, which, being completed, De Gousy was left in command. From him Captain Roka, a Spaniard, induced twenty-five soldiers to desert and flee to St. Augustine. The post of St. Joseph was soon abandoned by the French, who had no right to settle any part of Florida, and it was immediately occupied by the Spaniards.

In the vessels which arrived on the 9th of February came Major Boisbriant, who had paid a visit to France, and who was now commissioned a royal lieutenant, with a salary of three thousand livres. D'Hubert was retained as Commissary
1718 General, with a salary of five thousand livres. These
Apr. 28 vessels were succeeded by another, having on board sixty passengers for the grant belonging to Paris Duvernet

which embraced the old Indian village of Pascagoula, where they were presently located. Three more ships arrived at Dauphin Island, which brought out Richebourg, now Chevalier of the Order of St. Louis; Grandval, intended to act as major of Mobile; Lieutenants Noyan and Meleque, and Daniel, major of New Orleans. At the same time there arrived forty commissioners, with Le Gac sub-director; seventy persons for the grant of Houssays, and sixty for that of La Harpe. Aug. 35

It was wisely determined to encourage agriculture, as the best means of increasing the wealth and importance of Louisiana; and for that purpose extensive grants of land were made to the richest and most powerful persons of the kingdom of France. Four leagues square were ceded to the Scotch financier, Law, on the Arkansas river, where he was to settle fifteen hundred Germans, whom he was to protect by a small body of cavalry and infantry. The other persons to whom grants were made, likewise bound themselves to furnish a certain number of emigrants. But the experiment did not succeed. These great proprietors did send to Louisiana a few colonists, but a majority of them fell victims to the climate, and those who survived did not devote themselves to any useful occupation. Among the grants were several upon the Yazoo river, near Natchez, upon Red river, at Baton Rouge, and at other points upon the Mississippi river. Failing in the scheme to make the colony an agricultural country, by the importation of colonists who were to have settled upon these grants, the company next turned its attention to SLAVERY, as a means of effecting that which was so much desired.*

The following regulation of the company fixed the price the colonists were to pay for the negroes, which they imported from Africa: "The company considers every negro of seventeen

* Histoire de la Louisiane, par Charles Gayarre, vol. 1, pp. 148-166. Journal Historique de l'Etablissement des Francais a la Louisiane, par Bernard de la Harpe, pp. 131-144.

years of age, and over, without bodily defect, also every negress from fifteen to thirty years of age, as worth 'piece d'Inde.*

Three little negroes, from eight to ten years old, are valued at two of the same coins.

Two negro children, over ten years of age, are valued at one 'piece d'Inde.'

One year's credit will be given to the old inhabitants for half the price. The other half must be paid immediately.

Those colonists who have been settled here two years are called old inhabitants.

1718 Sept. 25 The new settlers shall be entitled to one and two years credit."

In a despatch to the Minister, Bienville complained that the colonists recently sent to Louisiana, were not the kind desirable; that among them were to be found scarcely any carpenters or laborers, "notwithstanding laboring people employed in the country are paid ten or fifteen livres per day, which delays improvement and causes great expense to the company."

1719 Apr. 19 Two vessels arrived from the mother country, and brought the startling intelligence that Spain and France had gone to war with each other. A council, composed of Bienville, D'Hubert, Larchebault and Le Gac, determined upon the necessity of immediately possessing the important post of Pensacola. None of the military officers were consulted in this movement, as they should have been, especially upon the plan of attack. Bienville assembled, at Mobile,

May 13 some Canadians and four hundred Indians. His brother, Serigny, sailed from Dauphin Island, with three men-of-war, on board of which he had embarked one hundred and fifty soldiers. Bienville embarked in a sloop, with twenty men, made the mouth of the Perdido, and went up the river to meet the Canadians and Indians, whom he had instructed to march across the country

* Piece d'Inde was 660 livres.

from Mobile, and whom he found already at the place of rendezvous. Placing himself at their head, he marched May 14 to Pensacola. In the meantime, the fleet stood before that place, and at four o'clock, in the evening, Governor Matamora surrendered to the French, when he found that he was invested both by sea and land. According to the terms of the capitulation, Bienville embarked the Spanish garrison on board two of the men-of-war, with directions to convey them safely to Havana. Arriving at that place, the governor of Cuba ordered all the French forces to be landed and imprisoned, seized the two men-of-war, manned them with sailors and soldiers, and sent them back to attack Pensacola. This was a most shameful disregard of the terms of capitulation. The Spanish fleet, comprising the two French vessels and a Spanish man-of-war, with nine brigantines and eighteen hundred men, invested Pensacola, and the next day made their attack. Bienville had returned to Mobile, and had left his brother, Chateaugne, in command. Seeing the superior force of the enemy, fifty soldiers deserted from the fort and joined the Spaniards, which forced Chateaugne to capitulate. He was allowed to march out of the fort, with the honors of war and to be carried to old Spain. The store ship Dauphin was accidentally destroyed by fire, and St. Louis was captured by the Spaniards. The commander of the Spanish squadron next turned his eyes to Dauphin Island, and presently sent thither two well manned brigantines. To the captain of the French ship, Phillippe, which lay at anchor at Dauphin Island, he sent a summons to surrender, but the captain referred the messenger to Serigny, who commanded the fort; the latter declined to surrender the island. During the night two brigantines entered the bay of Mobile, and half way between Dauphin Island and the town of Mobile, landed thirty-five men to burn and plunder the inhabitants. While they were here destroying the improvements of a settler, they were suddenly attacked by a detachment of Canadians and

Indians, whom Bienville had hastened to send from Mobile, to support his brother, Serigny. Five Spaniards were slain, whose scalps the Indians immediately secured; six were drowned in the endeavor to reach the brigantines, while eighteen were made prisoners; among the latter were some of the French soldiers, who had deserted from Cheteaugne, and who were now promptly beheaded for their treason.* Two days afterwards the
1719 remainder of the Spanish squadron stood before Dauphin
Aug. 19 Island, and continued for four days to cannonade the Philippe and the town. Serigny, with one hundred and sixty soldiers and two hundred Indians, aided by the gallant officers and men of the Philippe, which was anchored within pistol shot of the fort, succeeded in repulsing the Spaniards, who
Aug. 26 sustained considerable loss. The ships of the enemy then set sail for Pensacola.

Three ships of the French line, under the command of Champmeslin, convoying two of the company's ships,
Sept. 2 arrived off Dauphin Island, direct from France. The two Spanish brigantines, which were cruising in the bay, between this island and Mobile, escaped to sea and sailed to Pensacola, as soon as the French fleet was discovered. Bienville and Serigny repaired on board of the ship Champmeslin, where was presently convened a council, composed of all the sea captains in port, who decided to capture the Spanish squadron and to take the fort of Pensacola. Time was allowed the vessels to discharge their freight and to take in wood and water, and Bienville to assemble the savages and prepare them for the expedition. When all things were ready, the Philippe and the Union, vessels belonging to the company, were joined to the squadron, together with two hundred and fifty of the new troops, lately arrived, while Bienville, with the soldiers and volunteers, sailed in sloops

* La Harpe states (page 155), that eighteen French deserters, who were made prisoners, were bound by the Indians and carried to Bienville, at Mobile, who caused seventeen of them to be decapitated, and that the remaining one was hung on Dauphin Island.

to the river Perdido, where he was joined by five hundred Indians under the command of Langueville, who had marched with them from Mobile. From this point Bienville sent a detachment of French and Indians to invest the principal fort at Pensacola, to prevent all egress from it and to harass the enemy as much as possible. In the meantime, Champmeslin entered the harbor of Pensacola, and, after a conflict of two hours' duration, captured four ships and six brigantines, which were 1719 anchored before St. Rosa, and reduced the small fort Sept. 17 situated at the point of that Island. Bienville, having marched across the country from the Perdido, had advanced in the rear of the town with his whole force. He made a resolute attack upon the fort, which was surrendered two hours after the victory at St. Rosa's Island. The Indians fought with great courage, often attempting to pull up the palisades of the fort. The plunder was divided among them, but they were prohibited by Bienville from taking any scalps. The pillage being ended, Champmeslin returned the sword which Don Alphonzo, commander of the Spanish fleet, had presented to him as his conqueror, assuring him that he was worthy of wearing it. But Matamora, the Governor of Pensacola, who had acted with so much perfidy towards the French victors, who conveyed him to Havana, was suffered to be disarmed by a common sailor, and was severely reproached for his conduct The loss of the French in these engagements was only six men; that of the Spaniards was much greater. Champmeslin despatched the St. Louis, one of the Spanish vessels, to Havana, with three hundred and sixty of the prisoners. The commander was instructed to demand an exchange of the French prisoners, at the head of 1719 whom was Chateaugne, who had not been carried to Spain, Sept. 18 according to the capitulation, but had been closely confined in Moro Castle.

A Spanish brigantine from Havana, laden with corn flour and brandy for the garrison, entered the bay of Pensacola, sup-

posing the fleet to belong to Spain, into whose hands it was now believed the whole of Louisiana had fallen, and was immediately captured by the French squadron. On the same day forty-seven French deserters were tried, twelve of whom were hung at the yard-arms of the Count de Toulouse, and the remainder condemned to serve the company as galley slaves. Thus ended the expedition against Pensacola, the command of which was given to DeLisle, a lieutenant of the navy.

1719 Since the commencement of this year, vessels from France had constantly brought over to Louisiana liberal supplies of provisions, merchandise, and not unfrequently distinguished persons and emigrants, thus adding to the number and giving character to her population, and causing her slowly to emerge from the supineness and insignificance of former times. For this reason, and also on account of the war with Spain, it became necessary to re-organize the colonial government in several respects. A royal ordinance decreed that a Supreme Council should be composed of those directors who were residents in the colony, the governor, the two royal lieutenants, four councillors, an attorney-general, and a secretary. Three members for civil affairs, and five for criminal cases, could constitute a quorum. Its jurisdiction was to be the highest in the colony, and its sessions were to be monthly. The former council had been the only tribunal in the colony, but now it was decided to establish inferior courts, of which the directors of the company, or their agents, were to be judges, in places where they resided. These, with two respectable citizens of the neighborhood, were to have cognizance of civil business. They were required, in criminal cases, to add four more citizens to their number. An appeal from their decisions could be had to the Supreme Council—the members of which were not allowed to charge for their final opinions.

Bienville, the governor; D'Hubert, commissary-general and first councillor; Boisbriant and Chateaugne, royal lieutenants; L'Archambault, Villardo and Legas, other councillors; Cartier de

Baune, the attorney-general; and Couture, secretary, composed the first Supreme Council, which met under the auspices of the Western or India Company. Although the governor occupied the place of honor in this body, D'Hubert, the first councillor, was the real president, who took the vote, pronounced judgment, affixed the public seals, and filled the station of chief judge.

Bienville was opposed in his long cherished desire of removing the government to the site of New Orleans, by D'Hubert and the directors, who dreaded the inundations of the Mississipi, and who contended that the colony was not in 1719
a situation to oppose levees to the floods at that point. D'Hubert suggested the location of Natchez; but as he owned large grants there, his motives were suspected. It was decided to adopt the views of L'Archambault, Villardo and Legas, who inclined more towards commerce than agriculture, and who recommended that a new establishment should be formed east of the bay of Biloxi, which should be called New Biloxi. A detachment was sent there to build barracks and houses.

The cultivation of rice, indigo and tobacco had already occupied the attention of the colonists to some extent, who found the lands extremely productive for those profitable plants. But the climate was too warm and unhealthy for European labor, and hence one thousand of the *Children of the Sun*, from Africa, had been introduced into the colony, and from that moment Louisiana began to prosper. But many things yet impeded its advancement. Among other impediments, the company, Nov. 26
to secure the exclusive commerce of Louisiana, issued an edict forbidding any vessel to enter the colony under penalty of confiscation. This was followed up by a proclamation, regulating the price of merchandise, which the col- 1720
onists were compelled to buy at the company's ware- Jan.
houses, and *nowhere else*. It also arbitrarily fixed the price which the colonists were to receive for their product, skins, and

for everything which they had for sale.* Gayarre says: "At the present day, we can hardly discover how the whites, whom the company transported from Europe, differed from the blacks, who were bought from Africa, at least as to their relation to the company; for these two classes of men belonged both to one master—the all-powerful company!"

The Royal Squadron, intended to protect the commerce of Louisiana, arrived with two hundred and thirty passen-
1720 gers, among whom were several girls, and a considerable
Feb. 28 quantity of provisions and merchandise. Several months
June 8 elapsed, when two vessels of the Royal Navy bore the intelligence that a treaty of peace had been concluded with Spain. These were succeeded by three other vessels of war, which anchored at Dauphin Island, and which brought with them a contagious malady, contracted at St. Domingo,
July 1 which killed many of the crew, and filled their bodies, as it was ascertained by *post mortem* examination, with horrible worms! At the same time, the ship Hercules came with one hundred and twenty negroes from Guinea, and a brigantine from Havana arrived at Mobile with Chateaugne and others, who had been made prisoners at Pensacola, and who were now released in pursuance of the treaty of peace.

So long as the French colony of Louisiana remained in a feeble and thriftless condition, the English of Carolina were content only to annoy it occasionally; but now that it gave signs of durable vitality, under the auspices of a powerful company, they began to oppose it with the fiercest hostility. Rivalry in trade, together with the national jealousy, fomented quarrels, and caused blood to flow betwen the *Coureurs de bois* and the English. The French traders also met the latter in all parts of the Indian nations, within the limits of the present States of Alabama

* Goods were to be obtained in the company's stores at Mobile, Dauphin Island, and Pensacola. To these prices, an advance of five per cent. was to be added on goods delivered at New Orleans, ten at Natchez, thirteen at the Yazoos, twenty at Natchitoches, and fifty at the Illinois and on the Missouri. The produce of the country was to be received in the company's warehouses in New Orleans, Biloxi, Ship Island and Mobile. Martin's Louisiana, vol. 1, pp. 218-219.

and Mississippi. Each contended for the patronage of the savages, and each endeavored to expel the other from those situations where they had established themselves. The Carolina traders, many of whom had quartered themselves in the Chickasaw towns, arrayed that tribe in war against the French, and they committed the first act of hostility, by the murder of Serigny, a French officer, whom Bienville had posted among them to cultivate their friendship. This war greatly embarrassed Bienville, who, with difficulty, brought to his assistance the larger body of the Choctaws. At this time, the forces of the colony had been augmented to twenty companies, of fifty men each, who were required to defend the province of Louisiana, the inhabitants of which were scattered from Fort Toulouse, upon the Coosa, to La Harpe's station, upon Red river. The Alabamas could barely be kept neutral, for they complained that their peltries brought lower prices at the French ports, than at those of the English, and that the goods which they received for them, were also held at a dearer rate.

1720 July

Vessels with emigrants and provisions, continued to cast their anchors upon the sands of Mobile Bay. A store ship brought out two hundred and sixty persons for the grant of St. Catharine, in the vicinity of Natchez. Another arrived at Ship Island with two hundred and forty emigrants, for the grant of Louvre, and was succeeded by still another, on board of which was de L'Orme, now director general, with a salary of five thousand livres, together with other vessels laden with provisions, laborers and merchandise.

1720 August Sept.

In the meantime, the public houses had been completed at New Biloxi, and thither the government of Louisiana was, unwisely, transferred. It had remained at old and new Mobile since January, 1702, but during this trying period, of eighteen years, the governors occasionally resided at Dauphin Island.

Dec. 20

A vessel, belonging to the company, furled her sails in the splendid bay of Mobile, and disembarked three hundred
1721 colonists for the grant of Madame Chaumont, at Pasca-
Jan. 3 goula, whom the colonial government soon placed there, but whom they forbade to enter into any branch of
Jan. 9 trade, such as that which would result from the culture of hemp, flax, and the vine, or which would compete
Jan. 5 with the commerce of the company. A ship arrived with twenty-five girls, taken from a house of correction, in Paris, called the Saltpetriere. They had been sent over in consequence of the great complaints made to the Minister, by various officers of the colony, on account of the want of wives, and they had been confided, by the directors in France, to sister Gertrude, and, under her, to sisters Louise and Bergere, who were authorized to conduct to Louisiana, "such girls as were willing to go thither and remain under the care of Sister Gertrude, until they shall marry, which they must not do without her consent." The directors or the Minister in sending these prostitutes to Mobile, where they soon took up their abode, did not act consistently with a previous ordinance, which they had passed, that "hereafter, no more vagabonds shall be sent to Louisiana, but that any French and foreign families and laborers might go." Much contention now arose between the stockholders and the directors. The latter were reproached for their enormous outlays, and for the appointment of persons to govern the colonies, who appeared to have their exclusive interest to subserve; and Bienville was written to, and informed that the Regent complained that his services were not effectual. But to arouse all his exertions, the same letter promised the governor the rank of Brigadier,
1721 with the ribbon of St. Louis, if his future conduct should
Mar. 17 merit them. The Africaine, a ship of war, arrived at Mobile, with one hundred and twenty negroes, out of the number of two hundred and twenty-four, who had embarked at Guinea. She was succeeded by the Maire, with

three hundred and thirty-eight more, who were, for the present, all quartered at Mobile, and where they remained in a state bordering upon starvation, from the famine which now universally prevailed in the colony. The Neride also came with two hundred and thirty-eight Africans, the remainder of three hundred and fifty who sailed from Angola. She had put to sea, with the frigate Charles, laden with negroes, which took fire and was consumed, more than sixty leagues from land, a large majority of her crew perishing in the flames. The whites escaped in the boats, with a few of the Africans, but tossed for many days at the mercy of the waves, and suffering for subsistence, the unhappy negroes were killed, one after another, for food! The present population of France are *abolitionists*, and denounce the Southern States for their mild and beneficial system of domestic slavery, and yet their ancestors, in the manner we have described, put these slaves into our possession. So did England, with her men-of-war, at the same period, plant her American colonies with slaves, also captured in Africa. The Puritan fathers of New England received them, paid for them, put them to hard labor, sold and re-sold them for many years, and yet their descendants profess to be shocked at the sight of a Southern slaveholder, and denounce Southern slavery as a "damning sin before God!"

Mar. 23

With two hundred German emigrants, who were sent over to occupy the grant of Law upon the Arkansas river, came also a woman, whose adventures in Europe and America are related in the histories of that period. She was believed to be the wife of the Czarowitz Alexis Petrowitz, son of Peter the Great, Emperor of all the Russians. Her resemblance to that Princess was so striking as to deceive those who knew the latter intimately. The story ran, that to escape the brutal treatment of the Prince, her husband, she pretended to die, and was actually entombed, but when taken from the tomb in a few hours afterwards put herself beyond the reach of perse-

1721 March

cution by flying to a foreign land. The Chevalier D'Aubont, one of the officers of the Mobile garrison, who had been at St. Petersburg, had seen the Princess, and had heard of her strange escape, now believed that this woman who was then in Mobile was the beautiful and accomplished lady herself. He was sure he recognized her beneath the incognito which she had assumed, and which she appeared desirous to retain.

The Chevalier married her, and after a long residence in Louisiana, most of which was passed in Mobile, she followed him to France, and thence to the Island of Bourbon, whither he was sent with the rank of Major. In 1765 she became a widow, and went to Paris with a daughter born in Mobile. In 1771 her mysterious and romantic life was terminated in the midst of the most abject poverty.*

An ordinance decreed that the council should meet daily at New Biloxi; that merchandise should be sold at that place, Mobile, and New Orleans, at fifty per cent. profit on the manufacture of France, seventy per cent. among the Natchez and Yazoos, one hundred per cent. among the Arkansas, and fifty per cent. among the Alabamas and Muscogees, on account of the proximity of Fort Toulouse to the English influence, with which the French company were anxious successfully to compete. Another ordinance declared that negroes should be sold to the inhabitants at the price of the "piece de Inde," or six hundred and sixty livres,† in three annual installments, to be paid in tobacco or rice. If, after the second year, the debtor failed to pay, the company could take the negro if not paid for during the third year. If the effects of the debtor failed to discharge the whole debt,

1721 Sept. 5

Sept. 27

* Judge Martin, in his History of Louisiana, vol. 1, pp. 231-232, states that this woman was an impostor, and that she imposed on the credulity of the Chevalier d'Aubont and many others; that she had once been attached to the wardrobe of the Princess whom she assumed to represent, and that a few years before the declaration of American Independence a similar imposition was practiced upon the people of the Southern British Provinces by a female, driven by her misconduct from the post of maid of honor to Princess Matilda, sister of George III. She was convicted at Old Bailey and transported to Maryland. Before the expiration of her time she effected her escape, traveled through the provinces of Virginia and the Carolinas, personating the Princess, and levying contributions upon the credulity of the inhabitants. She was at length arrested in Charleston, prosecuted and publicly whipped. † Equal to one hundred and seventy-six dollars.

the company could then take his body. It also declared that leaf tobacco delivered at the warehouses of New Biloxi, New Orleans and Mobile should command the price of twenty livres per quintal; rice, twelve livres per quintal; wine, one hundred and twenty livres a hogshead; and a quarter of brandy, the same price. It also declared that Louisiana should, hereafter, be formed into nine divisions—New Orleans, Biloxi, Mobile, Alabama, Yazoo, Natchitoches, Arkansas, and Illinois; that in the chief town of each there should be a commandant and a judge, from whose decisions an appeal could be had to the Supreme Council of New Biloxi.

STATE OF THE COLONY AT THE CLOSE OF 1721.

"In the vessels which the India Company has sent thither from the 25th October, 1717, to May, 1721, there have emigrated, on the forty-three belonging to it, and in the squadron of M. de Saunjor 7020
These, with the 400 who were already there..... 400

7420
Of this number those who have died, deserted, or returned to France..... 2000

5420

To them the number of colonists is added, to which may be set down about 600 negroes."

From this statement it appears that the colony of Louisiana had really begun to prosper, but many impediments still retarded its more rapid advance, among which may be enumerated its expenses, which, for the year 1721, amounted to four hundred and seventy-four thousand two hundred and seventy-four livres. The company, too, issued an ordinance prohibiting the inhabitants from selling their negroes to the Spaniards, or to other foreigners, or taking them out of the colony, under a severe penalty, besides their confiscation.

1722
Mar. 12

Bienville, writing from Mobile, acquainted the Minister with the difficulty of discharging the cargoes of vessels upon the low shores of New Biloxi, and again brought to his consideration the superior advantages of New Orleans, for the capi-
Apr. 20 tal of the colony. One more councillor was added to the supreme council, which now consisted of Brusle, Fazende, Perry, Guilhet and Masclary. Two hundred and fifty Germans, commanded by the Chevalier D'Arensbourg, a
1722 Swedish officer, arrived at Mobile, with whom came Marigny de Mandaville, who had obtained, in France, the Cross of St. Louis and the command of Fort Conde, in Mobile. This was by far the best fort in the colony, and was now rapidly drawing to a state of completion; it was built of brick, with four bastions, and a great many casements for soldiers.* The vessel which brought over these Germans bore the distressing news that the great royal bank, which Law, the Scotch financier, under the auspices of the Duke of Orleans, had established in France, had utterly failed; that Law had left the country in disgrace, and that the people whom he had induced to take stock, found it worthless and themselves ruined. All Paris was in a ferment, and no one could anticipate an end to the long train of commercial evils which the scheming ability of this Scotchman had engendered. The company which had charge of Louisiana, and indeed the chief inhabitants of the province, were soon made to feel the explosion of this once powerful and popular institution. Louisiana, herself, was deeply involved in the failure, and her inhabitants now feared that the government of France would abandon them. But some supplies continued to arrive, in spite of the panic which pervaded the mother country. Duvergier, who had been appointed director-general and commander of the ma-

* Mr. E. T. Wood, of Mobile, who wrote a history of that place, embodied in a directory, which he published, says that when Fort Conde (which was also called Fort Charlotte by the British after they took possession of it,) was pulled down by the Americans some years after the place fell into their hands, that the corner-stone was found with the date of 1717, distinctly engraved upon it.

rine, disembarked at Pensacola, bearing the Cross 1722
of St. Louis for Boisbriant, St. Dennis and Chateaugne. July 25

The failure of the Royal Bank of France, and the distress which it produced in all parts of that kingdom, caused Louisiana, for a time, to be so neglected, that the inhabitants became destitute of provisions. The officers were obliged to dismiss the garrisons of Mobile and Biloxi, and send them to the Choctaw nation to precure subsistence among the Indians, while many of the colonists abandoned their homes and betook themselves to the sea-side to procure a scanty living upon fish and oysters. It was even worse at some of the more distant posts, particularly at Fort Toulouse, upon the Coosa, now in Alabama. There, the soldiers were tortured by famine, and corrupted by some British traders, who induced them to desert and fly to Charleston. The command consisted of a captain,
a lieutenant, an ensign, a corporal and twenty-six sol- Aug.
diers. When the latter had perfected their mutiny, the planning of which had occupied several days, they rose upon the officers, one morning, about breakfast. Capt. Marchand was instantly slain. Lieutenant Villemont and Ensign Paque made their escape through a port-hole of one of the bastions, and fled to the Hickory Ground, a town of Creek Indians, three miles above, on the east bank of the Coosa, and embracing the lower suburbs of the modern city of Wetumpka. Here Villemont made irresistible appeals to the warriors to march against the mutineers. He, at the same time, despatched Paque across the river to the town of Coosawda, where then lived the great Chief, Big Mortar, whom the ensign succeeded in enlisting in the cause of the King. In the meantime, the mutineers, having killed the captain, intimidated the corporal, who now joined them in a general pillage of the fort. They appropriated to themselves the money and clothing of the officers, leaving only the sacred wardrobe of the priest, a Jesuit father, whom they did not molest. The magazine, constructed of brick, was forced open, and arms

and ammunition taken from it.* The store-room was plundered of its contents, consisting of a very limited supply of flour and meat. The mutineers, after partaking of a hearty repast, marched off to the Red Warrior's Bluff,† where they crossed the Tallapoosa and took up the line of march for Charleston. Villemont, with the Indian force which he had speedily raised, marched against them. A battle ensued at the ford of Line Creek, which now divides the modern counties of Montgomery and Macon. Sixteen of the deserters were slain. They all fought with the desperation of tigers.‡ The others, except two who escaped, were taken prisoners, and Villemont, who was wounded in the action, marched with them back to Fort Toulouse. Here the fort was found to be in a very solitary condition, being inhabited only by the Jesuit father, who had resolved to remain until he could get a favorable opportunity of going to Mobile, not believing that the brave and indefatigable Villemont could subdue the deserters; the body of the unfortunate Captain Marchand had been already interred by him and some Indians. Villemont, the next day, obtained some canoes and placed the deserters in them, in charge of an Indian guard, at the head of which was Ensign Paque, who conveyed them to Mobile, where they were shortly afterwards executed. Villemont and the priest were solitary inmates of Fort Toulouse for several months, until another garrison was sent up the river. The lieutenant had, however, many Indian warriors lying around the fort, who were ready to aid him if he had been attacked by the English, who were anxious to occupy this post.§

1722 Aug.

Sept.

* Some of the brick of this magazine are yet to be seen lying about the ruins of old Fort Toulouse, now called old Fort Jackson, and I have several of them in my house, taken from that place.

† The Red Warrior's Bluff of that day is the present Grey's Ferry.

‡ The bones of these sixteen Frenchmen lay, for many years, very near the house which Walter B. Lucas afterwards erected, and where he for a long time kept entertainment.

§ The revolt of the garrison of Fort Toulouse, upon the Coosa, is mentioned by Gayarre, in his History of Louisiana, vol. 1, p. 190; by La Harpe, p. 261; by Judge Martin, vol. 2, p. 239; but I have derived the chief facts from Indian traditions handed down y General Alexander McGillivray, a very great Indian Chief of mixed blood, who was he grandson of the unfortunate Captain Marchand, who was killed upon this occasion.

Fortunately, a vessel arrived with provisions for the King's troops. She brought the news that the Regent had entrusted the affairs of the colony to the management of three commissioners: Ferrand, Faget and Machinet. A detailed account of a great hurricane which swept along the coast of Lou- 1722
isiana, of the desertion of soldiers, sailors and workmen, and a recommendation to allow free passage to all who might choose to return to France, as a remedy for desertions generally, formed the subjects of a communication addressed by De l'Orme to the Minister. While the dis- Oct. 30
tressing situation of the colony rendered the offices of the three commissioners by no means sinecures, embarrassments were further produced by a war which the Natches had begun, and the worthlessness of the paper money hitherto used in the colony, to remedy which *cards* were substituted after the notes were suppressed. One Michel, of Mobile, was the person appointed to engrave these cards.

The new commissioners who had succeeded to the directorship of the company, readily acceded to the long cher- 1723
ished wish of Bienville, to remove the seat of government to New Orleans, and it was accordingly established at that place.* The population of New Orleans, at that period numbered only two hundred souls, who occupied a hundred huts and cabins!

The commissioners of the company, in a new code of regulations, declared that negroes should hereafter be sold at six hundred and seventy-six livres,† payable in one, two or three years, either in rice or tobacco. The province was divided into nine districts, civil and military, as follows: Alabama, Mobile, Biloxi, New Orleans, Natchez, Yazoo, Illinois, Wabash, Arkansas and Natchitoches. There was a commandant and a judge appointed

* Histoire de Louisiane, par Charles Gayarre, vol. 1, pp. 166-193. Journal Historique de l'Establissement des Francais a la Louisiane, par Bernard de la Harpe, pp. 144-289.—Martin's History of Louisiana, vol. 1, pp. 218-244.

† Equal to one hundred and sixty-nine dollars.

for each of these districts. Three great ecclesiastical districts were also formed. The first was entrusted to the Capuchins, and extended from the mouth of Mississippi river to Illinois. The barefooted Carmelites were stationed at Fort Toulouse, upon the Coosa river, at Mobile and at Biloxi, while the Jesuits labored upon the Wabash and Illinois. Churches and chapels were ordered to be constructed, for many of the colonists had been forced to worship in the open air, around crosses, the bottom parts of which were buried in the ground!

1723 Bienville restored Pensacola to the Spaniards in pursuance of orders from his government; for Spain and France had concluded a peace. In a despatch to the Minister, he stated that his allies,—the Choctaws,— had destroyed three towns of the Chickasaws, and had brought to him one hundred prisoners and four hundred scalps! Bienville communicated this intelligence with much apparent *gusto*, accompanied with the remark that "this important result was obtained without risking the life of a single Frenchman."

Although the colonists often existed in a state of penury and want, they did not abandon their passion for *gambling*, which was carried to such an extent that the government issued an ordinance against all games of chance. An ordinance was also promulgated against the trade which many of the colonists were illicitly conducting with the Natchez Indians. The month of September terminated with a dreadful tornado, which prostrated the church, the hospital, and thirty houses in New Orleans; destroyed the crops upon the Mobile and Pearl rivers; dismantled the shipping in the different ports, and left the whole colony in a condition of wretchedness and famine. Added to all this, a whole company of Swiss infantry, which had embarked at Biloxi for New Orleans, rose upon the captain of the vessel and compelled him to carry them to Charleston. Yet, in the

1723 Oct. midst of all these calamities, the indefatigable Bienville departed from New Orleans with seven hundred men to

punish the Natchez, who had recently killed several Frenchmen. He returned after having terminated the second war with them, by procuring the heads of the principal offenders. Notwithstanding the important services which this great man was continuing to render the colony, his relentless enemies sought every opportunity to make him odious to the ruling powers of France. Aspersed in dispatches, which were speedily borne across the ocean, he was at the same moment insulted at home by libellous placards in the streets. At length he received orders to sail for France, to answer the charges against him, leaving the command to Boisbriant until his return. 1724 Feb. 16

But before Bienville embarked upon the broad Atlantic, he issued the celebrated "BLACK CODE," in the name of the King. It declared that all Jews should leave the colony; that all slaves should be instructed in the Roman Catholic religion; that no other religion should be tolerated in the colony; that if the owners of negroes were not true Catholics, their slaves should be confiscated; and that the white inhabitants should not enter into marital relations with negroes, nor live with them in a state of concubinage. 1724 March

The "Black Code" contained many other articles in relation to the government of slaves—some of which were precisely like those now in force in the Southwestern States of the present confederacy. The year 1724 was remarkable for arbitrary edicts; but there was one which was beneficial. The inhabitants had become so accustomed to rely upon France for all the necessaries of subsistence, that valuable cattle, sent to Louisiana for purposes of propagation, were always killed and devoured. An ordinance was issued by the King, at the request of the Superior Council, punishing with *death* every person who should intentionally kill or severely wound any horse or horned animal which did not belong to him.

De la Chaise, nephew of the famous father of that name, who was the confessor of Louis XIV., presided over the coun-
1725 cil, which was now held monthly in the town of New Orleans.

But to return to Bienville. That brave man appeared at Paris, after a prosperous voyage, and submitted an eloquent memoir to the King in justification of his official conduct. It also contained a history of the services to which he had, from the commencement of the colonial establishment, devoted a period of twenty-five years. But, in despite of his true exposition of his arduous labors spent in the insalubrious forests of America, among savages and reptiles, and in spite of the exertions made by his friends, both in France and Louisiana, to re-establish him in the confidence of the King, he was removed from office,
1726 and Perrier nominated Governor of Louisiana. The
Aug. 9 government did not stop here. Chateaugne, the brother of Bienville, lost the post of Royal Lieutenant, while two nephews of Bienville, named Noyan, one a Captain and the other an Ensign, were cashiered without any just cause. Thus the influence of Bienville was overthrown in Louisiana. In the meantime the new Governor arrived in New Orleans.

Governor Perrier, in a despatch to the Minister, employed this language in reference to the encroachments of the English of South Carolina: "The English continue to urge their commerce into the very heart of the province. Sixty or seventy horses, laden with merchandise, have passed into the country of the Chickasaws, to which nation I have given orders to plunder the English of their goods, promising to recompense them by a present. As yet I have heard nothing from that quarter. It appears that a league was formed among all the Indian nations of their neighborhood to attack the Spanish settlements. Whereupon the Governor of Pensacola requested assistance
1727 from me. Having no news from Europe, I thought it was for our interest not to have the English so near us,

and, in consequence, informed the Tallapoosas,* who were before Pensacola, that if they did not immediately retire I should attack them with those nations who were friendly to us. I also gave notice to the Alabamas, that if they attacked the Spaniards, who were our friends, I should be compelled to assist the latter. But I should have taken care not to have interfered with the natives who were friendly to us, in order that I might not commit myself with regard to the English. This had a good effect. The Governor thanked me, informing me that war was declared in Europe. Notwithstanding, I shall indirectly assist the Spanish until I receive other orders from your highness, at the same time taking the liberty to represent that our sole effort should be to prevent the English from approaching us.

"I have caused all the nations, from the Arkansas to the mouth of the river, to make peace with each other. There remain at variance only the Choctaws and Chickasaws, who have a discussion concerning a Chief of the latter 1727 nation who was killed by the former. I shall go to Mobile to settle their affairs, and shall take measures with them to prevent the English from entering our territory during the ensuing year, and by degrees to abolish the custom which they have formed, of trading for all the deer skins obtained by the Indians, in order that the latter may not be obliged to trade with the English to get rid of them."

A vessel belonging to the company arrived with quite a number of young girls, who, unlike many others who had been sent to Louisiana, had not been taken from the house of correction. They were each provided with a little chest, containing articles of apparel, and from this circumstance they were called girls *de la cassette*—girls of the chest. They were placed under the surveillance of the Ursuline nuns until they could be disposed of by marriage.†

* Meaning the Creeks, who lived upon the Tallapoosa river.
† Histoire de la Louisiane, par Charles Gayarre, vol. 1, pp. 193-235.

CHAPTER XI.

Terrible Massacre at Natchez.

The colony of Louisiana was now in a flourishing condition; its fields were cultivated by more than two thousand negroes; cotton, indigo, tobacco and grain were produced; skins
1728 and furs of all descriptions were obtained in a traffic with the Indians; and lumber was extensively exported to the West India islands. The province was protected by eight hundred troops of the line; but the bloody massacre of
1729 the French population of Fort Rosalie, at the Natchez, arrested these rapid strides of prosperity, and shrouded all things in sadness and gloom. Our library contains many accounts of this horrible affair, which harmonize very well with each other; but in reference to the causes which led to it, more particularly, we propose to introduce the statement of Le Page Du Pratz, who was residing in Louisiana at the time. We give his account, in his own faithful style:

"Chopart had been commandant of the post of the Natchez, from which he was removed on account of some act of injustice. Governor Perrier, but lately arrived, suffered himself to be prepossessed in his favor, on his telling him that he had commanded that post with applause, and thus he obtained the command from Perrier, who was unacquainted with his character. This new commandant, on taking possession of his post, projected the forming of one of the most eminent settlements of the whole colony. For this purpose he examined all the grounds unoccupied by the French, but could not find anything that came up to the grandeur of his views. Nothing but the village of the White Apple, a square league, at least, in extent, could give him satisfaction, and

there he resolved immediately to settle. This ground was distant from the fort about two leagues.* Conceited with the beauty of his project, the commandant sent for the Sun of that village, to come to the fort; upon his arrival, he told him, without ceremony, that he must look out for another ground to build his village on, as he, himself, resolved, as soon as possible, to build on the village of the Apple, and that he must directly close the huts and retire somewhere else. The better to cover his design, he gave out that it was necessary for the French to settle on the banks of the rivulet, where stood the great village and the abode of the Grand Sun. The commandant, doubtless, supposed that he was speaking to a slave, whom we may command in a tone of absolute authority. But he knew not that the natives of Louisiana are such enemies to a state of slavery that they prefer death itself; above all, the Suns, accustomed to govern despotically, have still a greater aversion to it.

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"The Sun of the Apple made answer, that his ancestors had lived in that village for as many years as there were hairs in his double cue, and, therefore, it was good they should continue there. Scarce had the interpreter explained this answer to the commandant, when the latter fell into a passion, and, threateningly, told the Sun, that if he did not quit his village, in a few days, he might repent it. The Sun replied: 'When the French came to ask us for land, to settle on, they told us there was land enough still unoccupied for them, and that the same sun would enlighten them all, and all would walk in the same path.' He wanted to proceed further, in justification of what he alleged, but the commandant, in a passion, said he was resolved to be obeyed. The Sun, without discovering any emo-

Spring of 1729

* "The site of the White Apple village was about twelve miles south of the present city of Natchez, near the mouth of second creek, and three miles east of the Mississippi. The site was occupied by the plantation of Colonel Anthony Hutchens, an early emigrant to Florida. All vestiges of Indian industry have disappeared except some mounds in the vicinity."—Monette's History of the Valley of the Mississippi, vol. 1, p 258.

tion or passion, then withdrew, only observing that he was going to assemble the old men of his village to hold a council upon the affair.

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"In this council it was resolved to represent to the commandant, that the corn of all the people of their village was already shot a little out of the earth, and that all their hens were laying their eggs. That if they quitted their village now, the chickens and corn would be lost both to the French and to themselves. * * * * The commandant turned a deaf ear to these views, and threatened to chastise the Chiefs if they did not comply with his orders, in a very short time, which he named. The Sun reported this answer to his council, who debated the question. But the policy of the old men was, that they should be allowed to stay in their village until harvest, and until they had time to dry their corn and shake out the grain. In consideration of this privilege, they each proposed to pay the commandant, in so many moons, a basket of corn and a fowl. * * * * The cupidity of the commandant made him accept the proposition with joy, and blinded him with regard to the consequences of his tyranny. He, however, pretended that he agreed to the offer out of favor, to do a pleasure to a nation so beloved, and who had ever been good friends of the French. The Sun appeared highly satisfied to have obtained a delay sufficient for taking the precautions necessary to the security of the nation, for he was by no means the dupe of the feigned benevolence of the commander.

Summer of 1729

"The Sun, upon his return, again caused the council to be assembled. * * * * He stated to them that it was necessary to avail themselves of this time, in order to withdraw themselves from this proposed payment and tyrannic domination of the French, who grew dangerous in proportion as they multiplied. That the Natchez ought to remember the war made upon them, in violation of the peace concluded between them. That

this war, having been made upon their village alone, they ought to consider of the surest means to take a just and bloody vengeance. That this enterprise being of the utmost importance, it called for much secrecy, for solid measures, and for much policy. That it was proper to cajole the French chief more than ever, and that the affair required reflection before it was proposed to the GRAND SUN.

"In the meantime, the old men had come to the determination, not only to revenge themselves, but to engage in the entire destruction of all the French in the province. When, therefore, the council again met, the most venerable man rose and delivered the following speech:

"'We have a long time been sensible that the neighborhood of the French is a greater prejudice than benefit to us. We, who are old, see this—the young see it not. The wares of the French yield pleasure to the youth, but to what purpose is it, except to debauch the young women, and taint the blood of the nation, and make them vain and idle? The young men are in the same condition—they must work themselves to death to maintain their families and please their children. Before the French came among us, WE WERE MEN, content with what we had, and walked with boldness every path. Now we go groping about, afraid of meeting briars. We walk like slaves, which we shall soon be, since the French already treat us as if we were such. When they are sufficiently strong, they will no longer dissemble. For the least fault of our young people they will then tie them to a post and whip them. Have they not already done so to one of our young men, and is not death preferable to slavery? What wait we for? Shall we suffer the French to multiply till we are no longer in a condition to oppose them? What will the other nations say of the Natchez, who are admitted to be the greatest of all the Red men? Let us set ourselves at liberty. * * * From this very day let our women get provisions ready, without

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telling them the reason. Go and carry the pipe of peace to all the nations of this country. Tell them that the French, being stronger here than elsewhere, enslave us the more; but when they spread out they will treat all nations in like manner. That it is their interest to join us to prevent so great a misfortune. That they have only to join us to cut off the French to a man in one day and in one hour!"

Here the speaker continued his address and exhorted them to be prepared to fall upon the French at nine o'clock, on the morning of the day when they were to deliver to the commandant the corn and chickens, and that the warriors were to carry with them their arms, as if going to hunt. They unanimously approved of his views, and pledged themselves to carry them out. Du Pratz continues: "Notwithstanding the profound secrecy observed by the Natchez, the council held by the Suns and aged nobles gave the people great uneasiness, unable, as they were, to penetrate into the matter. The female Suns had alone, in this nation, the right to demand why they were kept in the dark in this affair. The young grand female Sun was a princess scarce eighteen. None but the Stung Arm, a woman of great wit, and no less sensible of it, could be offended that nothing was disclosed to her. In effect, she made known to her son her displeasure at this reserve with respect to herself. He replied that the several deputations were made in order to renew their good intelligence with the other nations, to whom they had not, in a long time, sent an embassy, and who might imagine themselves slighted by such neglect. This feigned excuse seemed to appease the princess, but not quite to rid her of all her uneasiness, which, on the contrary, was heightened upon the return of the embassies, when she saw the Suns assemble in secret council together. She was filled with rage, which would have broken out, if her prudence had not set bounds to it. Happy it is for the French that she imagined herself neglected. I am persuaded that the colony owes its preservation to

Fall of 1729

the vexation of this woman, rather than to any affection which she entertained for the French, as she was now far advanced in years, and her French gallant long since dead. In order to get to the bottom of the secret, she prevailed on her son to accompany her on a visit to a relation that lay sick at the village of the Meal, and leading him the most distant and retired route, took occasion to reproach him with the secrecy he and the other Suns observed with regard to her. She insisted on her right, as a mother, and her privilege as a princess, adding, that although the world and herself, too, had told him he was the son of a Frenchman, yet her own blood was much dearer to her than that of strangers; that she need not apprehend she would ever betray him to the French, against whom, she said, you are plotting.

"The son, stung with these reproaches, told her it was unusual to reveal what the old men of the council had once resolved upon, and as he was Grand Sun, he ought to set a good example in this respect; but seeing you have guessed the whole affair, I need not inform you further. You know as much as I do myself, only hold your tongue." Fall of 1729

"She replied that she was in no pain to know against whom he had taken his precaution, but as it was against the French this was the very thing that made her apprehensive he had not taken his measures aright, in order to surprise them, as they were a people of great penetration, although their commandant had none. Her son told her that she had nothing to apprehend as to the measures taken; that all the nations had heard and approved their project, and promised to fall upon the French in their neighborhood on the same day with the Natchez; that the Choctaws had resolved to destroy all the French lower down and along the Mississippi, up as far as the Tonicas, to which last people, he said, we did not send, as they and the Oumas are too much wedded to the French. He at last told her that the bundle of

rods* lay in the temple, on the flat timber. The Stung Arm, being informed of the whole design, pretended to approve it, and leaving her son at ease, henceforward was only solicitous how she might defeat this barbarous design. The time was pressing, and the term fixed for the execution was almost expired. Unwilling to see the French cut off to a man in one day, she resolved to apprise them of the conspiracy through some young woman who loved them, enjoining them never to tell from whom they had their information.† She desired a soldier whom she met to tell the commandant that the Natchez had lost their senses, and to desire him to be upon his guard. The soldier faithfully performed his commission, but the commandant treated him as a coward and a visionary,—caused him to be placed in irons, and declared he would never take any steps towards repairing the fort, as the Natchez would then imagine he was a man of no resolution. The Stung Arm fearing a discovery, notwithstanding her precaution and the secrecy she enjoined, repaired to the temple and pulled some rods out of the fatal bundle. Her design was to hasten the time fixed, to the end that such Frenchmen as escaped the massacre might apprise their countrymen, many of whom had informed the commandant, who placed seven of them in irons. The female Sun, seeing the time approaching, and many of those punished whom she had charged to

Fall of 1727

* By all ancient and modern Indians rods or sticks were used to assemble the nation together. A Chief was accustomed to send forth a warrior with a bundle of sticks, and as he journeyed towards the towns to which he was despatched he would throw away one of these sticks at the close of each day. When he gave them to the party to whom he was bearing them, the latter also continued, at the close of every day, to throw away a stick. The Chiefs who sent these sticks also kept a duplicate number, and each day threw away one, so that those at a distance and those at the council house would meet together on the same day, when the last stick had been thrown away. In modern times sending sticks was called "sending out the broken days."

† "The Sieur de Mace, ensign of the garrison of the fort at Natchez, received advice by a young Indian girl who loved him. She told him, crying, that her nation was to massacre all the French. M. De Mace, amazed at this discourse, questioned his mistress. Her simple answers and her tender tears left him no room to doubt of the plot. He went immediately to give Chopart intelligence of it, who put him under arrest for giving false alarm."—Bossu's Travels through Louisiana, letter 3, addressed to the Marquis de L'Estrade, vol. 1, p. 62. London, 1771.

Bossu also states that Chopart, becoming enraged at Dumont, the second in command, for remonstrating with him against his tyranny towards the Natchez in the commencement of the spring, placed that excellent officer and faithful historian in irons.—Vol. 1, p. 48

acquaint the governor, resolved to speak to the under-lieutenant, but to no better purpose. Notwithstanding all these warnings, the commandant went out the night before on a party of pleasure, with some other Frenchmen, to the grand village of the Natchez, without returning to the fort till the break of day, where he had no sooner arrived than he was admonished to be upon his guard. Still stimulated with his last night's debauch, he added imprudence to neglect, and despatched his interpreter to demand of the Grand Sun whether he intended to kill the French. The Grand Sun, though but a young man, knew how to dissemble, and spoke in such a manner to the interpreter as to allay his suspicions and fears.*

We propose now to introduce the statement of Father Le Petit, who at the time of its occurrence was residing in New Orleans, respecting the massacre itself. He was a learned and pious Jesuit priest. The following is his letter to Father D'Avaugour, procurator of the missions in North America:

"At New Orleans, 12th July, 1730.

"*My Reverend Father—the Peace of our Lord be with you*:

* * * * "After having given you an imperfect idea of the character and customs of the Natchez Indians, I proceed, my reverend father, as I have promised you, to enter upon a detailed account of their perfidy and treason. It was on the second of December of the year 1729, that we learned they had surprised the French, and had massacred almost all of them. This sad news was first brought to us by one of the planters, who had escaped their fury. It was confirmed to us on the following day by other French fugitives, and finally, some French women, whom they had made slaves, and were forced afterwards to restore, brought us all the particulars.

"At the first rumor of an event so sad, the alarm and consternation was general in New Orleans. Although the massacre

* DuPratz' Louisiana, pp. 79-90. In copying this author's statement, I have occasionally omitted some redundancies and uninteresting detail.

had taken place more than a hundred leagues from here, you would have supposed that it had happened under our own eyes. Each one was mourning the loss of a relative—a friend—or some property; all were alarmed for their own lives, for there
1729 was reason for fear that the conspiracy of the Indians
Oct. 28 had been general. This unlooked for massacre began on Monday, the 28th of October, about nine o'clock in the morning. Some cause of dissatisfaction which the Natchez thought they had with the commander, and the arrival of a number of richly laden boats for the garrison and the colonists, determined them to hasten their enterprise, and to strike their blow sooner than they had agreed with the other confederate tribes.* First they divided themselves, and sent into the fort, into the village, and into the two grants, as many Indians as there were French in each of these places. Then they feigned that they were going out for a grand hunt, and undertook to trade with the French for guns, powder and ball, offering to pay them as much, and even more, than was customary; and, in truth, as there was no reason to suspect their fidelity, they made at the time, an exchange of their poultry and corn for some arms and ammunition, which they used advantageously against us. It is true that some expressed their distrust, but this was thought to have so little foundation that they were treated as cowards, who were frightened at their own shadows. They had been on their guard against the Choctaws; but as for the Natchez, they had never distrusted them, and they were so persuaded of their good faith that it increased their hardihood. Having thus posted themselves in different houses, provided with the arms obtained from us, they attacked, at the same time, each his man; and in less than two hours they massacred more than two hundred of the French. The best known are M. De Chopart, commander of the post; M. Du Codere, commander among the Yazoos; M. Des

* Father Le Petit is mistaken as to the causes which hastened the massacre. It will be recollected that DuPratz told us that Stung Arm pulled out several sticks from the bundle, and it was this which brought on the time sooner.

Ursins; Messieurs De Kolly, father and son; Messieurs De Longrays, Des Noyers, Bailly, etc.

"The Father Du Poisson had just performed the funeral rites of his associate, the brother Crucy, who had died very suddenly of a sunstroke; he was on his way to consult Governor Perrier, and to adopt with him proper measures to enable the Arkansas to descend the banks of the Mississippi, for the accommodation of the voyagers. He arrived among the Natchez on the 26th of November, that is, two days before the massacre. The next day, which was the first Sunday of Advent, he said mass in the parish, and preached in the absence of the cure. He was to have returned in the afternoon to his mission among the Arkansas, but he was detained by some sick persons, to whom it was necessary to administer the sacraments. On Monday he was about to say mass, and to carry the holy sacrament to one of those sick persons whom he had confessed, the evening before, when the massacre began. A gigantic Chief, six feet in height, seized him, and having thrown him to the ground, cut off his head with blows of a hatchet. The father, in falling, only uttered these words: 'Ah, my God! ah, my God!' M. Du Codere drew his sword to defend him, when he was himself killed by a musket ball from another Indian, whom he did not perceive. 1729 Oct. 28

"The barbarians spared but two of the French, a tailor and a carpenter, who were able to serve their wants. They did not treat badly, either the negro slaves or the Indians who were willing to give themselves up; but they ripped up the abdomen of every pregnant woman, and killed almost all those who were nursing their children, because they were disturbed by their cries and tears. They did not kill the other women, but made them their slaves, and treated them with every indignity during the two or three months that they were their masters. The least miserable were those who knew how to sew, because they kept them busy in making shirts, dresses, etc. The others

were employed in cutting and carrying wood for cooking, and in pounding the corn of which they made their *sagamite.* But two things, above all, aggravated the grief and hardness of their slavery; it was, in the first place, to have for masters, those same persons whom they had seen dipping their cruel hands in the blood of their husbands; and, in the second place, to
1729 hear them continually saying that the French had been
Oct. 28 treated in the same manner at all the other posts, and that the country was now entirely freed from them.

"During the massacre, the Sun, or the Great Chief of the Natchez, was seated quietly under the tobacco shed of the company. His warriors brought to his feet the head of the commander, about which they ranged those of the principal French of the post, leaving their bodies a prey to the dogs, the buzzards, and other carnivorous birds.* When they were assured that no other Frenchmen remained at the post, they applied themselves to plunder the houses, the magazines of the Indian company, and all the boats which were still loaded by the banks of the river. They employed the negroes to transport the merchandise, which they divided among themselves, with the exception of the munitions of war, which they placed, for security, in a separate cabin. While the brandy lasted, of which they found a good supply, they passed their days and nights in drinking, singing, dancing, and insulting, in the most barbarous manner, the dead bodies and the memory of the French. The Choctaws and the other Indians being engaged in the plot with them, they felt at their ease, and did not at all fear that they would

* Dumont, in his "Memoires Historiques sur la Louisiane," tome 2, pp. 145-146, thus speaks of Chopart:

"In the midst of the general massacre of the French, Chopart revived, as if Providence had wished to reserve him as a witness of the destruction of so many inhabitants who would not have perished but for his folly. He recognized it, at last, but too late, and raising himself from his seat, instead of taking his gun and placing himself on the defence, he fled to his garden, where he gave a whistle, in order to call the soldiers of the garrison. But they were no more. He could see all around him, by the sides of the palisades, which enclosed his garden, the earth strewn with their carcasses. At the same time he was surrounded by the savages, who breathed nothing more than his death, while none of them wished to lay hands upon him. They considered him as a a "dog," unworthy of being killed by a brave man, and they made the chief stinking-man come, who killed him with the stroke of a club."

draw on themselves the vengeance which was merited by their cruelty and perfidy. One night, when they were plunged in drunkenness and sleep, Madame Des Noyers wished to make use of the negroes to revenge the death of her husband and the French, but she was betrayed by the person to whom she confided her design, and came very near being burned alive.

"Some of the French escaped the fury of the Indians by taking refuge in the woods, where they suffered extremely from hunger and the effects of the weather.* One of them, on arriving here, relieved us of a little disquietude we felt in regard to the post we occupy among the Yazoos, which is not more than forty or fifty leagues above the Natchez by water and only from fifteen to twenty by land. Not being able to endure the extreme cold from which he suffered, he left the woods under cover of the night, to go and warm himself in the house of a Frenchman. When he was near it he heard the voices of Indians, and deliberated whether he should enter. He determined, however, to do so, preferring rather to perish by the hands of these barbarians than to die of famine and cold. He was agreeably surprised when he found these savages ready to render him a service, to heap kindness upon him, to commiserate him, to console him, to furnish him with provisions, clothes and a boat to make his escape to New Orleans. These were the Yazoos, who were returning from chanting the calumet, at Oumas. The Chief charged him to say to M. Perrier that he had nothing to fear on the part of the Yazoos, that 'they would not lose their spirit,'—that is, that they would always remain attached to the French, and that he would be constantly on the watch with his tribe, to warn the

* In a despatch made by Governor Perrier to the Minister in France, dated the 18th March, 1730, he says:— * * "A general assassination of the French ensued, which occupied but little time; one single attack terminated it with the exception of the house of M. la Loire des Ursins, in which there were eight men, six of whom were killed, and the remaining two escaped during the night—the Indians having been unable to seize them during the day. M. la Loire des Ursins was mounted on a horse when the attack commenced, and being unable to regain his house, he defended himself until he fell, having killed four Indians. Thus it has cost the Natchez only twelve men to destroy two hundred and fifty of our people."—Gayarre's Histoire de la Louisiane, vol. 1, pp. 242-243.

French boats that were descending the river, to be on their guard against the Natchez.

"We believed, for a long time, that the promises of this Chief were very sincere, and feared no more Indian perfidy for our post among the Yazoos. But learn, my reverend father, the disposition of these Indians, and how little one is able to trust their words, even when accompanied by the greatest demonstrations of friendship. Scarcely had they returned to their own village, when loaded with presents they received from the Natchez, they followed their example and imitated their treachery. Uniting with the Corroys, they agreed together to exterminate the French. They began with Father Souel, the missionary of both tribes, who was then living in the midst of them, in their own village. On the 11th of December, Father Souel was re-
1730 turning in the evening from visiting the Chief, and
Dec. 11 while in a ravine, received many musket balls, and fell dead on the spot. The Indians immediately rushed to his cabin to plunder it. His negro, who composed all his family and all his defense, armed himself with a wood-cutter's knife to prevent the pillage, and even wounded one of the savages. This zealous action cost him his life, but happily less than a month before he had received baptism, and was living in a most Christian manner.

"These Indians, who even to that time seemed sensible of the affection which their missionary bore them, reproached themselves for his death, as soon as they were capable of reflection; but returning again to their natural ferocity, they adopted the resolution of putting a finishing stroke to their crime, by the destruction of the whole French post. 'Since the Black Chief is dead,' said they, 'it is the same as if all the French were dead; let us not spare any.' The next day they executed their barbarous plan. They repaired, early in the morning, to the fort, which was not more than a league distant, and whose occupants supposed, on their arrival, that the Indians wished to chant the cal-

umet to the Chevalier des Roches, who commanded that post, in the absence of M. de Codere. He had but seventeen men with him, who had no suspicion of any evil design on the part of the savages, and were, therefore, all massacred, not one escaping their fury. They, however, spared the lives of four women and five children, whom they found there, and whom they made slaves. One of the Yazoos having stripped the missionary, clothed himself in his garments, and shortly after announced to the Natchez that his nation had redeemed their pledge, and that the French, settled among them, were all massacred. In this city, there was no longer any doubt on that point, as soon as they learned what came near being the fate of Father Doutreleau. This missionary had availed himself of the time when the Indians were engaged in their winter occupations, to come and see us, for the purpose of regulating some matters relating to his mission. He set out on the first of this year, 1730, and not expecting to arrive at the residence of Father Souel, of whose fate he was ignorant, in time to say mass, he determined to say it at the mouth of the Little Yazoo river, where his party had cabined.

"As he was preparing for the sacred office, he saw a boat full of Indians landing; they demanded from them of what nation they were. 'Yazoos, comrades of the French,' they replied, making a thousand friendly demonstrations to the voyagers, who accompanied the missionary, and presenting them with provisions. While the father was preparing his altar, a flock of bustards passed, and the voyagers fired at them the only two guns they had, without thinking of reloading, as mass had already commenced. The Indians noted this, and placed themselves behind the voyagers, as if it was their intention to hear mass, although they were not Christians. At the time the father was saying the *Kyrie Eleison*, the Indians made their discharge; the missionary, seeing himself wounded in his right arm, and seeing one of the voyagers killed at his feet, and the four others fled, threw himself on his

1730 Jan. 1

knees to receive the last fatal blow, which he regarded as inevitable. In this posture he received two or three discharges, but although the Indians fired while almost touching him, yet they did not inflict on him any new wounds. Finding himself then, as it were, miraculously escaped from so many mortal blows, he took to flight, having on still his priestly garments, and without any other defence than entire confidence in God, whose particular protection was given him, as the events proved. He threw himself into the water, and after advancing some steps gained the boat, in which two of the voyagers were making their escape. They had supposed him to be killed
1730 by some of the many balls which they had heard fired on
Jan. him. In climbing up into the boat, and turning his head to see whether any one of his pursuers was following him too closely, he received in the mouth a discharge of small shot, the greater part of which were flattened against his teeth, though some of them entered his gums and remained there for a long time. I have myself seen two of them. Father Doutreleau, all wounded as he was, undertook the duty of steering the boat, while his two companions placed themselves at the oars; unfortunately one of them at setting out had his thigh broken by a musket ball, from the effects of which he has since remained a cripple. * * * As soon as they found themselves freed from their enemies, they dressed their wounds as well as they could, and for the purpose of aiding their flight from that fatal shore they threw into the river everything they had in their boat, preserving only some pieces of raw bacon for their nourishment. It had been their intention to stop in passing at the Natchez, but having seen that the houses of the French were either demolished or burned, they did not think it advisable to listen to the compliments of the Indians who, from the bank of the river, invited them to land. They placed a wide distance between them as soon as possible, and thus shunned the balls which were ineffectually fired at them. It was then that they began to distrust all the

Indian nations, and, therefore, resolved not to go near the land until they reached New Orleans; and supposing that the savages might have rendered themselves masters of it, to descend even to the Balize, where they hoped to find some French vessel provided to receive the wreck of the colony. * * * I cannot express to you, my reverend father, the great satisfaction I felt at seeing Father Doutreleau, his arm in a scarf, arrive (in New Orleans) after a voyage of more than four hundred leagues, all the clothes he had on having been borrowed, except his cassock. I placed him immediately in the hands of brother Parisel, who examined his wounds and who dressed them with great care and speedy success. The missionary was not yet entirely cured of his wounds when he departed to act as chaplain to the French army, as he had promised the officers, in accordance with their request. 1730 Jan. 8

* * * * * * *

"Knowing as you do, my reverend father, the vigilance and the oversight of our Governor, you can well imagine that he did not sleep in this sad crisis in which we now found ourselves. We may say, without flattery, that he surpassed himself by the rapid movements he made, and by the wise measures he adopted to revenge the French blood which had been shed, and to prevent the evils with which almost all the posts of the colony were threatened. As soon as he was apprised of this unexpected attack, by the Natchez Indians, he caused the news to be carried to all the posts, and even as far as the Illinois, not by the ordinary route of the river, which was closed, but on one side by the Natchitoches and the Arkansas, and the other by Mobile and the Chickasaw. He invited the neighbors, who were our allies, and particularly the Choctaws, to avenge this outrage. He furnished arms and ammunition to all the houses of the city and to the plantations. He caused two ships, that is, the Duc de Bourbon and the Alexandre, to ascend the river as far as the Tonicas. These ships were like two good fortresses against the

insults of the Indians, and in case of attack, two certain asylums for the women and children. He caused a ditch to be dug entirely around the city, and placed guard houses at the four extremities. He organized for its defence many companies of city militia, who mounted guard during the whole night. As there was more to fear in the grants and in the plantations than in the city, he fortified them with the most care. He had good forts erected at Chapitoulas, Cannes, Brules, Altemands, Bayagoulas, and Pointe Coupee.

"At first, our governor, listening only to the dictates of his own courage, adopted the design of placing himself at the head of the troops, but it was represented to him that he ought not to quit New Orleans, where his presence was absolutely necessary; that there was danger of the Choctaws determining to fall upon the city, if it should be deprived of its troops; and the negroes, to free themselves from slavery, might join them, as some had done with the Natchez. Moreover, he could feel per-

1730 Jan. fectly easy with regard to the conduct of the troops, as the Chevalier De Loubois, with whose experience and bravery he was well acquainted, had been appointed to command them. Whilst our little army was repairing to the Tonicas, seven hundred Choctaws, mustered and conducted by M. Le Suer, marched towards the Natchez. We were informed, by a party of these people, that the Natchez were not at all on their guard, but passed all their nights in dancing. The Choctaws took them, therefore, by surprise, and made a descent on them, the 27th of January, at the break of day. In less than three hours they had delivered fifty-nine persons, both women and children, with the tailor and carpenter, and one hundred and six negroes or negro women, with their children. They made eighteen of the Natchez prisoners, and took sixty scalps.

1730 Jan. 27 They would have taken more, if they had not been intent on freeing the slaves, as they had been directed. They had but two men killed and seven or eight

wounded. They encamped, with their prizes, at the grant of St. Catherine, in a mere park enclosed with stakes. The victory would have been complete, if they had waited the arrival of the French army, as had been agreed upon by their deputies.*

"The Natchez, seeing themselves attacked by the formidable Choctaws, regarded their defeat as certain, and shutting themselves up in two forts, passed the following nights in dancing their death dance. In their speeches, we heard them reproaching the Choctaws for their perfidy in declaring in favor of the French, contrary to the pledge they had given, to unite with them for our destruction. Three days before this action, the Sieur Mesplex landed at the Natchez with five other Frenchmen; they had volunteered to M. De Loubois, to carry to the Indians negotiations for peace, that they might be able, under this pretext, to gain information with regard to their force and their present situation. But, in descending from their boat, they encountered a party who, without giving them time to speak, killed three of their men and made the other three prisoners. The next day they sent one of these prisoners with a letter, in which they demanded, as hostages, the Sieur Broutin, who had formerly been commander among them, and the Chief of the Tonicas. Besides, they demanded, as the ransom for the women, children and slaves, two hundred guns, two hundred barrels of powder, two thousand gun flints, two hundred knives, two hundred hatchets, two hundred pickaxes, five hogsheads of brandy, twenty casks of wine, twenty barrels of vermilion, two hundred shirts, twenty pieces of limbourg, twenty pieces of cloth, twenty coats with lace on the seams, twenty hats bordered with plumes, and a hundred coats of a plainer kind. Their design was to massacre the French, who should bring these goods. On the very same day,

* Monette, Martin, and other modern authors, state that Le Seur advanced from the Tombigby, with six hundred warriors, and near Pearl river increased his force to twelve hundred. Arriving near Natchez, and learning the unguarded condition of the Indians of that place, the Choctaws fell upon them, in spite of the entreaties of Le Seur, who urged them to await the arrival of the French army.

with every refinement in cruelty, they burned the Sieur Mesplex and his companion.

"On the 8th February, the French, with the Tonicas and some other small tribes from the lower end of the Mississippi, arrived at the Natchez, and seized their temple, dedicated to the Sun. The impatience and impracticability of the Choctaws, who, like all these Indians, are capable of striking only one blow and then disperse—the small number of French soldiers, who found themselves worn down by fatigues—the want of provi-
1730 sions, which the Indians stole from the French—the fail-
Feb. ure of ammunition, with which they were not able to satisfy the Choctaws, who wasted one part of it, and placed the other in reserve to be used in hunting—the resistance of the Natchez, who were well fortified, and who fought in desperation—all these things decided us to listen to the propositions which the besieged made, after the trenches had been opened for seven days. They threatened, if we persisted in the siege, to burn those of the French who remained; while, on the other hand, they offered to restore them, if we would withdraw our seven pieces of cannon. These, in reality, for want of a good gunner, and under present circumstances, were scarcely in a fit state to give them any fear.

"These propositions were accepted, and fulfilled on both sides. On the 25th of February, the besieged faithfully restored all that they had promised, while the besiegers retired with their cannon to a small fort which they had hastily built on the Escore, near the river, for the purpose of always keeping the Natchez in check, and ensuring a passage to the voyagers. Governor Perrier gave the command of it to M. D'Artaguette, as an acknowledgement of the intrepidity with which, during the siege, he had exposed himself to the greatest dangers, and everywhere braved death.

"Before the Choctaws had determined to fall upon the Natchez, they had been to them to convey the calumet, and were

received in a very novel manner. They found them and their horses adorned with chasubles and drapery of the altars; many wore patterns about their necks, and drank, and gave to drink, of brandy in the chalices and pyx. And the Choctaws themselves, when they had gained these articles by pillaging our enemies, renewed this profane sacrilege, by making the same use of our ornaments and sacred vessels in their dances and sports. We were never able to recover more than a small portion of them."* 1730 Feb.

Here Father Le Petit discontinues his detail of the Natchez war, and ends his letter with some remarks upon the character of the Illinois and several other tribes of Indians. He appears to have deemed it a very great outrage that the Natchez thus prostituted their holy vessels and priestly robes, yet he announces that the French army "arrived at the Natchez and seized their temple, dedicated to the Sun," which they, no doubt, also destroyed. The religion of the Natchez was as sacred to the Natchez, as the religion of the Roman Catholics was to the good Father Le Petit.

The Natchez Chiefs proposed to surrender more than two hundred prisoners, if the French commander would remove his artillery and withdraw his forces, or else all the prisoners would be consumed by fire. Loubois, to save the lives of these miserable captives, consented, yet with the secret intention of wreaking his vengeance upon the Indians as soon as the prisoners were in his possession. But he was sadly disappointed, for the Indians, suspecting treachery on his part, took advantage of the suspension of hostilities, and one night evacuated the fort, and succeeded in gaining the opposite shore of the Mississippi with all their women and children. The prisoners were found in the fort, agreeably to the treaty. 1730 Feb. 25

* "The Early Jesuit Missions in North America," compiled and translated from the letters of the French Jesuits, with notes by the Rev. Ingraham Kip, M. A., Corresponding Member of the New York Historical Society. New York: 1846. See Part 2, pp. 267-300.

Loubois was astonished at the dexterous manœuvre, but he saw the folly of pursuing the foe, who had now secreted themselves in the vast swamps. He began the erection of a terraced fort upon the verge of the bluff, and leaving there a garrison of one hundred and twenty men, returned with his troops and the rescued prisoners to New Orleans.

The largest portion of the Natchez, conducted by the Great Sun, established themselves "upon the lower Washita, on the point between the Little River and the Washita, just below the mouth of Little River, where the Washita assumes the name of Black river."* Here the Natchez placed about four hundred acres of land in a state of defence by the erection of large and small mounds and extensive embankments. Other portions of this tribe sought an asylum among the Chickasaws, while others wandered still further east, and took up their abode upon a portion of the territory now embraced in Talladega county, Alabama. The English traders of Carolina, it is said, rejoiced in the destruction of the French, and many of them, then residing among the Chickasaws, urged those people and the refugee Natchez to engage in a vigorous warfare, and not only to defend their soil but to exterminate the French. In the meantime Governor Perrier made preparations to follow up the Natchez upon the Washita, but his exertions were to some extent defeated by a serious negro insurrection, which occurred upon the plantations in the vicinity of New Orleans.

1731 Aug. 10 — However, upon the 10th of August one of the company's ships arrived at the Balize with some troops and supplies. Although mortified that the reinforcement was so small, Perrier added them to the colonial troops, and, procuring a Choctaw force at Mobile, left New Orleans with an army of six hundred and fifty, which was increased on the way to one thousand by Indian allies. Nov. 15 — Reaching the mouth of Black river, they at length came in sight

* Monette's History of the Valley of the Mississippi, vol. 1, p. 267.

of the enemy's stronghold. The troops were disembarked, the fort invested, and for three days the besieged 1732
made a spirited resistance, when they made propositions Jan. 20
which Perrier rejected. At length the Indians consented to surrender the Great Sun and one War Chief, which the Governor refused. They then consented to surrender sixty-five men and about two hundred women and children, upon conditions that their lives should be spared. Perrier once more opened his artillery upon them, but a heavy rain, which continued until night, silenced his batteries. When night set in the Natchez began to escape from their defences, and make their way up the river in the midst of a tempest of wind and rain. The Indian allies went in pursuit, and returned with one hundred prisoners. The next day Perrier demolished the outworks of the fort and began his voyage to New Orleans, where he arrived in 1732
due time with four hundred and twenty-seven captives Feb. 5
of the Natchez tribe. At the head of them were the Great Sun and several principal Chiefs. Soon afterwards they were all shipped to St. Domingo and sold as slaves.* Those of the Natchez who escaped during the stormy night rallied again and collected in one body near the French settlements on Red river. They then marched and attacked the post in a most furious manner, but St. Denys, the commandant, an intrepid officer, repelled them with the loss of ninety-two braves, including all their Chiefs. The remnant escaped by flight. This was the closing scene in the Natchez drama, and ended the existence of these brave Indians as a distinct tribe.*

* "The French army re-embarked and carried the Natchez as slaves to New Orleans, where they were put in prison; but afterwards, to avoid the infection, the women and the children were disposed of on the King's plantation and elsewhere. Among these women was the Female Sun, called the Stung Arm, who then told me all she had done in order to save the French. Some time after, these slaves were embarked to St. Domingo, in order to root out that nation in the colony; * * * and thus that nation, the most conspicuous in the colony and the most useful to the French, was destroyed." —Du Pratz, p. 95.

*In relation to the massacre at Natchez, and the final defeat of those Indians, I have carefully consulted the following authorities: Du Pratz's Louisiana; London, 1774. Bossu's Travels in Louisiana, vol. 1; London, 1771. Memoire Historique et Politique sur la Louisiane, par M. de Vergennes, Ministre de Louis XVI.; a Paris, 1802. Voyage a la Louisiane, par B*** D; Paris, 1802. Memoires Historique sur la Louisiane, par M. Dumont; a Paris, 1753. Kip's Early Jesuit Missions; New York, 1846. Gayarre's Histoire de la Louisiane. Martin's History of Louisiana; New Orleans, 1827. Stoddart's Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana; Piladelphia, 1812. Monette's History of the Valley of the Mississippi; New York, 1846.

CHAPTER XII.

The English in Georgia.

We have shown that South Carolina had been established as a colony for some years, that its seat of government was at Charleston, and that its inhabitants, in endeavoring to extend the English trade to all the Western Indian nations as far as the Mississippi river, had many conflicts and difficulties with the French, who occupied the territory of Alabama. They were also constantly opposed by the Spaniards of the Floridas. In order to interpose a barrier to these foes, as well as to protect the citizens from the attacks of the Creek Indians, the King of England and the British Parliament listened to a proposition of a great philanthropist, to plant a colony upon the western bank of the Savannah river. His motives, purely noble and disinterested, originated in a desire to ameliorate the condition of many unfortunate people in England. To carry out his plans of humanity, he was willing that the King should blend with them politic measures for the advancement of this, his most Southern province, and it was determined that "silk, wine and oil should be cultivated most abundantly."

James Oglethorpe, a descendant of one of the oldest and most influential families of England, was born on the 22d of December, 1688, and after graduating at Oxford University, was commissioned an ensign in the British army. In 1713, he accompanied the Earl of Petersburg, then Ambassador to the Italian States, in the capacity of aide-de-camp. Returning to England, a year afterwards, he was promoted to a captaincy in the first troop of Queen Anne's Guard, and was soon an adjutant-general

of the Queen's forces. He was next transferred to the post of aide-de-camp to Prince Eugene, the first general of the age, and was with him amid all the sanguinary battles fought between the Austrians and the Turks, upon the frontiers of Hungary. When these wars were over, Oglethorpe returned to England, and in 1722 was elected a member of the British Parliament, where he soon became useful and influential.

Oglethorpe caused an investigation to be made into the state of the English prisons, and it was ascertained that they groaned with thousands of poor wretches who had been imprisoned many years for debt. That the kingdom of England also contained thousands, "descended of good families," who were in destitute circumstances, and that hundreds of German exiles, driven from their native country by religious persecution, were starving among them. He brought this unhappy state of things before the King and Parliament, and, by his zeal and ability, succeeded in procuring a charter for the colonization of Georgia, the inhabitants of which were to consist of these distressed people. He resolved, himself, to embark with the first emigrants. They consisted of thirty families, numbering, collectively, one hundred and twenty-five souls. Entering the sea from the Thames, the vessel, after a long voyage across the Atlantic, furled its sails in the harbor of Charleston. Oglethorpe landed, and was received with attention by the Governor and Council of South Carolina. The King's pilot carried the ship into Port Royal, while small vessels were furnished to convey the emigrants to the Savannah river. Leaving his people at Beaufort, and accompanied by Colonel Bull of South Carolina, Oglethorpe ascended the Savannah, and launched his boat at the splendid bluff, which now forms the site of the commercial emporium of Georgia. At the northern end of this bluff, the great philanthropist came upon an Indian town, called Yamacraw, the chief of which was named Tomochichi, and where

1732 June

1733 Jan.

Jan. 20



Indians Bearing in a Chair, a Young Girl, Who Has Been Selected as One of the Future Wives of the King. Drawn from life, by Jacob le Moyne, in 1564.

Musgrove, a Carolina trader, married to a half-breed named Mary, had established himself.*

This Indian, Mary, was born in the year 1700, at the town of Coweta, upon the Chattahoochie, in Alabama. Her Indian name was Consaponaheeso, and by maternal descent she was one of the Queens of the Muscogee nation, and the Indians conceded to her the title of princess. When ten years of age, her father took her to Ponpon, in South Carolina, where she was baptized, educated and instructed in Christianity. Afterwards, she fled back to her forest home, laid aside the civilization of the British, and assumed the ease and freedom of the happy Muscogee. In 1716, Colonel John Musgrove was despatched to the Chattahoochie, by the government of Carolina, to form a treaty of alliance with the Creeks, with whom that colony had been at war. It was there stipulated that the Creeks were to remain the free occupants of all the lands east, as far as the Savannah river. The son of the British negotiator, John Musgrove, had accompanied his father to Coweta, and falling in love with the Princess Mary, made her his wife. After remaining in the nation several years, and after the birth of their only child, they removed to South Car- 1723
olina. There residing seven years in much happiness, they afterwards established themselves upon Yamacraw Bluff, at the head of an extensive trading house, and where Oglethorpe found them, as we have just observed. By his 1732
alliance with this remarkable woman, who was well June
versed in the Indian and English languages, Musgrove obtained considerable influence over the natives, and became exceedingly wealthy. Mary was, afterwards, the warm friend of Oglethorpe, and several times saved the early colonists of Georgia from savage butchery.

Oglethorpe returned to Beaufort, and, collecting his colo-

* Stevens' History of Georgia, vol. 1, pp. 58-76-89. Georgia Historical Collections, vol. 1, pp. 9-11-12-167-174. McCall's History of Georgia, vol. 1, pp. 9-32.

nists, sailed up the Savannah, and landing at the bluff, where now stands the beautiful city, immediately disembarked and pitched four large tents. Here the emigrants spent their first
1733 night in Georgia. The Indians received them with hos-
Feb. 12 pitality, and gave pledges of future friendship. Oglethorpe marked out the streets and squares; all was bustle and activity, and it was not long before Savannah assumed something of the appearance of a town. A small fort was established at the edge of the bluff, as a place of refuge, and
1733 some artillery was mounted upon it. Fort Argyle was
Feb. 9 built at the narrow passage of the Ogeechee, above the mouth of Canouchee, to defend the inhabitants against inland invasion from the Spaniards of St. Augustine.

Soon after his arrival, Oglethorpe despatched runners to the Lower Creek nation, and having assembled eighteen Chiefs and their attendants, at Savannah, he formed a treaty with them, in which they relinquished to the British government the
May 21 lands between the Savannah and the Altamaha. It was also stipulated, among other things, that English traders should be allowed to establish themselves in any part of the Creek nation. Their goods were to be sold at fixed rates—thus, a white blanket was set down at five buckskins, a gun at ten, a hatchet at three doeskins, a knife at one, and so on. Returning to Charleston, after this important treaty, a dinner was given to the philanthropist by the legislative bodies, which he returned by a ball and supper to the ladies.

A company of forty Jews, acting under the broad principles of the charter, which gave freedom to all religions, save that of the Romish Church, landed at Savannah. Much dissatisfaction, both in England and America, arose in consequence of the appearance of these Israelites, and Oglethorpe was solicited to send them immediately from the colony. He, however, generously permitted them to remain, which was one of
1734 the wisest acts of his life, for they and their de-

scendants were highly instrumental in developing the commercial resources of this wild land. There also came, in the months of September and October, three hundred and forty-one Salzburgers, driven from Germany for their religious opinions, and Oglethorpe settled them above Savannah, on the river of that name, where they formed a town and named it Ebenezer. These people were succeeded by many Highlanders, from Scotland, who, being brave and hardy, were located upon the banks of the Altamaha, the most exposed part of the colony, where they founded the town of Darien. 1736 Jan.

In the meantime Oglethorpe had made a voyage to England, taking with him Tomochichi, the Chief of Yamacraw. Senanky, his wife, Tooanhouie, their nephew, Hillipili, the War Captain, and five Chiefs of the Cherokees. He was most graciously received by the ruling powers of England and her citizens; and his noble and disinterested exertions were universally approved. In due time he returned to Georgia, with his Indian friends.

The lands, between Ebenezer and Briar Creek, belonged to the Uchees, who refused to dispose of them. But to secure this part of the country, two forts were built on the South Carolina side of the river, which answered the purpose. Establishments were also made at Silver Bluff, and at the falls of the Savannah, where the town of Augusta was laid out, warehouses erected, and a garrison thrown into a small fort. Augusta immediately became a general resort for Indian traders, where they purchased annually about two thousand pack-horse loads of peltry. Six hundred white persons were engaged in this trade, including townsmen, pack-horse men and servants. Boats, each capable of carrying down the river a large quantity of peltry, were built, and four or five voyages were annually made with them to Charleston. A trading highway was opened to Savannah on which few of the creeks were bridged, or marshes and swamps causewayed.

He who became the wealthiest and most conspicuous of all

these Indian traders, was George Galphin, a native of Ireland. When quite a young man, he established himself upon the site of De Soto's ancient Cutifachiqui, where that remarkable adventurer first discovered the Savannah river, in 1540. Upon the site of this old Indian town, on the east bluff of the Savannah, 1737 in Barnwell District, South Carolina, now called Silver Bluff, and at present the property of Gov. Hammond, young Galphin first begun to trade with the Creek Indians. Although he made Silver Bluff his headquarters, he had trading houses in Savannah and Augusta. He was a man of fine address, great sense, commanding person, untiring energy and unsurpassed bravery. His power was felt and his influence extended even to the banks of the Mississippi. Among the Upper and Lower Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws and Choctaws, he sent forth numerous pack-horse men, with various merchandise, who brought back to Georgia almost countless skins and furs, kegs of bears' oil, hickory-nut oil, snake root and medicinal barks, which 1740 he shipped to England. He often went himself into to these nations, fearlessly trading in the immediate 1775 vicinity of the French Fort Toulouse, upon the Coosa. Commercial policy and an amorous disposition led him to form connections with several females, who were called his wives, and from whom descended many intelligent and influential persons, now inhabiting Georgia, Alabama and the Arkansas Territory.

Among the passengers who came out with Oglethorpe, upon his return to America, were the celebrated Methodists, John and Charles Wesley, who eat at the table of the philanthropist, and who received from him much kindness and courtesy, during a stormy and dangerous voyage. Their object was to make religious impressions upon the minds of the Indians. Among the colonists, with whom they resided many years, they became not only unpopular, but very obnoxious. They finally returned to England much mortified and much disappointed. Stevens thus

speaks of these talented and pious men: "The proceedings of the Wesleys in Georgia have, indeed, been violently assailed; and even writers, who can offer no excuse for their ignorance, accuse them of immorality and blame. But it was not so. They were men delicately brought up, of fine sensibilities, of cultivated minds, of deep learning and of ardent devotion. * * Accomplished, though reserved in their manners—associating from childhood with refined and learned society—they could not conform at once to the tastes and habits of communities like those of Savannah and Frederica, but were rather repelled by the gross immoralities and offensive manners of the early colonists. Their error was, especially in John, of holding too high ideas of ecclesiastical authority, and the being too rigid and repulsive in their pastoral duties. They stood firmly on little things, as well as on great, and held the reins of church discipline with a tightness unsuitable to an infant colony. But no other blame can attach to them."*

The colony of Georgia had prospered under the wise guidance of Oglethorpe. Five principal towns had been surveyed and settled—Augusta, Ebenezer, Savannah, New Inverness and Frederica—besides forts and villages. More than one thousand persons had been sent to Georgia, on the account of the trustees alone, while hundreds of other emigrants came at their own expense. The colonists being from different nations, were various in their characters and religious creeds. Vaudois, Swiss, Piedmontese, Germans, Moravians, Jews from Portugal, Highlanders, English and Italians were thrown together in this fine climate, new world and new home. With all these people, in their various costumes, were often intermingled different tribes of Indians. What a field for a painter the colony presented! What materials for a scribbling tourist!

Having thus colonized the northern, southern and eastern borders, Oglethorpe returned to England, and presented to

*Stevens' History of Georgia, vol. 1, pp. 339-349.

his majesty and the Parliament an account of the affairs of Georgia. He asked, at their hands, a sufficient supply of military stores and men to defend the province from an invasion contemplated by the Spaniards of the Floridas. The colonization of Georgia had given great offence to Spain. That power claimed the whole of Georgia, but made no serious opposition so long as the English settlements were confined to Savannah river, but when Oglethorpe planted his Highlanders upon the Altamaha, the Spaniards resolved upon their expulsion. A long succession of border wars and difficulties ensued, which, having but little connection with the history of Alabama, are omitted. It should be observed, however, that Oglethorpe succeeded in his applications to the Court, and was appointed General of the forces in South Carolina and Georgia. In September he was made Colonel of a regiment to be employed in defence of the colony,

1738 which he had so successfully established. He returned

Sept. 19 to Georgia with his army, and disembarked his artillery at St. Simond's Island.

No sooner had Gen. Oglethorpe placed his feet upon Georgia soil than he saw the necessity of renewing his treaty with the Creeks, and of cultivating their alliance, for fear that they might form a dangerous connection with the Spaniards. He went immediately to Savannah, where he had an interview with the Chiefs of four towns, and succeeded in strengthening their fidelity to the English. But in order to accomplish a complete alliance with the brave Creeks he resolved to attend the great council of that nation, which was to assemble at Coweta in July and August following. It was a long and perilous journey. Coweta lay upon the west bank of the Chattahoochie river, three miles below the falls, at which the city of Columbus is now situated, and within the limits of the present Russell county, Alabama. The distance from Savannah to that point was not only considerable, but lay over extensive pine forests, dismal swamps and rapid and dangerous rivers, while the solitary trail was not infrequently

beset by Indian banditti. However, when the time arrived he, who had so courageously fought under Prince Eugene upon the frontiers of Hungary, was not to be dismayed by obstacles like these. With only a few attendants, and some pack-horses laden with goods, designed as presents for the Indians, Oglethorpe set off on his journey. He crossed the Ogechee, Oconee, Ockmulgee and the Flint, carrying over his effects in canoes, and sometimes upon rafts. Finally he halted upon the banks of the Chattahoochie. He had camped out every night in the woods, exposed by day to the heat of the sun, and often to pelting showers of rain. Crossing the Chattahoochie, and ascending its western bank, the great and good Oglethorpe soon arrived in the town of Coweta, upon Alabama soil. Forty miles in advance the Indians had met him, and at various points upon the route had deposited provisions for his subsistence. They now received him in their capital with every demonstration of joy. 1739 Aug. 1

Making Coweta his headquarters, Oglethorpe occasionally rode to some of the towns in the vicinity, the most prominent of which were Uchee, Cusseta and Ositche, conversing with these people through his interpreters, and engaging their affections by his liberality and irresistible address. He drank with them the black drink—smoked with them the pipe of peace —and lounged with them upon the cool cane sofas with which their ample public houses were furnished. In the meantime, the Chiefs and warriors from the towns of Coweta, Cusseta, Ufaula, Hitchitee, Ositche, Chehaw, Oconee, and Swagles, assembled in the great square. After many ceremonious preliminaries, they made a treaty of Alliance with Oglethorpe. It was declared that all the lands between the Savannah and the St. John's, and from the latter to the Apalache bay, and thence to the mountains, by ancient right, did belong to the Creek nation. That neither the Spaniards nor any other people, excepting the trustees of the colony of Georgia, should settle them. That the grant on the Savannah river, as far as the 1739 Aug. 21

river Ogeechee, and those along the seacoast, as far as the St. John's river, and as high as the tide flowed, with the islands previously granted to the English at Savannah, should now be confirmed. The Chiefs again reserved all the lands from Pipe Maker's Bluff to the Savannah, with the Islands of St. Catherine, Osabow and Sapelo.

After signing the treaty, Oglethorpe left with the Chiefs, for their protection against English encroachments, the following singular paper:

By James Oglethorpe, Esquire, General and Commander-in-Chief of all His Majesty's forces in South Carolina and Georgia, etc.: To all His Majesty's subjects to whom these presents shall come, greeting—

Know ye, That you are not to take up or settle any land beyond the above limit, settled by me with the Creek nation, at their estates held on Saturday, the eleventh day of August, Anno Domini, 1739, as you shall, through me, at your peril, answer.

Given under my hand and seal, at the Coweta town, this, the 21st day of August, Anno Domini, 1739.

James Oglethorpe.

We desire it to be borne in mind, by the reader, that none of the Upper Creek Indians, who lived upon the Alabama, Coosa, and Tallapoosa rivers, were present at this treaty. They never recognized any of the treaties made in the Lower Creek nation with the Georgians. At this time, they were under the
1735 influence of the French; afterwards, they placed themselves under the wing of the Spaniards. Although the English built a fort and occupied it for many years, with a garrison, in the town of Ocfuske, on the east side of the Tallapoosa, river, within forty miles of the French fortress, Toulouse, and partially succeeded in alienating some of the Upper Creeks from the French, yet the great body of these people forever remained the implacable enemies of the Georgians.

Oglethorpe departed from Coweta, and after a disagreeable journey, reached Savannah. He there assisted in the funeral ceremonies of his friend, Tomochichi, who died at Yamacraw Bluff. The body, brought down the river in a canoe, was received by Oglethorpe, and was interred in Percival Square, amid the sound of minute guns from the battery.* 1739 Sept. 22 Oct. 5

* Stevens' History of Georgia, vol. 1, pp. 89-158. McCall's History of Georgia, vol. 1, pp. 32-142. Georgia Historical Collections, vol. 1, pp. 18-22-262-182.

CHAPTER XIII.

Jesuit Priests or Missionaries.

Since the revolt of the French garrison at Fort Toulouse, upon the Coosa, things at that place had remained in rather an undisturbed condition. It is true that the English had given them much uneasiness, and had occasionally cut off some of the *couriers de bois*. In order to cultivate a better understanding with the Lower Creeks, a Jesuit priest, Father de Guyenne, went to Coweta, upon the Chattahoochie, and succeeded in building two cabins, one at that place, and the other at Cusseta. His object was to learn the language of the Indians, and to in-
1735 struct them in the Christian religion; but the English of the province of Georgia prevailed upon the Indians to burn up these houses. The zealous father was therefore forced to retreat to Fort Toulouse. Father Moran had been stationed, some years, at Fort Toulouse, and used to live occasionally at Coosawda.

"The impossibility, however, of exercising his ministry there, for the benefit of either the Indians or the French, has induced the superior to recall him, that he might be entrusted with the direction of the nuns, and of the royal hospital, which is now under our charge. The English trade, as well as the French, among the Alabama Indians. You can easily imagine what an obstacle this presents to the progress of religion, for the English are always ready to excite controversy."* Among the Choctaws there were several missionaries, besides those stationed at Mobile. "The reverend Father Baudouin, the actual superior-

* Letter of Father Vivier, of the company of Jesus, to a father of the same company.

general of the mission, resided eighteen years among the Choctaws. When he was on the point of reaping some fruits from his labors, the troubles which the English excited in that nation, and the peril to which he was evidently exposed, obliged Father Vitri, then superior-general, in concert with the governor, to recall him to New Orleans."*

While the English of Carolina and Georgia engaged in various schemes to rid the territory of the present States of Alabama and Mississippi of its French population, by unscrupulous intrigues with the natives, the French were but little behind them in similar enterprises. The Jesuits were adventurous and brave, and men of captivating address, and obtained much influence over the leading Chiefs, wherever they appeared. An account of the artful intrigues of a German Jesuit, named Christian Priber, as related, in his singular style, by James Adair, an old British trader, who lived forty years among the Cherokees and Chickasaws, will now be introduced.

"In the year 1736, the French sent into South Carolina one Priber, a gentleman of a curious and speculative temper. He was to transmit them a full account of that country, and proceed to the Cherokee nation, in order to seduce them from the British to the French interest. He went, and although he was adorned with every qualification that constitutes the gentleman, soon after he arrived at the upper towns of this moun- 1736 tainous country, he changed his clothes and everything he brought with him, and by that means made friends with the head warriors of the Big Tellico River. More effectually to answer the design of his commission, he ate, drank, slept, danced, dressed and painted himself with the Indians, so that it was not easy to distinguish him from the natives; he married, also, with them. Being endowed with a strong understanding and retentive memory, he soon learned their dialect, and by gradual advances, impressed them with a very ill opinion of the English,

* Letter of Father Vivier, of the company of Jesus, to a father of the same company.

representing them as a fraudulent, avaricious and encroaching people. He, at the same time, inflated the artless savages with a prodigious high opinion of their own importance in the American scale of power, on account of the situation of their country, their martial disposition and the great number of their warriors, which would baffle all the efforts of the ambitious and ill-designing British colonists.

"Having thus infected them by his smooth, deluding art, he easily formed them into a nominal republican government. He crowned their old Archi-Magus, emperor, after a pleasing new savage form, and invented a variety of high sounding titles for all the members of his imperial majesty's *red* court and the
1739 great officers of state. He himself received the honorable title of his imperial majesty's principal secretary of state, and as such he subscribed himself, in all the letters he wrote to our government, and lived in open defiance of them. This seemed to be of so dangerous a tendency as to induce South Carolina to send up a commissioner, Colonel Fox, to demand him as an enemy to public repose. He took him into custody in the great square of their state house. When he had almost concluded his oration on the occasion, one of the warriors rose up and bade him forbear, as the man he intended to enslave was made a great beloved man, and had become one of their people. Though it was reckoned our Agent's strength was far greater in his arms than in his head, he readily desisted, for, as it is too hard to struggle with the Pope in Rome, a stranger could not miss to find it equally difficult to enter abruptly into a new emperor's court and there seize his prime minister by a foreign authority, especially when he could not support any charge of guilt against him. The warrior told him that the red people well knew the honesty of the secretary's heart would never allow him to tell a lie, and the secretary urged that he was a foreigner, without owing any allegiance to Great Britain. That he only travelled through some places of their country, in a peaceable manner, paying

for everything he had of them. That in compliance with the request of the kind French, as well as from his own tender feelings for the poverty and insecure state of the Cherokees, he came a great way, and lived with them as a brother, only to preserve their liberties, by opening a water communication between them and New Orleans. That the distance of the two places from each other proved his motive to be the love of doing good, especially as he was to go there and bring up a sufficient number of Frenchmen, of proper skill, to instruct them in the art of making gunpowder, the materials of which, he affirmed, their lands abounded with. He concluded his artful speech by urging that the tyrannical design of the English commissioner towards him appeared plainly to be levelled against them, because, as he was not accused of having done any ill to the English, before he came to the Cherokees, his crime must consist in loving the Cherokees. * * * An old war-leader repeated to the commissioner the essential part of the speech, and added more of his own similar thereto. * * * The English beloved man had the honor of receiving his leave of absence and a sufficient passport of safe conduct, from the imperial red court, by a verbal order of the secretary of state, who was so polite as to wish him well home, and ordered a convoy of his own life-guards, who conducted him a consider- 1741 able way, and he got home in safety.

"From the above, it is evident that the monopolizing spirit of the French had planned their dangerous line of circumvallation, respecting our envied colonies, as early as the before mentioned period. The choice of the man, also, bespoke their judgment. Though the philosophic secretary was an utter stranger to the wild and mountainous Cherokee nation, yet his sagacity readily directed him to choose a proper place, an old favorite religious man, for the new red empire, which he formed by slow and sure degree, to the great danger of our Southern colonies. But the empire received a very great shock, in an acci-

1731 dent that befell the secretary, when it was on the point of rising into a far greater state of puissance by the acquisition of the Muscogee, Choctaw and the Western Mississippi Indians.

"In the fifth year of that red imperial era, Priber set off for Mobile, accompanied by a few Cherokees. He proceeded by land as far as the navigable part of the Tallapoosa river, and arriving at Tookabatcha, lodged there all night. The traders of the neighboring towns soon went there, convinced the inhabitants of the dangerous tendency of his unwearied labors among the Cherokees, and of his present journey. They then took him into custody, with a large bundle of manuscripts, and sent him down to Frederica, in Georgia. The governor committed him to a place of confinement, though not with common

1744 felons, as he was a foreigner, and was said to have
Mar. 22 held a place of considerable rank in the army. Soon after, the magazine took fire, which was not far from where he was confined, and though the sentinels bade him make off to a place of safety, as all the people were running to avoid danger from explosion of the powder and shells, yet he squatted on his belly upon the floor, and continued in that position without the least hurt. Several blamed his rashness, but he told them that experience had convinced him it was the most probable means of avoiding danger. This incident displayed the philosopher and soldier. After bearing his misfortunes a considerable time with great constancy, happily for us, he died in confinement, though he deserved a much better fate. In the fifth year of his secretaryship I maintained a correspondence with him. But the Indians, becoming very inquisitive to know the contents of our papers, * * * he told them that in the very same manner as he was their great secretary I was the devil's clerk, or an accursed one, who marked on paper the bad speech of the evil ones of darkness. Accordingly, they forbade him to write any more to such an accursed one. As he was learned, and possessed

of a very sagacious, penetrating judgment, and had every qualification that was requisite for his bold and difficult 1745
enterprise, it is not to be doubted that, as he wrote a Cherokee dictionary, designed to be published at Paris, he likewise set down a great deal that would have been very accessible to the curious, and serviceable to the representatives of South Carolina and Georgia, which may be readily found in Frederica, if the manuscripts have had the good fortune to escape the despoiling hands of military power."*

William Bacon Stevens, formerly professor of belles lettres and history in the University of Georgia, and now an Episcopalian minister in Philadelphia, has published one volume of the History of Georgia, in which we find the following interesting account of Priber, which we copy at length in his own style. In alluding to the arrival of Oglethorpe at Frederica, Dr. Stevens says: "On the return of the general from Florida, he ordered his strange prisoner to be examined, and was not a little surprised to find, under his coarse dress of deer-skins and Indian moccasins, a man of polished address, great abilities and extensive learning. He was versed not only in the Indian language, of which he had composed a dictionary, but also spoke the Latin, French and Spanish fluently, and English perfectly. Upon being interrogated as to his design, he acknowledged that it was 'to bring about a confederation of all the Southern Indians, to inspire them with industry, to instruct them in the arts necessary to the commodities of life, and, in short, to engage them to throw off the yoke of their European allies of all nations.' He proposed to make a settlement in that part of Georgia which is within the limits of the Cherokee lands, at Cusseta,† and to settle a town there of

* Adair's American Indians: London, 1775; pp. 240-243.

† If Doctor Stevens means the "Cusseta," on the east side of the Chattahoochie, and opposite old Fort Mitchell, it was within the limits of the Creek lands, and never belonged to the Cherokees. I am not aware of any town named "Cusseta" in any part of what formerly was the Cherokee nation, although there may have been, for by reference to page 162 of the History of Alabama it will be found that the Cherokees had towns named "Tallase" and "Tuskegee," and such towns were also in the Creek nation.

fugitive English, French and Germans, and they were to
1745 take under their particular care the runaway negroes of the English. All criminals were to be sheltered, as he proposed to make his place an asylum for all fugitives, and the cattle and effects they might bring with them. He expected a great resort of debtors, transported felons, servants, and negro slaves from the two Carolinas, Georgia and Virginia, offering, as his scheme did, toleration to all crimes and licentiousness, except murder and idleness. Upon his person was found his private journal, revealing, in part, his designs, with various memoranda relating to his project. In it he speaks not only of individual Indians and negroes, whose assistance had been promised, and of a private treasurer in Charleston, for keeping the funds collected; but also, that he expected many things from the French, and from another nation, whose name he left blank. There were also found upon him letters for the Florida and Spanish governors, demanding their protection of him and countenance of his scheme. Among his papers was one containing articles of government for his new town, regularly and elaborately drawn out and digested. In this volume he enumerates many rights and privileges, as he calls them, to which the citizens of this colony are to be entitled, particularly dissolving marriages, allowing a community of women, and all kinds of licentiousness. It was drawn up with much art, method and learning, and was designed to be privately printed and circulated. When it was hinted to him that such a plan was attended with many dangers and difficulties, and must require many years to establish his government, he replied, 'Proceeding properly, many of these evils may be avoided; and as to length of time, we have a succession of agents to take up the work as fast as others leave it.

We never lose sight of a favorite point, nor are we
1745 bound by the strict rules of morality in the means, when the end we pursue is laudable. If we err, our general is to blame; and we have a merciful God to pardon us. But be-

lieve me,' he continued, 'before the century is passed, the Europeans will have a very small footing on this continent.'

"Indeed, he often hinted that there were others of his brethren laboring among the Indians for the same purpose. Being confined in the barracks at Frederica, he exhibited a stoical indifference to his fate; conversed with freedom, conducted with politeness, and attracted the notice and favorable attention of many of the gentlemen there. His death, in prison, put an end to all further proceedings, and his plans died with him. Such was the strange being whose Jesuitical intrigues well nigh eventuated in the destruction of Georgia. A thorough Jesuit, an accomplished linguist, a deep tactician, far-sighted in his plans, and far-reaching in his expedients, he possessed every qualification for his design, and only failed of bringing down great evil upon the English, because he was apprehended before his scheme had been matured."*

There were many curious characters roving over the territory of Alabama and Mississippi at this period. Traders from South Carolina and Georgia, were found in almost every Indian village; while the French from Mobile and New Orleans and the Spaniards from the Floridas continued to swell the number of these singular merchants. They encountered all kinds of dangers and suffered all kinds of privations to become successful in their exciting traffic. Adair, one of these British traders, thus describes the mode by which difficult streams were passed:

"When we expect high rivers, each company of traders carry a canoe, made of the tanned leather, the sides overlapped about three fingers' breadth, and well sewed with three seams. Around the gunnels, which are made of saplings, are strong loopholes, for large deerskin strings to hang down both the sides. With two of these is securely tied to the stem and stern, a well shaped sapling for a keel, and in like manner the ribs. Thus they usually rig out a canoe, fit to carry over ten horse-loads at once, in

* Stevens' History of Georgia, vol. 1, pp. 165–167.

the space of half an hour. The apparatus is afterwards hidden with great care on the opposite shore. Few take the trouble to paddle the canoe, for, as they are commonly hardy, and also of an amphibious nature, they usually jump into the river with their leathern barge ahead of them, and thrust it through the deep part of the water to the opposite shore. When we ride with only a few luggage horses, we make a frame of dry pines, which we tie together with strong vines well twisted. When we have raised it to be sufficiently buoyant, we load and paddle it across, and afterwards swim our horses, keeping at a little distance below them." *

* Adair's American Indians, p. 272.

CHAPTER XIV.

The French Battles Upon the Tombigby.

When we suspended our review of the operations of the French upon the territory of Alabama and Mississippi, for the purpose of bringing to the notice of the reader the early colonization of Georgia by Oglethorpe, it will be borne in mind that the horrible massacre at Natchez had occurred. The tribe of that name had crossed the Mississippi, and fortified on Black river, near the Washita. Governor Perrier, attacking them at that point, had captured many of the men, women and children, whom he conveyed to New Orleans, and from thence shipped to the Island of St. Domingo, where they were sold to work upon the plantations. Some of those who escaped the hands of the French at Black river, retreated to the vicinity of the fort at Natchitoches, upon which they presently made a furious assault. The brave St. Denys, the commandant, successfully repulsed them. A remnant of this warlike but unfortunate tribe had fled to the Chickasaw nation, while another small band sought a home among the Creeks, upon the Coosa.

1732 Jan. March

Governor Perrier was guilty of excessive cruelty to many of these poor fugitives who fell into his hands. In the streets of New Orleans he publicly, and without any hesitation, caused four of the men and two of the women to be burned to death. He also cheerfully permitted the Tonicas, who brought down a Natchez woman whom they had discovered in the woods, to put an end to her existence in the same manner. A platform was erected near the levee. The unfortunate woman was led forth,

placed upon it, and, surrounded by the whole population of New Orleans, was slowly consumed by the flames! What a stigma upon the character of the early inhabitants of the Crescent City! Gayarre says:—"The victim supported, with the most stoical fortitude, all the tortures which were inflicted upon her, and did not shed a tear. On the contrary, she upbraided her torturers with their want of skill, flinging at them every opprobrious epithet she could think of."*

As a nation, the Natchez were thus entirely destroyed Great sympathy was felt for them by all the tribes in Mississippi and Alabama; even the Choctaws, who were so wedded to the French, being sad on account of their fate, and annoyed at the unparalleled cruelties they experienced at the hands of their vindictive conquerors. The noble Creeks, upon the Coosa, received some of the refugees with open arms, while the still nobler Chickasaws not only welcomed others to their doors, but swore to shed the blood of their pursuers, in a protracted war. These things made the condition of the French colony a very critical one. The English of Carolina did not fail to fan the fire which, they imagined, would soon consume their ancient colonial enemies. An expedition was fitted out in Charleston,
1734 composed of many traders and adventurers, with seventy pack-horses laden chiefly with munitions of war. Whether it was at the instance of the British government, or not, is unknown. They took the well-beaten path for the Chickasaw nation, and passing by the town of Coosa, then situated in the territory of the present county of Talladega, they prevailed upon some of the refugee Natchez to accompany them, and to assist in repelling the French invasion, which, it was known, was then contemplated. Arriving in the Chickasaw nation, they dispersed over the country, and not a few of them found their way to the towns of the Choctaws. Soon the whole Indian sky was crim-

* Louisiana, its Colonial History and Romance, by Charles Gayarre. New York: 1851. pp. 444-445.

soned with flashing meteors, and then made dark with angry clouds.

France, apprised of the precarious situation of her distant children, once more resolved to send the veteran Bienville to take care of them. The King began to see that his services could not be dispensed with, and after he had passed eight years in Paris, he sailed for the colony. His arrival at Mobile was hailed with joy and acclamations by the inhabitants. Diron D'Artaguette, a man of nerve and much ability, who had been longer absent from the colony than Bienville, accompanied him. He was presently stationed at Mobile as the King's commissary. Bienville, at first, occupied much of his time in visiting Mobile and New Orleans, for the purpose of giving quiet to the inhabitants and preparing them for a war of invasion. On one occasion, while he was in New Orleans, Diron D'Artaguette aroused all the French settlers towards the east by despatches which he sent among them in relation to the arrival of the English expedition, to which allusion has just been made, and of the determination of the Choctaws to act in future against the French. He warned everybody to be upon their guard, for it was probable they might be butchered at any hour. The people of Mobile were in a state of extreme terror; they never went to mass without carrying their guns in their hands. Indeed, they at one time resolved to retire to New Orleans, but Bienville arriving commanded them to remain and fear nothing. He highly disapproved of the excitement which Diron D'Artaguette had produced, and thought there was no occasion for such officious watchfulness on the part of the commissary. This produced unpleasant feelings between them, and they indulged in recriminations of each other in official reports to the government. Bienville was mortified at the conduct of D'Artaguette in rebuking the Choctaw Chiefs, who had recently paid him a visit, for permitting the English to come among them. Further, he dis-

1733 Mar.

1735

missed them without presents, upon which they returned home highly offended. These things were represented to the
1735 government by Bienville, while D'Artaguette, on the
Apr. 29 other hand, stated in one of his despatches that Bienville's opposition to him arose from the fact that he had reported the "misconduct of his proteges or favorites, Lesueur, and the Jesuit, Father Beaudoin, who, to the great scandal of the Choctaws, seduce their women."*

It is pleasant to us to be able to state that only a few of the missionaries, of the order of Jesuits, thus abused the holy offices with which they were entrusted. The great body of them led the most pious lives and suffered the greatest privations in their efforts to redeem the savages from heathenism.

In the meantime small parties of Natchez, with their generous allies, the Chickasaws, sought all occasions to annoy
1735 their enemy. From ambuscades on the hill tops and banks of the rivers, along the Indian paths in the interior, and from dark valleys in the mountains, they sprang upon the French trappers, hunters and traders with the impetuosity of lions and the agility of tigers, and drank their hot blood with the voraciousness of wolves.

But Bienville was straining every nerve to complete his preparations for the invasion of the Chickasaw nation. He
1735 visited Mobile once more, and having assembled at that point a large delegation of Choctaw Chiefs, he in a great measure accomplished his object in gaining them over to his side. It was important that he should do so, for Red Shoes, a potent Chief of that tribe, had already declared in favor of the English. Bienville freely distributed merchandise, and promised a much larger amount if they would assist him in the war, to which they finally consented. Indeed, ever since his arrival from France, he saw the necessity of inspiring the Indian nations with awe and respect, by a bold and successful strike at

* Louisiana, its Colonial History and Romance, by Gayarre, p. 469.

the Chickasaws. Nor had he failed to demand the necessary men and military supplies from the mother country.

In the midst of these precarious times, a most unfortunate affair occurred in the bay of Mobile. A smuggling vessel, from Jamaica, cast her anchor twelve miles from the town. Diron D'Artaguette ordered her commander to leave the French coast; he refused. The commissary then placed Lieutenant DeVelles in a boat, armed with thirty men, and ordered him to capture the smuggler. When he approached near her, the latter opened an effective fire; seventeen Frenchmen were immediately killed. Before D'Artaguette could reinforce DeVelles, the smuggler had made her escape to sea. This affair again enraged Bienville, and the war of recrimination was fiercer than ever between him and the commissary. What a pity it was, that men of such worth and character did not better appreciate each other. In olden times they had been great friends. 1735 July 16

The commissary had a younger brother, who had behaved with distinguished gallantry in expeditions against the Natchez. He had recently been promoted to the command of the French fort in the district of Illinois. With him Bienville corresponded, respecting the invasion; he was ordered to collect the disposable French forces, and all the Indians in that country who would join him, and with them to march in a southern direction to the Chickasaw towns, while Bienville would march from the south, and meet him in the country of the enemy, on the 31st March, 1736. Afterwards the governor informed young D'Artaguette that he had been unable to make his arrangements to join him at that time, but he would meet him at another time, which was also appointed. 1735

Bienville, nine months before this period, had despatched M. De Lusser, with a company of soldiers and artisans, to a place upon the Little Tombigby, which is now called Jones' Bluff, with orders to erect there a fort and cabins to be used as a depot for the army, and, afterwards, to serve as a permanent trading post.

That fearless officer had reached these wilds in safety, and it was not long before the forest resounded with the noise of axes and the heavy falling of timber. He was assisted in his labors by many of the Choctaws.

1736 Mar. 22 At length the army left New Orleans, and passing through the lakes reached Mobile. The vessels containing the supplies having entered the Gulf by way of the Balize, were retarded by winds, and did not arrive until six days afterwards; and then it was discovered that a cargo of rice was destroyed by the salt water. To replace this loss, Bienville set his bakers to work, who made a large supply of biscuits for the army. He sent a despatch to De Lusser at Fort "Tombecbe," ordering him to build ovens, and to have made an abundant supply of biscuits by the time of his arrival at that place. When all things were ready,

1736 April 1 Bienville embarked his troops at Mobile, and turned his boats up the river of that name. Never before had such a large and imposing fleet of the kind disturbed the deep and smooth waters which now flow by our beautiful commercial emporium. Every kind of up-country craft was employed, and they bore men nearly of all kinds and colors. The crews were composed of genteel merchants, gentlemen of leisure and fortune, loafers and convicts, rough but bold mariners, veteran soldiers, sturdy and invincible Canadians, monks and priests, Choctaws and Mobilians, and a company of negroes commanded by Simon, a free mulatto. The fleet comprised more than sixty of the largest pirogues and bateaux. Entering the main Tombigby, Bienville made his way up that stream to the confluence of the Warrior, and there, passing into the Little Tombigby, he at length arrived at the fort.* Heavy rains and much high water had retarded his passage.

The governor found that the fort was unfinished, and only some cabins, surrounded by stockades and covered with leaves,

* Now Jones' Bluff.

could be occupied. The bakers had prepared but few biscuits, for the fire cracked the prairie soil of which the ovens were made. After various unsuccessful efforts to make suitable ovens, they succeeded by mixing sand with the earth. Bienville was surprised to see, at the fort, four persons in irons—one Frenchman, two Swiss, and Montfort, a sergeant. They had formed the design of assassinating the commandant of the fort, M. De Lusser, and also the keeper of the store house, and of carrying off Tisnet and Rosilie, who had recently been rescued from the Chickasaws, among whom they had been held in slavery. They intended to convey these unfortunate men back to their masters, in order to gain favor with the tribe, who would therefore be induced, after a time, to facilitate their escape to the British provinces. But these assassins were defeated in their plans; for Lieutenant Grondel, with the rapidity of action and the bravery which had ever distinguished him, arrested Montfort with his own hands. The prisoners were tried by a court martial, and being sentenced to be shot, were "presently passed by the arms at the head of the troops."*

When all the allied Choctaws had arrived, Bienville reviewed his troops upon the plain in the rear of the fort. He found that his army was composed of five hundred and fifty men, exclusive of officers, together with six hundred In- 1736
dians. He now assumed the line of march for the coun- May 4
try of the enemy. The larger number of the French troops embarked in the boats. Some of the Indians proceeded to their own canoes, while many hardy Canadians, called *couriers de bois*, marched with other Indians, sometimes along the banks, where the swamps did not intervene; and then again a mile or two from the river. It was truly an imposing scene to be exhibited in these interminable wilds. After encountering many difficulties, the redoubtable Bienville at length reached the spot where now stands the city of Columbus, in Mississippi; and pur-

* Dumont's Memoires Historiques sur la Louisiane, p. 216.

May 22 suing his tedious voyage, finally moored his boats at or near the place now known as Cotton Gin Port. Here disembarking, he immediately began to fell the trees in the forest, and soon stockaded a place ample enough to secure his May 23 baggage and provisions, together with the sick; while the side fronting the river was arranged with loopholes for muskets, to protect his boats, which were all unladen and drawn up close together. He was twenty-seven miles from the towns of the enemy, which lay in a western direction. He left twenty men here under Vanderek, besides the keeper of the magazine, the patroons of the boats, and some of the soldiers who were sick. With some difficulty he hired a sufficient number of the Choctaws to transport the sacks of powder and balls, for the negroes were already laden with other things. Taking provisions with him to last twelve days, the governor began the march in the evening, and that night encamped six miles from May 24 the depot. The rains which incommoded him in his voyage up the river, did not forsake him on his march upon the present occasion; for, scarcely had he formed his camp, when a violent storm arose. The next day he passed three deep ravines—the soldiers wading up to their waists—and after gaining the opposite banks, slipping and falling constantly upon the slimy soil. Great difficulties were surmounted in transporting the effects of the army over these angry torrents. The banks on either side were covered with large canes, but Bienville took the precaution always to send spies in advance, to prevent surprise from ambuscades. Soon, however, the French were relieved by the appearance of the most beautiful country in the world. The prairies were stretched out wide before them, covered with green grass, flowers and strawberries, while forests of magnificent trees were to be seen in the distance. A breeze gently played over the surface of the lovely plains, and a May day's sun warmed all nature into life. The sleek cattle were everywhere grazing upon these sweet meadows of nature. The nimble deer bounded along,

and droves of wild horses, of every variety of color, with lofty tails and spreading manes, made the earth resound with their rapid tread. Alas! alas! to think that the inhabitants, whom the Great Spirit had placed in a country so lovely and so enchanting, were soon to be assailed by an army of foreigners, assisted by their own neighbors.

Drawing nearer and nearer to the enemy, Bienville finally encamped within six miles of their towns. His camp was formed upon the border of a delightful prairie, the view across which was not interrupted by trees, until it had reached far beyond the Indian houses. He had previously sent spies in all directions, to look for D'Artaguette and his troops, who were to have joined him there. The bands, chiefly composed of Indians, returned without having heard anything of that unfortunate officer. The governor was sorely disappointed, and could no longer hope for aid from that source, and he resolved to rely upon his own forces. His intention, at first, was to march 1736 in a circuitous direction, around the Chickasaw vil- May 24 lages, in order to attack the Natchez town which lay behind them, and which had recently been erected. But the Choctaws had become very impatient to assail an advanced village of the Chickasaws, which, they insisted, could be easily taken, and which, they stated, contained a large amount of provisions. Their importunities were disregarded until strengthened by the entreaties of the Chevalier Noyan, the nephew of the governor, and many other French officers, whose impetuous disposition made them eager for an immediate attack. The house of the enemy stood upon a hill, in the prairie, and spread out in the shape of a triangle. After some consideration, Bienville resolved to give the French an opportunity of gratifying a long sought revenge, es- 1735 pecially when it was made known to him that his camp Mar. 26 was then pitched near the last water which his men could procure for miles in a western direction. At two o'clock

in the afternoon, Chevalier Noyan was placed at the head of a column consisting of a detachment of fifteen men drawn from each of the eight French companies, a company of grenadiers, forty-five volunteers and sixty-five Swiss.

The Chickasaws had fortified themselves with much skill, and were assisted by Englishmen, who had caused them to hoist a flag of their country over one of their defenses. The French troops, as they advanced, were not a little surprised to see the British Lion, against which many of them had often fought in Europe, now floating over the rude huts of American Indians, and bidding them defiance. The Chickasaws had fortified their houses in a most defensive manner, by driving large stakes into the ground around them. Many loop-holes were cut through the latter, very near the ground. Within the palisades, entrenchments were cut, deep enough to protect the persons of the Indians as high as their breasts. In these ditches they stood, and when the battle began, shot through the loop-holes at the French. The tops of these fortified houses were covered with timbers, upon which was placed a thick coat of mud plaster, so that neither ignited arrows nor bomb shells could set the houses on fire. What added still more to the security of the Chickasaws, was the position of some of their houses, which stood in nearly opposite directions, so as to admit of destructive cross-firing. Bienville having previously learned that there were several of the British in the village, had, with much humanity, as it may at that time have seemed, directed the Chevalier Noyan to give them time to retire before he brought on the attack. The division then marched briskly on. It was protected by movable breastworks, called mantalets, which were now carried by the company of negroes. As their lives appear not to have been esteemed of as much value as those of the French, these

1736 May 26 negroes were used in the same manner as *shields* are in battle. When the troops advanced within carbine shot of the village of Ackia, where waved the British flag'

one of the negroes was killed, and another wounded. They all now threw down their mantalets and precipitately fled. The French, with their usual impetuosity, rapidly advanced. They entered the village. The grenadiers led. And now, no longer protected by the mantalets, they received a severe fire from the Chickasaws, which killed and wounded many. Among the former was the gallant and accomplished Chevalier de Contre Cœur; and when he fell dead it produced an unpleasant feeling among those around him, by whom he was greatly esteemed. Upon his right and left soldiers lay dead, discoloring the green grass with their hot blood. But 1736
the troops carried three fortified cabins, and reached May 26
several smaller ones, which they presently wrapped in flames. The chief fort and other fortified houses lay some distance in the rear of those they had in possession. The Chevalier Noyan was eager to advance upon them, but turning round to take a rapid survey of his forces he was mortified to perceive that only the officers, a dozen of the volunteers and some grenadiers remained with him. Dismayed by the fall of Captain de Lusser,* who was now killed, and seeing a popular sergeant of grenadiers and several soldiers also fall, the troops retreated to the cabins which were first taken. In vain did the officers who belonged to the rear endeavor to drive them on to the scene of action. A panic had seized them, and no exhortation, threats, promises of promotion or hopes of military glory could induce 1736
them to make the slightest advance from their cowardly May 26
position. But the officers resolved more than ever to do their duty, and placing themselves at the head of a few brave soldiers essayed to storm the fort. But just at the moment of their contemplated charge the brave Chevalier Noyan, Grondel, an invfncible lieutenant of the Swiss, D'Hauterive, a captain of the grenadiers, Montbrun, De Velles, and many other officers and

* It will be recollected that De Lusser, who was now killed, was the officer whom Bienville sent to construct Fort "Tombecbe," upon the site of the present Jones' Bluff.

soldiers received severe wounds. The balls of the Chickasaws came thick and whizzed over the prairie. The bleeding De Noyan stood his ground, and despatched his aid to assist in bringing up the soldiers, who still screened themselves behind the
1736 cabins, but as he left to perform the order a Chickasaw
May 26 ball put an end to his existence. The death of this officer, whose name was De Juzan, increased the panic which had so unfortunately seized upon the larger number of the troops. A party of Indians at this moment rushed up to scalp Grondel, the Swiss officer, who had fallen near the walls of the fort. A brave sergeant with four fearless soldiers rushed to the rescue. Driving off the savages, they were about to bear him off in their arms when a fire from the fort killed every one of these noble fellows! But the bleeding Grondel still survived, although those who came to protect his head from the blows of the hatchet lay dead by his side. Another act of heroism is worthy of record. Regnisse now rushed out alone, and making his way to the unfortunate Grondel, who still lay bleeding from five wounds, dragged him out from among the bodies of those who had
1736 just fallen in his defence, placed him on his back and
May 26 returned to the French lines, without receiving a solitary wound from the showers of Chickasaw balls. The almost lifeless Grondel received, however, another severe wound as he was borne off by the noble Regnisse.*

But where were the six hundred Choctaws, while the French were thus expiring in agony upon the prairie? Painted, plumed and dressed in a manner the most fantastic and horrible, they kept the plain, on either side of the French lines, at a distance where the balls of the enemy could not reach them, sending forth yells and shouts, and occasionally dancing and shooting their guns in the air. The brave Chickasaws maintained their

* This Grondel was an officer of indomitable courage. His life was full of romantic events. He had fought several duels at Mobile. He recovered from the wounds which he received in this battle, and was promoted to high military stations.

positions in the fortified houses, and, from loop holes, riddled the French with their unerring rifles. They, too, yelled most awfully. The scene was one calculated to excite 1736 deep interest, for, added to all this, the looker-on might May 26 have viewed the flames rising up from the burning cabins, and sending above them volumes of black smoke, which a May breeze wafted to the far off forests.

The Chevalier De Noyan now ordered a retreat to the advanced cabins, and when he had arrived there, he despatched an officer to Bienville, bearing an account of their critical condition. Noyan sent him word that, although severely 1736 wounded himself, he was determined to keep the posi- May 26 tion which he had just taken. He requested that a detachment should be sent to his assistance, to bear off the dead and wounded, and assist those who were alive to make a retreat, as, now, no further hope remained of storming the fortifications of the Chickasaws. Bienville was hastened in his determination to send aid, by observing that a Chickasaw force on the flank, which had not yet participated in the battle, was about to sally from their houses and immolate the French officers and the few soldiers who had remained with them. He then immediately despatched Beauchamp, with eighty men, to the scene of action. Arriving there he found the French officers huddled together, keeping their ground at the imminent peril of their lives. Beauchamp, in advancing, had already lost several men. The Chickasaws now redoubled their exertions, and made the plains resound with their exulting shouts. Beauchamp began the retreat, carrying off many of the wounded and the dead, but unfortunately was forced to leave some behind, who fell into the tiger clutches of the Chickasaws. When the French had retreated some distance towards Bienville's headquarters, the Choctaws, by way of bravado, rushed up to the Chickasaw fortifications, as if they intended to carry them by storm, but receiving a general volley from the enemy, they fled in great terror over the prairie.

The battle of Ackia had lasted three hours, and resulted in glory to the Chickasaws, and disgrace to the French. When the French troops arrived at the camp, proper attention was paid to the wounded and the dying. It was not long before this brilliant and exciting scene was made to give place to one which presented an aspect at once quiet, calm and beautiful. The sun, in his retirement for the night, had just sunk to the tops of the trees in the far off distance. A cool and delicious breeze was made sweet with the odor of wild flowers. The Chickasaws were as quiet as the boa-constrictor after he has gorged upon his prey. The cattle and horses, much disturbed during the fight, now began to move up and feed upon their accustomed meadows. What a contrast had been produced by the lapse of only two hours!

During this quiet scene, a collection of French officers were on one side of the camp, summing up the misfortunes of the day. Among them stood Simon, the commander of the negroes who fled from the field. Simon was a favorite with the officers, and had resolutely maintained his ground during the engagement. Some of them rallied him upon the flight of his company, which annoyed him excessively. At that moment, a drove of horses came down to the stream to slake their thirst, not far from the fortified houses of the Chickasaws. The desperate Simon, in reply to those who made sport of his company, seized a rope and ran off towards the horses, saying: "I will show you that a negro is as brave as any one." He passed around the horses in full range of the Chickasaw rifles, from which balls were showered upon him, and making his way up to a beautiful white mare, threw a rope over her head, and thus securing her, passed it around her nose, mounted upon her back with the agility of a Camanche Indian, and pressed her with rapid speed into the French lines. He did not receive a wound, and he was welcomed with shouts by the sol-

1736
May 26

diers, and was no more jeered on account of the cowardice of his company.*

Bienville, pleased with the gallantry which Regnisse had displayed in bearing off the wounded Grondel, immediately from under the guns of the Chickasaws, had him brought to the marquee, complimented him upon the generous and heroic act which he had performed, and proposed to promote him to the rank of an officer. The brave Regnisse modestly replied that he had done nothing more than what could have been accomplished by any of his brother grenadiers, and stated that as he could not write, he was unfitted for an officer; therefore he declined the intended honor.

Night now shrouded the scene with its sable mantle, and the French troops reposed behind some trees which had been felled for their protection. The Chickasaws remained quiet within their intrenchments. At length day dawned, and exhibited to Bienville a painful sight. On the ramparts of the Chickasaws were suspended the French soldiers and officers, whom Beauchamp was forced to leave upon the field. Their limbs had been separated from their bodies, and thus were they made to dangle in the air, for the purpose of insulting the defeated invaders. Many of the officers wished to rush again upon the villages, but Bienville determined to retreat, as the Choctaws were of no assistance to him, and he was without cannon to batter down the fortifications. In the afternoon, at two o'clock, 1736 he began the retrograde march. The soldiers, worn May 27 down with fatigue produced by the battle and the mortifications arising from its disgraceful termination, were unable, in addition to their heavy loads of baggage, to carry the wounded, who were placed in litters. Consequently night set in by the time Bienville had marched only four miles; here the camp was again made. The Choctaws were highly exasperated on account of this slow movement, and Red Shoes,

* Dumont's Memoires Historique sur la Louisiane.

who had long endeavored to wean his people from the French interest, now vociferously threatened to take with him the greater portion of the Choctaws, and thus leave the French to the mercy of the Chickasaws in this wild and distant region. Bienville was startled when he was informed of this determination. He sent for the main Chief of the Choctaws, and by his eloquence and the force of that mysterious influence which he possessed, he succeeded not only in getting the Choctaws to remain with the army, but made them consent to assist in the transportation of the wounded. Red Shoes rebuked the head Chief, for consenting to such terms, in a manner so insulting, that the latter drew his pistol from his belt, and was in the act of shooting him, when Bienville seized his arm, saved the life of Red Shoes, and, for a while put an end to an affair which threatened the most serious consequences. The next morning Bienville put his troops upon the march, and he arrived at the depot, upon the Tombigby, on the 29th May, after he had buried two of his men, on the way, who had died of their wounds.

1736 May 28

Bienville was astonished to observe how much the river had fallen, and he hurried his effects into the boats, for fear that the delay of a day longer would leave him without a stream sufficient to convey him to Mobile. When the troops had embarked, the ropes which bound the boats to the banks were untied, and then the discomfited French party passed down the stream. The channel of the Little Tombigby was here so crooked and narrow, that the boats had frequently to stop until logs and projecting limbs were cut out of the way. If the Chickasaws had followed up the French, they could easily have destroyed Bienville's army at this time. At length the army reached Fort "Tombecbe," now Jones' Bluff. Bienville, sending on a portion of the troops, and the sick and wounded to Mobile, disembarked at the fort. He remained there, however, but one day, which he consumed in planning upon paper,

1736 June 2

and tracing upon the ground additions which he directed to be made to the defenses. Then, leaving Captain De Berthel in command of Fort "Tombecbe," with a garrison of thirty Frenchmen and twenty Swiss, provisions to last for the remainder of the year, and an abundance of merchandise intended to be used in commerce with the Indians, the governor entered his boats, and continued the voyage until they were moored at the town of Mobile. June 3

But where was the brave and unfortunate D'Artaguette? Why did not his army join Bienville at the Chickasaw towns? The reader will presently see. That officer had assembled the tribes of the Illinois at Fort Chatres, and had made them acquainted with the plans of Governor Bienville. With these Indians, and others which De Vincennes had collected upon the Wabash, together with thirty soldiers and one hundred volunteers, D'Artaguette floated down the Mississippi river until he reached the last of the Chickasaw Bluffs. He had expected to have been joined by De Grandpre, who commanded at the Arkansas, and that officer had sent twenty-eight warriors of that tribe to ascertain whether D'Artaguette was at Ecores a Prudhomme. These scouts were instructed to return with the necessary information; but upon arriving at that place, and finding that D'Artaguette had set out upon his expedition, they hastened to follow him into the enemy's country. Disembarking at the Chickasaw Bluffs, D'Artaguette marched across the country, at a slow pace, hoping to be overtaken by De Grandpre, and also by Montcherval, who had been ordered to bring on his Cahokias and Mitchigamias. Pursuing the march in an eastward direction, D'Artaguette advanced among the sources of the Yalobusha, and there encamped on the 9th May. He was but a few miles east of the site of the present town of Pontotoc, in Mississippi, near the place where he and Bienville were to have met each other, and not more than thirty miles from the spot where the latter, afterwards, moored his 1736 May

boats,—near the present Cotton Gin Port. D'Artaguette sought, in vain, for intelligence of the commander-in-chief. He was assisted by Lieutenant Vincennes, the young Voisin, and Senac, a holy father of the order of Jesuits, in arranging and conducting the spy companies, who roamed the forests in search of Bienville. But nothing could be heard of him until a courier brought to D'Artaguette a letter, in which he was informed that unexpected delays would prevent Bienville from reaching the Chickasaw towns before the last of April. The red allies had become impatient, for by this time, D'Artaguette had occupied his
May 20 camp for eleven days. He now resolved to advance upon the Chickasaws, as his allies had threatened to abandon him if he did not soon bring on the attack. They represented to him that the advance town was inhabited by the refugee Natchez, and by taking it they could return to their encampment with an abundance of provisions, where they might remain entrenched until Bienville's arrival. This plausible proposition found advocates in the French officers. The allied forces consisted of one hundred and thirty Frenchmen, and three hundred and sixty Indians. The French advanced within a mile of the village, on Palm Sunday. Frontigny was here left at the camp, with thirty men, in charge of all the baggage. D'Artaguette advanced rapidly to the attack, which he presently brought on with his accustomed gallantry. At that moment, thirty Englishmen and five hundred Indians, who were concealed behind an adjacent hill, rose up and fell upon the invaders with such impetuosity that the Miamis and the Illinois fled from the battle field. Indeed, all the Indians took to their heels, except a few Iroquois and Arkansas, who behaved in the bravest manner. The guns of the enemy brought to the ground Lieu-
1736 tenant St. Ange, Ensigns De Coulanges, De La Graviere
May 20 and De Courtigny, with six of the militia officers. By this time the French were almost surrounded, but they still continued to keep their position. Presently, Captain

Des Essarts was seen to fall, and also Lieutenant Langlois and Ensign Levieux. So great was the loss of the French, in this short, but desperate conflict, that D'Artaguette determined to retreat to the camp, for the double purpose of saving his baggage, and of being reinforced by the men he had left there; but the retreat could not be conducted with the least order, for the Chickasaws were close upon their heels, and at length again surrounded them. D'Artaguette now fell covered with wounds, and was taken prisoner, together with Father Senac, Vincennes, Du Tisne, an officer of the regulars, a captain of the militia, named Lalande, and some soldiers, making nineteen in all. Not one man would have escaped the clutches of the brave Chickasaws if a violent storm, which now arose, had not prevented further pursuit. It was a great victory; all the provisions and baggage of D'Artaguette fell into the hands of the Chickasaws, besides eleven horses, four hundred and fifty pounds of powder and twelve hundred bullets. With this powder and these bullets they afterwards shot down the troops of Bienville, as we have already seen.

1736 May 20

Voisin, a youth of only sixteen years of age, conducted the retreat for many miles, without food or water, while his men carried such of the wounded as they were able to bear. This noble youth, one of the bravest that ever lived, stood by the side of D'Artaguette in all this bloody engagement. At length, on the second day of his painful retreat, he halted his men at a place where Montcherval, who was following D'Artaguette with one hundred and sixty Indians, had encamped. The latter, collecting the fragments of the army, fell back to the Mississippi river.

May

At first the unfortunate D'Artaguette and his equally unfortunate companions in captivity were treated with kindness and attention by the Chickasaws, who dressed their wounds. Hopes of a high ransom prompted this conduct, so unusual with Indians. They expected not only to receive money from Bienville, who was

known to be approaching, but imagined that by holding these men as prisoners the governor would consent to leave
1736 May their towns unattacked. But at length they received intelligence that Bienville had been defeated, and they now resolved to sacrifice the prisoners. They led them out to a neighboring field, and D'Artaguette, Father Senac, Vincennes, and fifteen others were pinioned to stakes and burned to death! One of the soldiers was spared to carry the news of the triumph of the Chickasaws and the death of these unhappy men to the mortified Bienville.*

The Chickasaws have never been conquered. They could not be defeated by De Soto with his Spanish army in 1541; by Bienville, with his French army and Southern Indians, in 1736; by D'Artaguette, with his French army and Northern Indians; by the Marquis De Vaudreuil, with his French troops and Choctaws, in 1752; nor by the Creeks, Cherokees, Kickapoos, Shawnees and Choctaws, who continually waged war against them. No! they were "the bravest of the brave;" and even when they had emigrated to the territory of Arkansas, not many years ago, they soon subdued some tribes who attacked them in that quarter.

Young Men of Northwestern Alabama and Northeastern Mississippi! Remember, that the bravest race that ever lived, once occupied the country which you now inhabit—once fished in your streams, and chased the elk over your vast plains. Remember, that whenever that soil, which *you* now tread, was pressed by the feet of foes, it was not only bravely defended, but drenched with the blood of the invaders. Will you ever disgrace that soil, and the memory of its first occupants, by submitting to injustice and oppression, and finally to invasion? We unhesitating give the answer for you—"No—no—never!"

* MS. letters obtained from Paris. I have also consulted Gayarre's Histoire de la Louisiane, vol. 1, pp. 311-331, which contains the despatches of Bienville to the French Court in relation to these battles. Also, Dumont's Memoires Historiques sur la Louisiane—Bancroft's History of the United States, vol. 3—The Southwest, by Alexander B. Meek, of Mobile—Martin's Louisiana—Stodart's Louisiana—Monette's History of the Mississippi Valley, vol. 1, pp. 283-288—Louisiana, its Colonial History and Romance, by Charles Gayarre: New York, 1851; pp. 476-495.

CHAPTER XV.

Bienville Leaves the Colony—His Character.

In our investigations of the French Colonial History of Alabama and Mississippi, for a period of sixteen years from the conclusion of the campaigns of Bienville and D'Artaguette, in the Chickasaw nation, we find but little to interest the reader. The same difficulties as heretofore continued to exist with the Indian tribes, with the colonial authorities, and with the English of Carolina. Bienville began, soon after his defeat near Pontotoc, to lose favor with the King and the West India Company. To recover the ground which he had lost in their confidence, he exerted himself to organize another expedition against the Chickasaws; and having perfected it, he sailed up the Mississippi to Fort St. Francis, and disembarking, brought his army to a place near the mouth of the Margot or Wolf river. Here his troops remained a long time, until, reduced by death from various diseases, and by famine, he was left with but few soldiers. Finally, with these M. Celeron was ordered to march against the Chickasaw towns. As he advanced, the Chickasaws, supposing that a large French army had invaded their country, sued for peace. Celeron took advantage of their mistake, and immediately came to terms with them. The Chickasaws promised to expel the English traders from their country, and, from that time, to remain true to the French interest. When the result of this expedition, which terminated forever the military operations of Bienville, became known in France, the governor began to receive despatches dictated in a spirit of much harshness and censure. The pride of

1740 March

Bienville was wounded—his spirit was humbled; and, being too sensible a man to retain a position the duties of which
1742 it was believed he had failed creditably to perform, he
Mar. 26 now requested to be recalled. He wrote to the Minister as follows:

"If success had always corresponded with my application to the affairs of the government and administration of the colony, and with my zeal for the service of the King, I would have rejoiced in devoting the rest of my days to such objects; but, through a sort of fatality, which, for some time past, has obstinately thwarted my best concerted plans, I have frequently lost the fruit of my labors, and, perhaps some ground in your excellency's confidence, therefore have I come to the conclusion, that it is no longer necessary for me to struggle against my adverse fortune. I hope that better luck may attend my successor. During the remainder of my stay here, I will give all my attention to smooth the difficulties attached to the office which I shall deliver up to him; and it is to me a subject of self-gratulation that I shall transmit to him the government of the colony, when its affairs are in a better condition than they have ever been.*

Bienville was, unquestionably, not only a great and good man, but a modest one. We find in this letter none of that disgusting cant indulged in by American politicians and American officeholders, when they lose their places. In these days it is common for such men to say that they have been treated with ingratitude by the government, if they are removed from an office—or by the people, if an opposing candidate is elected to Congress, and to whine and complain about having "grown gray in the service of their country," when, in truth, they have lived at their ease and feasted upon the contents of the public treasury, time out of mind. Some of these men have received over a hundred thousand dollars for occupying seats in the Senate and

* Louisiana, its Colonial History and Romance, by Charles Gayarre, pp. 526-527. See also Bienville's letter in French, contained in Histoire de la Louisiane, par Charles Gayarre.

the House of Representatives, and much larger sums for filling the office of President, and for foreign missions; and yet, after all these favors, from the government and the people, they complain of being treated with ingratitude, if they lose their position. The people who permitted them so long to hold these trusts, often to their own injury, should never be charged with the crime of ingratitude; but the recipients of all these political favors should ever feel grateful, and retire with dignity and grace, like the good and wise Bienville.*

The successor of Bienville, the Marquis De Vaudreuil, arrived at New Orleans, and shortly afterwards the former sailed for France. Although sixty-five years of age when he left the colony, Bienville lived to the advanced age of ninety. What a constitution for a man who had passed through such trials and hardships! In the whole of the twenty-five years that he passed in France, he never, for one moment, forgot the colony in Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. He nursed it in his remembrance, as does the aged grandfather who is far off from his beloved descendants. He sympathized with its misfortunes, and exulted in its triumphs and prosperity. Whenever a vessel, from the colony, reached the shores of France, Bienville was the first to go on board, and learn tidings of his beloved bantling. And when the French King, towards the last of Bienville's days, ceded the colony of Louisiana to Spain, the good old man implored him with tears in his eyes, not to place the French subjects of the colony under the control of the tyrannical Spaniards. 1743 May 10

Another distinguished person departed from our country about the time that Bienville sailed for France—Diron D'Artaguette, the royal commissary, who had lived so long at Mobile. As we have seen, he came to our country in 1708, where he filled several high offices until 1742. It 1742

* If Alabama should, hereafter, change the names of any of her present counties, or form new ones, we very respectfully suggest that one be named "DE SOTO," and another

was his younger brother whom the Chickasaws burned to death, near Pontotoc, in the present State of Mississippi. It is not known whether the royal commissary and Bienville ever again became friends. They ought, really, never to have disagreed, as they were both men of ability, honor and fidelity.

The colony, at length, became prosperous. Capitalists embarked in agriculture and commerce, after the restrictions upon the latter had been set aside by the King. Cargoes of flour, hides, pork, bacon, leather, tallow, bear's oil and lumber found their way to Europe. These articles came chiefly from the Illinois and Wabash countries, and the inhabitants of that region, in return, received from New Orleans and Mobile, rice, indigo, tobacco, sugar and European fabrics. But a war broke out between France and Great Britain, and the Chickasaws, again becoming the allies of the English, the Marquis De Vaudreuil determined to invade their country. He organized his army, and embarking in boats, at Mobile, made his way up the Tombigby river. After resting a few days at Fort "Tombecbe," he renewed his voyage until he reached the place where Bienville, sixteen years before, had disembarked his army. Marching from this point with his troops, composed of French and Choctaws, he reached the Chicka-
1752 saw towns, and endeavoring to storm them, lost many of his men; and was finally beaten, and compelled to retreat to his boats near Cotton Gin Port. All he accomplished was to destroy the fields and burn some cabins of the enemy. Arriving at Fort "Tombecbe," he caused it to be enlarged and strengthened—leaving there a strong detachment to prevent the incursions of the Chickasaws. Like Bienville, the Marquis re-

"BIENVILLE." The former was the first to discover our territory, and the latter was the French governor of it for forty years! We have a sufficient number of counties, rivers, creeks and towns bearing Indian names to preserve a remembrance of the former residence of the Red Men here. We have counties also named for politicians and warriors, but unlike Mississippi, Louisiana and Georgia, we have not one named for a person whose name would lead us to think of the history of our country.

turned to Mobile, not at all satisfied with the laurels which he had won in his expedition against the Chickasaws.*

* It has been stated to me, by several persons, that cannon have been found in the Tombigby, at or near Cotton Gin Port, and it has been supposed that they were left there by De Soto. De Soto brought from Cuba but one piece of artillery, and that he left behind him in Florida. If any such cannon have been found in the Tombigby, they belonged to the Marquis De Vaudreuil. He carried with him a few pieces to operate against the Chickasaws upon the occasion just referred to. After he had fought the Chickasaws, and returned to his boats, he found that the Tombigby had fallen considerably, and it is probable he threw these cannon into the river to lighten his boats.

CHAPTER XVI.

Horrible Death of Beaudrot and the Swiss Soldiers.

In 1757, Kerlerec was the governor of the colony. He had succeeded the Marquis De Vaudreuil, who had been transferred to the government of New France. Some of the officers, stationed at the different posts, were great tyrants. One of them, named Duroux, was sent to command a detachment of
1757 troops of the Swiss regiment of Halwyl, who were stationed at Cat Island, which, we believe, is now within the jurisdiction of the State of Alabama. He forced his soldiers to work his gardens, and to burn coal and lime, which he disposed of in trade for his own emolument. Some of them, who refused to work for him, he caused to be arrested, stripped and tied naked to trees, where, for hours, the mosquitoes tortured them with their poisonous stings. These soldiers, repairing to New Orleans, received no satisfaction from Governor Kerlerec, who presently sent them back to Duroux. That officer was now still more tyrannical, and in addition to his other severe usage, gave them no meat to eat, and fed them upon stale bread. One day he entered a boat, and was rowed to an adjacent island, for the purpose of hunting deer. Returning in the evening, a party of the soldiers prepared themselves to kill him, and, as soon as he put his foot upon shore, he was instantly despatched, by the discharge of several guns. His body, stripped of its apparel, was contemptuously thrown into the sea. They then rifled the King's stores, and for once fared sumptuously. Becoming masters of the island, the soldiers set at liberty an inhabitant, named Beaudrot, who had been

unjustly imprisoned by Duroux. He had been long in 1757
the colony, and was often employed upon dangerous
missions in the Creek nation. Indeed, he well understood the language of these Indians, besides that of neighboring tribes. Often had he made journeys to Fort Toulouse, upon the Coosa, both in boats and upon foot. He was a great favorite of Bienville. Beaudrot was a powerful man, as to strength, and almost a giant in size, and these qualities, together with his bravery and prowess, endeared him to the Indians. The soldiers, who now released him from prison, compelled him to conduct them towards Georgia. Advancing rapidly through the woods, after they had touched the main land in their boats, the veteran Beaudrot led them around Mobile, up to the Tombigby, and, crossing that stream, and afterwards the Alabama, in canoes which belonged to the Indians, Beaudrot conducted them from thence to Coweta, upon the Chattahoochie. Here he was dismissed by the fugitives, whom he compelled to give him a certificate, stating that he had been *forced* to act as their guide, and was not in any way concerned in the killing of Duroux.

Some of these soldiers, who pursued their journey, made safe their retreat to the English in Georgia; but others loitered in Coweta and Cusseta enjoying the hospitality of the Indians. In the meantime, Montberaut, who then commanded at Fort Toulouse, had been made acquainted with the murder of Duroux and the flight of the soldiers. Hearing that some of them were
upon the Chattahoochie, a small detachment of soldiers
and some Indians, under Beaudin, were sent across the 1757
country, to arrest them. Beaudin returned with three
of the men, who, after being chained in the prison for a week, were put in canoes, and conveyed down the Alabama river, to Mobile, and there thrown into the dungeon, to await trial.

Beaudrot arrived in Mobile, and was quietly living in his hut, when two of his sons, who had just arrived from New Orleans, were the innocent cause of his arrest. Governor

Kerlerec sent by them a sealed package to De Ville, the commandant at Mobile, authorizing his imprisonment. The poor fellow knew nothing of the arrest of the soldiers, until his eyes fell upon them in prison. Notwithstanding that he exhibited, upon the trial, his certificate, which declared his innocence of the murder, and which stated that he was compelled to facilitate the escape of the authors of it, a court martial condemned him to die. The soldiers, of course, were also condemned to share the same fate. As soon as Governor Kerlerec confirmed the judgment, the innocent and unfortunate Beaudrot was led forth and broken upon a wheel! The people of Mobile were shocked at the spectacle, for some of their lives had been saved by the sufferer. Not many years before that Beaudrot, while trading in the town of Autauga among the Alabamas, ransomed a French boy who had been captured near Mobile by the Lower Creeks of the Chattahoochie, and who had sold him to those Indians. Beaudrot paid away all his profits for the boy, and immediately carried him to Mobile and restored him to his uncle. On another occasion, a party of the Lower Creeks had taken a Frenchman, who had gone up to his little
1757 plantation on the Tensaw river. They stripped the man, and, having pinioned him well, took the trail for the Chattahoochie. It so happened that Beaudrot was returning upon that trail from Fort Toulouse, whither Bienville had some weeks before despatched him with a letter to the French commandant. Night drew apace, and the wearied Beaudrot sought repose upon the pine straw, behind a log, without a spark of fire. It was his custom when alone to sleep in the dark, for fear of being discovered by Indian enemies. He lay quietly, with his head resting upon his knapsack. Presently three stout warriors made their appearance, with the Frenchman to whom we have just alluded. They presently collected lightwood, which lay in profusion around, and kindled a large fire. Ten of the party, after the capture of the Frenchman, went in another direction, to see if they

could not do more mischief in the French settlements, and, entrusting the prisoner to the three warriors who now guarded him, had not yet overtaken them. The fire threw a glare over the woods, and Beaudrot would have been discovered had he not, fortunately, been behind a log. The warriors eat their supper, and, tying the Frenchman to a tree, where he would have been compelled to stand all night upon his feet, they dropped off to sleep. The heart of the generous Beaudrot beat quick: he longed to rescue the man, whom he well knew, but endeavored to compose himself. After a while, when the wearied warriors snored in profound sleep, he cautiously approached. His first intention was to unloose the prisoner and place a pistol in his hand, when they would both instantly fall upon the Indians; but a moment's reflection warned him that if he approached the prisoner first the latter would be startled and cry aloud, which would arouse the savages. This reflection now altered his plans, and he now crept up to the camp, keeping a large pine tree between him and the warriors. Two of them lay together. Beaudrot's carbine was heavily charged, and raising himself suddenly he fired, and the warriors were both killed. The third one rose up and rushed at Beaudrot with his hatchet, having in his haste forgotten his gun. Beaudrot had already a pistol in his hand, and now discharged its contents into the stomach of the Creek, who whooped and fell dead. Rushing to the tree he untied his friend, who immediately sank in the arms of his generous deliverer. But they had no time to tarry here. The rescued prisoner informed Beaudrot that the other party were probably upon their trail. They immediately left the spot, and reaching the Alabama river Beaudrot constructed a raft, on which he now placed the prisoner and they both floated down the river some distance, and landed on the western side. He tore the raft to pieces, and set the fragments adrift. Beaudrot took all this precaution to keep the Indians from tracking him. About this time it was daylight, and he and the Frenchman were in a swamp, and quite secure. Beau-

drot now drew forth his bottle of brandy, and gave his companion a drink, which did much to revive him. They also shared some bread and dried venison. After they had rested here some hours, Beaudrot and his companion arose, and, after a tedious march through the woods, subsisting upon what game Beaudrot could kill, he arrived safe in Mobile, with the Frenchman.

Such a man was Beaudrot, whom the French authorities in Mobile broke upon a wheel! His life was worth a thousand such lives as that of the tyrannical wretch whom he was accused of having killed. On the same day that he was thus made to suffer death, in the most barbarous and excruciating manner, one of the fugitives, a French soldier, was also broken upon a wheel, while two poor Swiss soldiers were subjected to a still more horrible fate. The authorities placed each one of them in a long narrow box, like a coffin, nailed it up, and then cut the box in two with a cross-cut saw.*

* French MS. letters in my possession, obtained from Paris. See also Bossu's Travels, vol. 1, pp. 320-325. But Bossu *incorrectly* states that these men suffered death in New Orleans. Some years previously, Fort Conde, a large brick fortress, had been built at Mobile, and it was in front of the gate of that fort that these men met such a terrible death.

CHAPTER XVII.

Bossu's Visit to the French Forts Upon the Alabama and Tombigby Rivers.

Governor Kerlerec having ordered Bossu, a Captain of the French Marines, to depart from New Orleans with a detachment, destined for Fort Toulouse, among the Creek Indians, that officer reached Mobile, and was there received by D'Aubant, adjutant of that place. The latter, the same officer who married the Russian Princess, and lived with her in Mobile, as we have seen, had recently been appointed to the command of Fort Toulouse, and was instructed to accompany Bossu to that point; but sickness, for a while, detained him in Mobile. In the meantime, Bossu embarked his soldiers and Choctaws in several boats. After a tedious voyage of fifty days, up the Alabama river, he moored his boats at the French fort, upon the Coosa. Here he had the pleasure of meeting D'Aubant, who, having recovered from his indisposition, had come from Mobile on horseback, across the vast wilderness. Montberaut, who was still in command of the fort, received D'Aubant with politeness, and, for three months previous to his departure to Mobile, instructed him in regard to the condition of the fort, and of the policy which it was necessary for him to pursue with the tribes around. Montberaut was an officer of high reputation among the Creeks and Alabamas, and "was remarkable for the spirited speeches which he delivered, in a manner analogous to the way of thinking of these nations."* He despised the Jesuits,

1758 Dec. 20

1759 March

1759 April

* Bossu's Travels, vol. 1, p. 228.

and, as they were formally stationed at Fort Toulouse, he always lived upon bad terms with them. Father Le Roi, one of these missionaries, wrote a letter to the Governor, in which he abused Montberaut in unmeasured terms, and advised his removal. The soldier to whom the letter was delivered, and who was to convey it to Mobile, handed it to Montberaut, who noted its contents. When the Jesuit met him the next morning, he showed him many civilties, as Bossu says, "according to the political principles of these good fathers." The commandant asked him if he had written anything against him. The Jesuit, not suspecting that his letter was in the officer's hands, assured him, by all that was sacred, that he had not. Montberaut then called Father Le Roi an impositor and cheat, and fixed his letter at the gate of the fort. Since that time no Jesuits have been among the Creeks and Alabamas.*

When Bossu visited Fort Toulouse, upon the Coosa, he found that the Creeks and Alabamas were happy people. They lived with ease, had an abundance around them, and were at peace with the surrounding savages. While at the fort, Bossu heard a Chief deliver the following beautiful speech:

"Young men and warriors! Do not disregard the MASTER OF LIFE. The sky is blue—the sun is without spots—the weather is fair—the ground is white—everything is quiet on the face of the earth, and the blood of men ought not to be spilt on it. We must beg the MASTER OF LIFE to preserve it pure and spotless among the nations that surround us."

1759 April

Not only were the Creeks and Alabamas at peace with other nations, at this time, but gave evidences of warm and generous hospitality. They thronged the banks of the river, which now meanders along the borders of the counties of Autauga, Montgomery, Dallas and Lowndes, as Bossu slowly made his way up the beautiful stream—greeted him with friendly salutations, and offered him provisions, such

* Bossu's Travels, vol. 1, p. 229.

as bread, roasted turkeys, broiled venison, pancakes baked with nut oil, and deers' tongues, together with baskets full of eggs of the fowl and turtle. The GREAT SPIRIT had blessed them with a magnificent river, abounding in fish; with delicious and cool fountains, gushing out from the foot of the hills; with rich lands, that produced without cultivation; and with vast forests, abounding in game of every description. But now the whole scene is changed. The country is no longer half so beautiful; the waters of Alabama begin to be discolored; the forests have been cut down; steamers have destroyed the finny race; deer bound not over the plain; the sluggish bear has ceased to wind through the swamps; the bloody panther does not spring upon his prey; wolves have ceased to howl upon the hills; birds cannot be seen in the branches of the trees; graceful warriors guide no longer their well-shaped canoes; and beautiful squaws loiter not upon the plain, nor pick the delicious berries. Now, vast fields of cotton, noisy steamers, huge rafts of lumber, towns reared for business, disagreeable corporation laws, harassing courts of justice, mills, factories, and everything else that is calculated to destroy the beauty of a country and to rob man of his quiet and native independence, present themselves to our view.

The heart yearns to behold, once more, such a country as Alabama was the first time we saw it, when a boy. But where can we now go, that we shall not find the busy American, with keen desire to destroy everything which nature has made lovely?

Fort Toulouse, at various times, had many commandants, who filled each others' places according to the will or whim of the colonial governor and the different companies. At one time, the Chevalier D'Ernville commanded here, when a young warrior killed a French soldier, and fled to the forests. According to an agreement formed between the French and the Indians, when the fort was first established, the killing of a person was to be atoned for by the immediate execution of him who committed the deed,

whether he was a Frenchman or an Indian. D'Ernville demanded the Indian of the Chiefs, who stated that they were unable to find him. He next required that the mother of the guilty warrior should be made to expiate the crime. They replied that the mother had not killed the Frenchman; but the officer only reminded them of the agreement, and further, of the previous customs of their country. Deeply embarrassed, in consequence of the escape of the criminal, and unwilling that the old woman should be put to death, the Chiefs, to compromise the case, offered the French officer furs and horse-loads of booty. But D'Ernville was unyielding, and had the mother brought out before Fort Toulouse, to suffer death. Her relatives followed her with sad countenances, one of them exclaiming, in a loud voice, "My mother-in-law dies courageously, as she has not struck the blow." In a few minutes the son rushed through the canebrake, boldly walked up to D'Ernville, gave himself up, saved the life of his mother, and was then—killed!

1759 May

One day it was announced at Fort Toulouse that the Emperor of Coweta, a town on the Chattahoochie, was advancing to pay the French a visit. Bossu walked some distance upon the pathway, towards the present Grey's Ferry, which was, at that early day, a great crossing place for the Indians. He was accompanied by some soldiers, and to surprise the Emperor, they fired their muskets as soon as Bossu took him by the hand, which was also the signal for a general discharge of the artillery from the fort. The woods presently resounded with the noise of the cannon, and the Emperor felt that he was greatly honored. He was mounted on a Spanish horse, with an English saddle, which was bordered with a beautiful spotted skin. He alighted from his horse, and advanced to the fort with an air of great dignity and importance. His costume was so singular as to excite the subdued risibilities of the Frenchmen who marched behind him. He wore on his head a crest of black plumes; his coat was scarlet, with English cuffs, and beset with

tinsel lace; he had neither waistcoat nor breeches; under his coat he wore a white linen shirt. His attendants were naked, and painted in a variety of colors. Being only eighteen years of age, the Emperor was accompanied by his Regent, a noble and wise old man, who ruled the Lower Creeks during his minority. When they reached the fort, the old man delivered a speech to D'Aubant, which was reported by Laubene, the King's interpreter, who had been long stationed at that place.

Being anxious to alienate the Lower Creeks, upon the Chattahoochie, from the relations which they had formed with the Georgians, D'Aubant paid the visitors unusual attention. The next day, at ten o'clock, he received the Emperor, his War Chief, Regent, Doctor, and followers, in considerable state. They were marched before the officers and soldiers, who were all drawn up in full uniform. At noon they were conducted to the dining table, where they and the officers took seats together. The Emperor was much puzzled in what manner to employ the knife and fork, and was extremely awkward and embarrassed. But the old Regent seized the backbone and breast of a turkey, and broke them in two with his fingers, saying, "The Master of Life made fingers before knives and forks were made." 1759 May

Towards the end of the repast, a servant of the Emperor, who stood behind his chair, perceived that the French ate mustard with their boiled meat. He asked Beaudin what it was that they relished so much? This officer, the same who went to the Chattahoochie, and arrested the soldiers who fled from Cat Island, and who had lived forty years in the Creek nation, replied that the French were by no means covetous of what they possessed. He handed the Indian a spoonful of the mustard, who swallowed it. He thereupon made many ridiculous contortions, giving several whoops, and affording the whole company much merriment. The Indian imagined himself to be poisoned;



Indians Engaged in Scalping and Cutting up the Slain Enemy. Drawn from life, by Jacob le Moyne, 1564.

bravery, and possessed of much experience in relation to the habits and customs of the Indians, commanded the garrison at this post. Bossu's journal, kept at this place, 1759 is wholly occupied with the manners and customs of Aug. the Choctaws. As we have already referred to him, upon this subject, in our description of that tribe, we will omit here what would be a mere repetition, only submitting to the reader the following extract:

"I saw an Indian of the Choctaws who had lately been baptized. As he had no luck in hunting, he imagined himself bewitched. He went immediately to Father Lefevre, the Jesuit missionary, who was stationed at Fort 'Tombecbe,' and who had lately converted him. He told him that his *medicine* was good for nothing, for, since he had practiced it upon him, he could kill no deer. He therefore desired the priest to take off his enchantment. The Jesuit, in order to avoid the resentment of this Indian, acted as if he had annihilated the baptismal ceremony. Some time after this, the Indian killed a deer, and, thus thinking himself forever free from the enchantment, was a most happy fellow."*

But the colony Louisiana, so vast in extent, and embracing within its limits the territory of our own State, and that of Mississippi, was soon to be taken from the French. It has been seen that the English and the French had long been competitors for the commercial patronage of the Indians, in Lower Louisiana, and also for the right to the soil. Far more bitter were their jealousies, and far more bloody their feuds upon the borders of Ohio, Virginia and Pennsylvania. For some time, a serious colonial war had been raging between the North American provinces of France and those of England. The French lost post after post. The victorious Britons garrisoned them with troops, and then captured others. In this manner, the King of France lost all his Louisiana possessions, and, with them, the soil of

* Bossu's Travels, pp. 226-318.

1763 Feb. 18 Mississippi and Alabama. Spain, too, had allied herself with France in the war. At length, the three belligerent powers concluded a peace, the conditions of which are stated in the commencement of the next chapter.

Oct. Agreeably to the provisions of that treaty, Pierre Annibal de Ville, lieutenant of the King, commandant at Mobile, and Jean Gabriel Fazende, d'ordonnatuer, delivered that town and its dependences to Major Robert Farmer, commissary of His Britannic Majesty.

Nov. 23 Pierre Chabert, captain of infantry and commandant of Fort "Tombecbe," and Valentine Duboca, keeper of the magazine, delivered that post to Captain Thomas Ford, who garrisoned it with English troops.

1763 Nov. The Chevalier Lavnoue, commanding Fort Toulouse, upon the Coosa, not being relieved by the appearance of any British officer, spiked his cannon, broke off the trunnions or ears, and left them in the fort. The river being shallow, during a dry fall, and having his soldiers and all the provisions and military effects to convey to Mobile, in boats, he caused to be cast into the Coosa all which the magazine contained, among which was a large quantity of powder.*

* Histoire de la Louisiane, par Charles Gayarre, vol. 2, pp. 108-9.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Occupation of Alabama and Mississippi by the English.

We mentioned, at the conclusion of the preceding chapter, that France had surrendered all of her North American possessions. Before finally doing so, however, she made a secret treaty with Spain, her ally, in which she ceded 1762
to that power the territory on the western side of the Nov. 3
Mississippi, extending from the mouth of that river to its remotest sources, and including the Island of New Orleans, which lay on the eastern side of the great river, and south of the Bayou Iberville or Manchac.

Afterwards, a general peace between the three powers was concluded at Paris. France ceded to England all her Canadian possessions, and all that portion of Louisiana 1763
which lies on the eastern side of the Mississippi river, Feb. 18
from its sources down to Bayou Iberville, which bayou, with a portion of the Amite, and a line through Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea, was to form the southern boundary. France also ceded to England the port and river of Mobile. Spain ceded to Great Britain her province of Florida.

The King of England decreed that Florida should be formed into two governments, called the provinces of 1763
East and West Florida; that the northern line of West Oct. 7
Florida should be the line of 31°, to run from the Chattahoochie to the Mississippi. But afterwards, understanding that this line did not embrace the valuable settlements at Natchez and above there, he again decreed the boun- 1764
daries of West Florida to be as follows: a line, to begin Feb.

at the mouth of the Yazoo, where that stream joins the Mississippi, and to run east to the Chattahoochie; thence down the Chattahoochie, to the mouth of the Apalachicola; thence westward, along the coast of the Gulf, and through Lakes Borgne, Pontchartrain and Maurepas, up to the river Amite; then along Bayou Iberville, to the Mississippi river, and up the middle of that river, to the mouth of the Yazoo.

The territory within these lines, which was known for a period, dating from 1764 to 1781, as West Florida, embraced a large portion of the present States of Alabama and Mississippi. The northern line of the British province of West Florida, thus constituted, was that of 32° 28′. While a large portion of Alabama fell *below* this line, and was incorporated into British West Florida, more than half of our State, in a northern direction from the line of 32° 28′, was embraced in the British province of Illinois.

The province of Illinois was not only made to embrace more than the half of our State, and more than half of Mississippi, but also the western portions of Tennessee, Kentucky, and the country from thence to Lake Michigan. The province of West Florida, which was made to embrace the southern portion of Alabama, extended from the line of 32° 28′, southward, to the Gulf of Mexico. We are thus particular in elucidating the
1764 British division of our State, because, hereafter, the reader will be made acquainted with the contentions which arose with the Spaniards, Georgians, and the Federal Government, in relation to it.

To enable the reader still better to understand this matter, the line of 32° 28′, which divided the Illinois portions of Alabama and Mississippi from the Florida portions of those States, was a line which commenced at the mouth of the Yazoo, and thence ran eastward, to the Tombigby, striking that river a little below the present town of Demopolis, continuing east, touching the Alabama river a short distance below the junction of the Coosa

and Tallapoosa, and terminating on the west bank of the Chattahoochie, between the present city of Columbus and old Fort Mitchell. During the British occupation of our State, its Illinois portion was uninhabited by Europeans, excepting a few traders, who lived among the Upper Creeks, Cherokees and Chickasaws. It is rather singular to reflect that, during this period, the site of Montgomery was in British West Florida, while the site of Wetumpka was in British Illinois. These sister cities are within fifteen miles of each other.

Between the Mississippi and the Wabash, a population of five thousand French and five hundred negroes existed. But when the French commandant at Fort Chartres—the capital of the Illinois province, opposite St. Louis—surrendered the country, in the spring of 1765, to Captain Sterling, of the British army, who came by way of Detroit, at the command of his King, to take charge of it, then the French, generally, retired across the river, into Spanish territory.

Captain George Johnstone, of the royal navy, was the first British governor of West Florida. He came to Pensacola, the seat of government, and brought with him a British regiment, and many Highlanders, from Charleston and New York. He issued his proclamation, defining the limits of his jurisdiction, and proclaiming the laws which he was instructed to enforce. The civil government was organized under military commandants and magistrates. The superior courts were formed under English judges. The governor immediately proceeded to garrison Fort Conde, at Mobile, which he now named Fort Charlotte, in honor of the young Queen of Great Britain. Soldiers were also thrown into the forts at Baton Rouge, and Panmure, at Natchez. A detachment went up to the Coosa, and occupied Fort Toulouse; but it was, in a short time, withdrawn, when the works, in a few years, went to ruins.

1764 Feb.

When Governor Johnstone arrived in West Florida, there came with him a Major Loftus, who had been appointed to

take charge of the Illinois country. Early in 1764, that officer sailed from Pensacola to New Orleans, and from thence to Manchac, where he joined his detachment, which had been some time exploring that bayou. With four hundred men he began the ascent of the Mississippi in boats and canoes. Reaching the heights of La Roche a Davion, where Fort Adams was afterwards built, he was suddenly attacked by armed Indians, from ambuscades on both sides of the river. In this skirmish he lost several men and had many wounded. He returned to Manchac, and despatched a captain with twenty men to Mobile, through the lakes, who arrived safe at that place. Major Loftus, with the residue of his command, dropped down to the
1764 Balize, and went from thence to Pensacola. Thus was
Apr. 5 the occupation of the Illinois country for a time prevented by the fierce and successful hostility of these Indians.*

The French population along the east side of the Mississippi to the Walnut Hills was considerable, and when they ascertained that British laws had been extended over them many retired across the river south of Manchac. Others, assured that they would not be disturbed, either in the enjoyment of the Catholic faith or in their rights and property, remained in the country. The English authorities encouraged emigration, and many availed themselves of their liberal offers. The first Anglo-
1764 American colony came from Roanoke, in the province of
to 1768 North Carolina, and established themselves between Manchac and Baton Rouge. They were followed by others, from North and South Carolina, who crossed the mountains to the Tennessee, there constructing flat-boats, descended that river into the Ohio, and thence passed down the Mississippi. Others from Georgia even cut through the wilderness to find the Natchez country, which had become so favorably known. Emigrants from Virginia came down the Ohio. They all received

* French and Spanish MS., Martin's History of Louisiana, Gayarre's Histoire de la Louisiane, Memoire Historique et Politique sur la Louisiane, par M. de Vergennes, Minister de Louis XVI.

upon their arrival liberal and extensive grants. After a while emigrants came from Great Britain, Ireland and the British West Indies. During the three succeeding years many flocked from Georgia, the Carolinas and New Jersey, and established themselves upon the soil drained by the Bayou Sara, the Homochitto and Bayou Pierre. All these settlements extended from the Mississippi back for fifteen or twenty miles. A few years afterwards the Scotch Highlanders from North Carolina arrived, and formed a colony upon the upper branches of the Homochitto, thirty miles eastward of Natchez, and their numbers were at a late period increased by others from Scotland. This region afterwards assumed the name of New Scotland. They still retain much of their national character, and not a few of the old ones speak the Gaelic. In 1770 emigrants came from New Jersey, Delaware and Virginia, by the way of the Ohio, and three years afterward a much greater number advanced by that route. 1768 to 1773

West Florida continued to be governed by the general commandant at Pensacola. With the exception of some futile attempts to form a colonial legislature, like those of the Atlantic provinces, it remained the whole time a mere military government. It was strengthened by garrisons at the places mentioned, and also at Manchac, where Fort Bute was erected, in 1765, for the purpose of monopolizing the trade of the Lower Mississippi. England constantly introduced, through the lakes and by this fortified outlet, Africans obtained from their native country. These were purchased by the French, Spanish and British settlers, in defiance of the laws of Spain. Through Manchac, the English also supplied the Spanish subjects with all kinds of merchandise. To arrest this illicit trade, Don Ulloa, the governor of Louisiana, constructed a fort on the south side of the Iberville, or Manchac, four hundred yards from Fort Bute; but with little effect. Negroes continued to be imported, and sugar, indigo, cotton and tobacco were extensively cultivated.*

* Monette, vol. 1., pp. 405-7.

Discord made her appearance in the councils of the province of West Florida soon after its organization. The colonists became very much dissatisfied with Governor Johnstone. He was succeeded by the Honorable Montforte Brown, in the capacity of lieutenant-governor. Governor Elliot came in the place of Brown; but, when the latter died, Brown again came into power. He was, however, a second time replaced, when the Honor-
1772 able Peter Chester assumed the government of the province, and under whose auspices it flourished for a long time. Governor Chester was universally esteemed.*

The year 1765 was fatal to the inhabitants of Mobile. The ravages of death gave it a reputation for unhealthiness, which, for years, kept it from increasing in population. In that year, the 21st British regiment brought from Jamaica a contagious dis-
ease. Upon their arrival in Mobile, the officers and sol-
1765 diers rioted in intemperance, and drank the water of stagnant pools. Death hovered over these imprudent people, until none remained. Indeed, the English population, generally, lived too fast, converting day into night, and sporting their lives away in dissipation.

Far otherwise was it with the French inhabitants. Among them were exhibited instances of greater longevity than could be found in any other part of North America. In the family of the Chevalier de Lucere this was particularly the case.
1771 Its members were all extremely aged, and the mother of all died a few years previous to that period, from the snapping of her legs—the effect of the last stages of the gout. M. Francois, who then lived five miles above Fowl river, stated his age to be above eighty-three, and that the old woman, who was in the kitchen, cooking, and walking with activity and cheerfulness from one house to another, was his mother. She was one of the first females that came to Mobile from France. At the age of sixty-five, Francois fell from a pine tree, which he was climbing,

* Roman's Florida, p. 4.

to disengage some game, which had lodged in the branches. If this accident had not occurred, he would not have felt the hand of time. Although now over eighty-three years of age, he was accustomed, almost daily, to walk five miles to the bay, angle there for hours, and at night, walk home with a mule's load of fish upon his back, some of which his affectionate mother would instantly prepare for the supper of herself and her dutiful child!

They lived comfortably, on a small farm, subsisting upon its products, and those of a large herd of cattle. Many other cases of protracted life were witnessed by travellers to this country. The French assimilated their constitutions to the climate by a regular, abstemious life, refraining from spirituous 1771
liquors in the summer, and obtaining pure drinking water from a rivulet, three miles back of the town. It was also the custom of many to spend the fatal months upon their plantations, up the Tensaw and Mobile rivers, where the air appears, at that day, to have been far more salubrious than in Mobile.* The plantation of the Chevalier de Lucere was on the first island, below the confluence of the Tombigby and Alabama. Many of the islands on the Tensaw and Mobile rivers were well cultivated, by the French, and also by the 1772
English, who worked them in summer, and withdrew their laborers, in winter, to their settlements, hard by among the hills, where they engaged extensively in making tar and pitch for exportation.

The first plantation, after that of the Chevalier de Lucere, passed in descending the Mobile river, was that of Campbell. Then followed those of Stewart, Andrey, McGillivray, Favre, Chastang, Strother and Narbone. Five miles below the latter was the site of an old French fort, which was once occupied a short time. Six miles further down, was, at one time, a splendid plantation, the property of the French Intendant of Mobile, but which now belonged to M. Lizars.†

* Barnard Roman's Florida, pp. 4-13. † Ibid.

The articles exported from Mobile and Pensacola, in 1772, were—indigo, raw hides, corn, fine cattle, tallow, rice,
1772 pitch, bear's oil, tobacco, tar, squared timber, indigo seed, myrtle wax, cedar posts and planks, salted wild beef, pecan nuts, cypress and pine boards, plank of various woods, shingles, dried salt fish, scantling, sassafras, canes, staves and heading, hoops, oranges, and peltry.

Cotton was not enumerated among the articles of export, but it is mentioned as having been, at that time, cultivated to some extent, and machines, for separating the lint from the seed, were in use. One of these is thus described by Captain Roman:

"It is a strong frame, of four studs, each about four feet high, and joined, above and below, by strong transverse pieces. Across this are placed two round well-polished iron spindles, having a small groove through their whole length, and, by means of treadles, are put in opposite motions. The workman sits behind the frame, with a thin board before him, upon which is placed the cotton, thinly spread, which the rollers receive. The lint goes through the rollers, and the seed falls down in a separate pile. The French population have much improved upon this plan, by a large wheel, which turns two of these mills, with so much velocity, that seventy pounds of clean cotton can be made every day."

Mr. Crebs, upon the Pascagoula river, owned one of these improved machines, and claimed the invention of it. He suspended canvass bags between pine trees, and packed in his cotton by treading, making them almost three hundred weight.*

Mobile, in common with the whole of West Florida,
1772 was visited with the most awful storms. Vessels, boats
Aug. 30 and logs were driven up into the heart of the town.
to The violence of the winds forced the salt water over the
Sept. 3 gardens, which destroyed the vegetables. The spray rose in the air, and fell again, at the distance of a half

* Barnard Roman's Florida, pp. 211-12.

mile, like rain. All the houses were filled with water, several feet deep, and the one inhabited by a joiner was run entirely through by a schooner, which had broken from her moorings.

Upon the Pascagoula, the storm was equally furious. The plantation of Mr. Crebs was almost entirely destroyed. A large crop of rice and corn was completely swept off. His dwellings were unroofed, his outhouses blown down, and his smith's shop washed away. For thirty miles, up that river, the cypress trees were prostrated and the pines twisted into ropes. At Batereaux's cow-pen, the herdsmen were six weeks collecting and bringing home their cattle. A colony of Germans up the Pascagoula, fearing that another Noah's flood was at hand, were about to set out for the Choctaw nation; but the abatement of the waters preceded their usually slow movements. The whole west coast was ravaged. A schooner, with a detachment of the 16th British regiment on board, was driven to Cat Island, and, when under the west point, parted her cables, and was carried entirely over the island, and stranded upon another, which bore the name of Freemason. There the crew remained six weeks, and would have perished, but for their discovery by a hunting smack. The different directions of the currents of wind were passing strange. That from the south-east drove the water, in immense volumes, up all the bays, rivers and bayous to the west, being here counteracted by the winds from the north-east. A body of water was violently forced into the Bay of Spirito Santo, behind the Chandelier, Grand Gazier and Breton Isles, and, not finding sufficient vents up the rivulets, nor down the outlets of the bay, forced a number of deep channels through these islands, thus forming many new islands. The Chandelier, being higher than the others, had all its surface washed off, and, but for the roots of the black mangrove and myrtle, which held much of the earth together, not a vestige of it would have been left. All the shipping at the Balize was blown into the marshes. A Spanish vessel there parted, and the whole crew were drowned. 1772

The most extraordinary effect of this hurricane was the production of a second crop of leaves upon all the mulberry trees, which had never happened before. This tree budded, foliated, blossomed, and bore ripe fruit, within the brief space of four weeks after the terrible gusts had passed away. Other trees remained naked, until the following spring.*

At this time, Governor Chester was at the head of the government of West Florida. He was universally esteemed, and, under his auspices, the people prospered, and their valuable products continued to increase. Slavery was in existence, and the government of the mother country was active in transporting Africans into this country. The freeholders assembled in Mobile, Pensacola, and other parts of the province, to elect representatives to a colonial legislature; but, finding that the writs required the continuance of members for three years in office, they added the condition to their votes, that the elected members were to serve but one year. The governor, disliking this arrangement, declined to accept it. The freeholders remained inflexible, and, rather than be deprived of annual elections, chose to remain without representatives.†

1772 Mar.

In 1771, Pensacola contained about one hundred and eighty houses, built of timber, in good taste, and arranged with much convenience. The town formed an oblong square, near the foot of an eminence, called Gage Hill, named in honor of the great British officer, well remembered by the whigs of America.‡

1771

Turning our eyes towards the British province of Georgia, we find that the Cherokees and Creeks had assembled at Augusta, at the instance of Sir James Wright, the governor, and John Stuart, superintendent of Indian affairs. These Indians there ceded to Great Britain a large area of territory, upon the head waters of the Ogechee, and

1773 June 1

* Roman's Florida, pp. 4–13. Ibid. ‡ Ibid, p. 303.

northwest of Little river. The object was to compensate the Honorable George Galphin, and some other traders, for large debts due them by these nations. The governor, having no power to accept this cession, but seeing the influence it would enable him to wield, in behalf of the tottering power of his King, to whom he was devotedly attached, he had already obtained the consent of the ministry to make the treaty. But Galphin never obtained any of these lands, or the proceeds of the sales thereof, on account of his boldly expressed patriotic opinions; and Governor Wright, with a vindictive partiality, paid the *loyal* traders, in preference, keeping the larger portion of the proceeds, to strengthen his government, and perhaps to add to his own coffers. Galphin was wealthy; he sacrificed thousands in defence of American liberty, and, to this day, his descendants remain without remuneration.* It is said that Governor Wright received the order of knighthood, for the unjust direction which he gave these funds. In the meantime, land offices had been established at Augusta, and at the confluence of the Broad and Savannah rivers, where a town was laid out, called Dart- 1773
mouth, but which was subsequently changed to the name of Petersburg.

This newly ceded territory began to be rapidly settled, when a party of Creeks attacked Sherrill's Fort, killed seven persons, and forced the others to barricade an outhouse, where they would have been butchered, but for the timely arrival of Captain Barnard, with forty men, who dispersed the enemy. Other attacks by the Indians succeeded, and the settlers aban- 1774
doned their new homes, and retired into the old British settlements, lower down upon the Savannah. The noble Galphin, who had great influence with the Indians, despatched runners to the nation, who induced the Chiefs to put a stop to the

* Since I have written this paragraph, some of the heirs of Galphin have received a large amount of money, from the United States government, on account of this claim. They had previously applied to Georgia, Great Britain, and the United States, without

effusion of blood, which afforded the settlers the opportunity of coming back, and of renewing their abandoned improvements.*

success. The claim of the heirs of Galphin was just upon one of these powers; but many have contended that it was not a just claim upon the federal government, but one upon Georgia, while others have contended that it was a just claim upon Great Britain.

* McCall's History of Georgia, vol. 2, pp. 11-12.

CHAPTER XIX.

Hardships of the Early Emigrants.

Taking the reader with us, to the settlements of the distant Natchez region, he will find that emigrants continued to pour in, upon those fertile hills and alluvial bottoms, from all parts of "his majesty's Atlantic plantations." Many were the hardships and perils they encountered, in reaching this remote and comparatively uninhabited region. It is believed that the history of one party of these emigrants will enable the reader to understand what kind of hardships and deprivations all the others were forced to undergo.

Major General Phineas Lyman, a native of Durham, a graduate of Yale, a distinguished lawyer, and a member of the legislature of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, became commander of the Connecticut forces, in 1755. He served with so much distinction, during the Canadian war, that he was invited, by persons high in office, to visit England. He had formed an association composed of his brothers in arms, called the "Military Adventurers," whose design was, the colonization of a tract of country upon the Mississippi. He sailed to England, as agent for this company, with the sanguine, yet reasonable hope, that the King would make the grant. Arriving there he found, to his astonishment, that land in a wilderness was refused to those who had fought so valiantly for it, and whose contemplated establishment would have formed a barrier against enemies, who might seek to acquire it. In his own country Lyman had never solicited favor, otherwise than by faithful public services. The coolness which he now experienced

deeply mortified him—his spirits sank, and he lost all his former energy. Shocked at the degradation which he imagined he should sustain by returning home unsuccessful, he made up his mind to bury his bones upon an ungrateful soil. There he remained for eleven years, a neglected man. His wife, a lady of superior endowments, distressed at his long absence, sent her son to solicit his return. The sight of his boy called up the remains of his resolution, and he resolved to go back to America, as the grant upon the Mississippi had at last been made.* He reached home in 1773. But the grave had closed over most of his original associates, while others had arrived at an age unsuitable to bold enterprises. In company with his eldest son, a man of rare attainments, but who had become subdued and listless, in consequence of the deep distress and mortification of his

1773 Dec. father while so long absent, General Lyman sailed from New England with a number of emigrants, in two vessels, bound for New Orleans.

It is deemed proper that an enumeration of these emigrants be here made, as the eyes of some of their descendants, still living in Mississippi, may perhaps rest on these pages. On board of these vessels were:

General Lyman, of Suffield.
Captain Ladley, of Hartford.
Thomas and James Lyman, Durham.
Hugh White, Middletown.
Captain Elsworth, Ira Whitmore and —— Sage, Middleton.
Major Easley, Weatherford.
Thaddeus and Phineas Lyman, with eight slaves, Suffield.
Moses and Isaac Sheldon, Roger Harmon and —— Hanks, Shuffield.

1773 Seth Miller, Elisha and Joseph Flowers, Springfield.
Moses Drake, Ruggles Winchel and Benjamin Barber, Westfield.

* "Travels in New York and New England," by Theodore Dwight, S.T.D., LL.D., late President of Yale College, vol. 1, pp. 306-16.

—— Alcott, Windsor.

Daniel and Rosswell Magguet, Hartford.

Thomas Comstock, —— Weed, New Hartford.

Captain Silas Crane, Robert Patrick, Ashbell Bowen, John Newcomb and James Dean, of Lebanon.

Abram Knapp and Matthew Phelps, of Norfolk.

Giles and Nathaniel Hull, James Stoddart and Thaddeus Bradley, Salisbury.

Ephraim Case and Hezekiah Rew, Sheffield.

John Fisk and Elisha Hale, Wallingford.

Timothy and David Hotchkiss, Waterberry.

John Hyde, William and Jonathan Lyon, and William Davis, Stratford or Derby.

James Harman and family, and Elnathan Smith, Suffield.

William Hurlbut and Elisha Leonard, with a number of slaves, Springfield.

General Lyman and these emigrants at length saw the mouth of the Mississippi, passed up to New Orleans, there obtained boats, and, after a laborious ascent of that powerful stream, 1774
arrived upon the Big Black river. He settled his grant, but was too old to cultivate it. In a short time his son died, and, before he could arrange his own affairs, to return home, for the purpose of bringing out his family, the grave also closed over him, terminating a life, first, of honor and military glory, and then of sadness and misfortune. But the half has Summer
not yet been told of the troubles of his family, the of 1781
last of whom were miserable sufferers in the Creek nation, as will hereafter be narrated.

Captain Matthew Phelps, one of the companions of General Lyman, returned to Connecticut, and his representations of the fertility of the new country excited many of the citizens, who resolved to return with him to occupy it. 1776
But various causes prevented their departure. At May 1
length, however, they sailed from Middletown. Among

these emigrants were Madame Lyman, the wife of the late General, with three sons and two daughters; Major Timothy Dwight, his wife and one child; Sereno and Jonathan Dwight, of North Hampton; Benjamin Day and his family; Harry Dwight and three slaves; Joseph Leonard and Joshua Flowers, with their families, from Springfield; the Rev. —— Smith and his family, from Granville; Mrs. Elnathan Smith and children; and John Felt and his family, from Suffield; together with Captain Phelps, wife and children, with many others.*

1776 Aug. 1 to 18

After a voyage of three months, attended with many dangers, the party reached New Orleans, on the 1st August. Here, obtaining boats, they began to stem the muddy current of the Mississippi. Mrs. Flowers, an estimable lady, who was too sick to continue the voyage, was left at Point Coupee, where she soon died. The eldest daughter of Captain Phelps was seized with a violent fever, and, in a few days after, the enterprising father became sick

Aug 27

with the same disease. Many of the emigrants suffered with fever, and the boats were moved slowly up the river, by the feeble efforts of those who were less debilitated. Captain Phelps and all his children becoming prostrated with disease, his boat was tied to the willows, while the others continued the voyage. His intimate friend, Leonard, who had messed with him at sea, arrived at Natchez, where he buried his wife. The boat containing the Lymans and the Rev. —— Smith reached Natchez about the same time, a few days after which the worthy minister closed his earthly career, and was soon followed to his long home by the refined and estimable Major Dwight. At length, those of this party who were left, reached the Big Black, and the improvements made by General Lyman. Here Madame Lyman soon died, and was buried by the side of her husband and son.

* Memoirs and adventures of Captain Matthew Phelps, pp. 18-72; also his Appendix, pp. 60-63.

The unfortunate Phelps remained in his boat, which was anchored fifteen miles above Point Coupee, when his daughter, Abigail, died. He was compelled to bury her with his own hands. All this time, it was only at intervals that his family were able to assist each other in the severe fits of the ague which afflicted them. 1776 Sept. 7 to Sept. 16

The Disposer of Events removed from this distressed man an infant, born on the ocean, whom the sailors had named "Atlantic." Phelps again had to perform the melancholy task of digging a grave, and burying the boy by the side of his lovely sister. Mr. Flowers, the other members of whose family had died below, came, with his child, in a small boat, to the gloomy habitation of Phelps. They now both obtained a larger boat, and, placing in it their joint effects, began again to ascend the river. The Phelpses were worn to skeletons, but, struggling forward, against singular adversity, and buoyed up with the hope of brighter scenes, they finally arrived at the landing of Natchez. Advancing, after a few days, they reached the Petit Gulf, where lived Philip Alston, a gentleman of wealth and humanity. Mrs. Phelps, worn down with trouble and disease, was rapidly approaching dissolution. In a few days she died, and Alston had her remains decently interred. He did all in his power to alleviate the sorrows of the unhappy husband, and sheltered him and his two remaining children under his hospitable roof. A few days afterwards, the fated Phelps began again to move up the river, and, upon gaining Grand Gulf, entered the hospitable abode of an old acquaintance. Leaving this place, he came in sight of the mouth of the Big Black river, having consumed nearly one hundred days in performing a voyage from New Orleans, which can now be accomplished in a few hours. Near this place, three years before, he had purchased some improvements. Captain Phelps was so debilitated, that he had hired a lad, of fourteen years of age, and a man, by the name of

Sept. 16 Sept. 16 Oct. 12 1776 Nov. 24

Nov. Knapp, to propel his boat. Upon entering the Big Black, the captain and the boy, disembarking, walked along the bank, dragging the boat after them with a long line, while Knapp remained on board, to steer, in company with the children, a boy of five and a girl of ten years of age. The children were quietly sitting upon the bed on which they had suffered so much. Presently the boat entered a whirlpool, which forced the stern under a willow. Knapp jumped out and swam ashore. The terrified Phelps secured the end of the rope around a tree, and rushed to the spot where his all remained in such imminent peril. Unable to swim, he crawled into the river upon the willow, imploring his daughter to remain quiet, until he could get out her little brother. While the little fellow was wading the water in the bottom of the boat, endeavoring to reach his unhappy father, the willow began to sink, with the additional weight upon it, and, at that moment, an angry billow came rushing down, the boat suddenly went under, and the poor children were swept rapidly off. "Oh, God, save them!" was all that the miserable Phelps could utter. Standing upon the unsteady willow, he saw them rise again to the surface, locked in each other's arms, and then sink forever. The bereaved man stood upon the tree in mournful silence—wet, cold, emaciated—without property, without friends, and without children, and with no wife to encourage him and sympathize with him in his misfortunes. But Phelps was a Christian, and he bore up with astonishing fortitude. The calamities which had befallen him had been unavoidable, and yet he tortured his imagination, for some time, with reproaches upon himself. In addition to his
1776 weighty troubles, he found that, during his absence, his
Dec. improvements had been taken from him, by a wretch who availed himself of the customs of the country. Phelps, however, survived *all* this, and lived to be an old man, surrounded, in New England, with a wife, children and plenty. He was long accustomed to relate to the sober Yankees the hor-

rors which he experienced in the "Natchez country," with perfect composure; always, however, avoiding the last terrible affair, when his two children, whom God had spared him, and with whom he had expected yet to see much happiness in the wilderness, rose up to his view, from their watery bed, for one short moment, locked in each other's arms, and then went down forever.*

* Memoirs and Adventures of Phelps, pp. 56-100.

CHAPTER XX.

Journey of Bartram Through Alabama.

William Bartram, the botanist, who has been mentioned in our remarks upon the aborigines of the country, passed through the Creek nation, and went from thence to Mobile. He found that that town extended back from the river nearly half a mile. Some of the houses were vacant, and others were in ruins. Yet a few good buildings were inhabited by the French gentlemen, and others by refined emigrants from Ireland, Scotland, England, and the Northern British Colonies. The Indian trade was under the management of Messrs. Swanson and McGillivray. They conducted an extensive commerce with the Chickasaws, Choctaws and Creeks. Their buildings were commodious, and well arranged for that purpose. The principal houses of the French were of brick, of one story, of a square form, and on a large scale, embracing courts in their rears. Those of the lower classes were made of strong cypress frames, filled in with plaster.

1777 Summer

Major Farmar, one of the most respectable inhabitants of West Florida, who formerly had much to do with the colonial government, resided at Tensaw, in sight of the present Stockton, where once lived the tribe of Tensaw Indians. The bluff sustained not only his extensive improvements, but the dwellings of many French families, chiefly his tenants, while his extensive plantations lay up and down the Tensaw, on the western side. Indeed, all up that river, and particularly on the eastern branch, were many well cultivated plantations, belonging to various settlers, while others were in ruins, having been abandoned by the French when the English took possession of the country. The plantations on the Mobile river, as seen five years before, have already been men-

1777 Summer

tioned. At one of these Bartram stayed all night, in company with Dr. Grant, a physician of the garrison of Fort Charlotte. The occupant, who was an old gentleman and a famous hunter, annually killed three hundred deer, besides bears, panthers and wolves.

Arriving at Pensacola, Bartram received from Dr. Lorimer, one of the honorable council, much politeness and attention. Mr. Livingston, the government secretary, took him to the department in which he did business. Shortly afterwards, Governor Chester rode by in his chariot, having been upon a morning ride to his farm. He received the learned botanist with cordiality, invited him to remain some time in the country, to make his house his headquarters, commended his laudable pursuits, and offered to defray his expenses in traveling over the country under his jurisdiction.

Pensacola, at this period, contained several hundred habitations. The governor's place was a large stone building, erected by the Spaniards, and ornamented with a tower. 1777 Oct.
The town was defended by a large stockade fortress, of wood, on the plan of a tetragon, with a salient angle at each corner, where stood blockhouses a story higher than the curtains. Upon these, light cannon were mounted. Within this fortress was a council chamber, where the records were kept, also houses for the officers and barracks for the garrison, together with arsenals and magazines. The secretary resided in a handsome and spacious house, as did some eminent merchants and professional gentlemen.*

Returning to Mobile, the botanist presently embarked in a trading vessel, manned by three negroes, and set sail for Pearl river. Passing along the western coast, and reaching the mouth of Dog river, he there landed, and entered the woods for recreation. Here he saw the remains of the old Fort St. Louis de la Mobile, with a few pieces of iron cannon, and also vast iron kettles, for boiling tar into 1777 Autumn

* Bartram's Travels, pp. 402-407-412-414

pitch. Pursuing his voyage, he again came to the shore, a few miles beyond, where resided a Frenchman, eighty years of age, who was active, strong and muscular; his mother, who was present, and who appeared to be brisk and cheerful, was one hundred and five years of age. Fifty years previous to this period, she had landed in Mobile, from la belle France. Arriving at Pearl Island, Bartram took up his quarters at the house of a generous Englishman, named Rumsey, with whom he passed a month. Leaving this place in a handsome boat, navigated by three negroes, he coasted along the northern shore of Lake Pontchartrain, entered Lake Maurepas, and proceeded up the Amite river for thirty miles to the large plantation of a Scotch gentleman, who gave him a hospitable reception. Bartram, still ascending the Amite, next entered the Iberville on the left, and it was not long before he reached a landing, at which were situated warehouses for depositing English merchandise. A beautiful road overhung with evergreens led from this place to Manchac, upon the Mississippi. Here, also, the English had mercantile depots, the chief establishment of which was that of Swanson and McGillivray, who were Indian traders. The Iberville was now dry, its channel being higher than the Mississippi, which had receded from it. It was, however, navigable in winter and spring, for the "Father of Waters" then disgorged some portion of his tide through this channel into the lakes. It also separated, as before observed, the English colony of West Florida and the Spanish province of Louisiana. On one side of this bayou was an English fort, at Manchac, and just across, at the south point, was a Spanish fort. A slender wooden bridge connected the two establishments, and, strange to say, they were at this time peaceable, although such near neighbors. The next day Bartram began the ascent of the Mississippi, and two miles above Manchac stopped at an Indian town. The inhabitants were a portion of the Alabamas, who had once lived upon the river of that name, but who, when the French

1777 Autumn

evacuated Fort Toulouse, followed them to Louisiana, and here had formed an establishment. The botanist visited Baton Rouge, now called by the English New Richmond, and various plantations on both sides of the great river. He was particularly pleased with the French planters, who had long tilled these superior lands. They were ingenious, industrious, and lived in ease and great abundance.

About the middle of November Bartram returned to Mobile by the same route, arranged his specimen plants and flowers, and left them in the hands of Swanson and McGillivray, to be shipped to Dr. Fothergill, at London. He then entered a boat and went to the mansion of Major Farmar, at Tensaw. The next morning he set out for the Creek nation with a caravan of traders, who transported their merchandise upon pack-horses. The road, like all others in an Indian country, was narrow and well beaten. The pack-horses were arranged one after the other, the oldest and best trained in the lead. At night they were belled and turned out to graze in the woods. In the morning so much time was occupied in collecting them, arranging their packs and preparing breakfast that the sun was high when a start was made. Then these faithful animals fell into line on the trail, like regular soldiers, and began a brisk trot, which was continued all day, amid the ringing of their bells and the whooping and cursing of the drivers.

1777 Nov. 27

When near the site of the present city of Montgomery the caravan met a party of Georgians, consisting of a man, his wife, a young woman, several young children, and three stout young men, with a dozen horses laden with their effects. These fearless people had passed through the Creek nation, then very extensive, and were on their way to settle upon the Alabama, a few miles above the confluence of that river and the Tombigby. They are believed to have been among the first Anglo-Americans who settled in the present Baldwin county.*

1777 Dec.

* Bartram, pp. 416-441.

CHAPTER XXI.

An Account of the McGillivray Family—The Revolutionary War.

War had now raged between the mother country and her colonies of North America for more than three years. It had become fierce and sanguinary along the Atlantic. But the people of West Florida, whose government was composed chiefly of military dependencies, had hitherto enjoyed peace. They were mostly loyal subjects of the King. But now, even in this remote region, the contest began to be felt. The Creek Indians were relied upon, mainly, by the British authorities, to harass the whig inhabitants of Georgia and Carolina. They had stationed at Hickory Ground, the site of the lower suburbs of the modern Wetumpka, Colonel Tait, an English officer, of captivating address, for the purpose of influencing the Creeks in behalf
1778 of the King. There, he soon became acquainted with the most gifted and remarkable man that ever was born upon the soil of Alabama, the history of whose family will now be given.

A Scotch boy, of sixteen years of age, who had read of the wonders to be seen in America, ran away from his wealthy and respectable parents, living in Dunmaglass, and entered a ship which was bound for South Carolina. He arrived, without accident, at the port of Charleston. Young Lachlan McGillivray there first set his foot upon American soil. He then had no property, except a shilling in his pocket, a suit of clothes upon his back, a red head, a stout frame, an honest heart, a fearless disposition, and cheerful spirits, which seldom became depressed.

About this period, the English were conducting an extensive commerce with the Cherokees, Chickasaws and 1735
those of the Creeks who were not in the interest of the French. Young McGillivray repaired to the extensive quarters of the traders, in the suburbs of Charleston. There he saw hundreds of pack horses, pack saddles, and curious looking pack horsemen, in demi-civilized garbs, together with packs of merchandise, ready to be carried to the wilderness. The keen eyes of one of these traders soon fell upon the smart Scotch boy, who, he saw at a glance, would be useful to him. The next day, Lachlan might have been seen, in the pine woods, several miles distant from Charleston, mounted upon a horse, and driving others before him, in company with a whole caravan of traders. Arriving upon the Chattahoochie, his master, as a reward for his activity and accommodating spirit, gave him a jack knife, which he sold to an Indian receiving in exchange a few deer skins. These he sold in Charleston, upon his return, and the proceeds of this adventure laid the foundations of a large fortune. In the course of a few years, he became one of the boldest and most enterprising traders in the whole country. Whether it was owing to a superior address, a fearless disposition, or, which is more probable, a leaning towards the French, for personal interests, he even extended his commerce, without interruption, to the very neighborhood of Fort Toulouse.

At the Hickory Ground, a few miles above that fort, he found a beautiful girl, by the name of Sehoy Marchand, whose father once commanded at Fort Toulouse, and was there killed, in 1722, by his own soldiers, as we have already seen. Her mother was a full-blooded Creek woman, of the tribe of the Wind, the most aristocratic and powerful family in the Creek nation. Sehoy was an Indian name, which had attached to many persons of the family, time out of mind.

Sehoy Marchand, when first seen by young Lachlan McGillivray, was a maiden of sixteen, cheerful in countenance, be-

witching in looks, and graceful in form. Her unfortunate father, Captain Marchand, was a Frenchman, of dark complexion, and, consequently, this beautiful girl scarcely looked light enough for a half blood; but then, her slightly curled hair, her vivacity and peculiar gesticulation, unmistakably exposed her origin. It was not long before Lachlan and Sehoy joined their destinies in marriage, according to the ceremony of the country. The husband established a trading house at Little Tallase, four miles above Wetumpka, on the east bank of the Coosa, and there took home his beautiful wife. The Indian tradition ran, that, while pregnant with her first child, she repeatedly dreamed of piles of manuscripts, of ink and paper, and heaps of books, more than her eyes had ever beheld in the fort, when, a child, she used to visit her father. She was delivered of a boy, who received the name of Alexander, and who, when grown to manhood, wielded a pen which commanded the admiration and respect of Washington and his cabinet, and which influenced the policy of all Spanish Florida.

About 1745

Lachlan McGillivray, assisted by his alliance with the most influential family in the Creek nation, continued to extend his commerce. He became wealthy, and owned two plantations, well stocked with negroes, upon the Savannah, besides stores filled with Indian merchandise, in the towns of Savannah and Augusta. When his son, Alexander, was fourteen years of age, he carried him to Charleston, by the consent of his wife, for we have seen that, among the Creeks particularly, the children always belonged to the mother. He was placed at school in that town, and, after a few years, was transferred to a counting house at Savannah. But Alexander had a distaste for business, and, while the other clerks were delving among the goods, and squabbling with the pack-horse traders, he was accustomed to steal to some corner, and there pore over the histories of European nations. Having an inordinate thirst after knowledge, his father, through the advice of his friends, again carried him to Charleston, and placed

him with a clergyman of his name, with whom, in a short time, he mastered the Greek and Latin tongues, and became a good belles lettres scholar. But Alexander was now a man. He had a thousand times thought, and dreamed, of his bow and arrows, his blow-gun, his mother's house by the side of the clear and beautiful Coosa, in which he used to fish and bathe with the Indian lads of his own age—of the old warriors, who had so often recounted to him the deeds of his ancestors—of the bright eyes of his two lovely sisters, Sophia and Jeannet—yes, he remembered all these, and, one day, he turned his back upon civilization, and his horse's head towards his native land.

About this time, the Chiefs of the Creek nation were getting into much trouble with the people of Georgia, and with anxiety they had awaited the time when Alexander McGillivray could, by his descent from the Wind family, assume the affairs of their government. His arrival now was most opportune, and the first we hear of him, after he had so suddenly left Charleston, he was presiding at a grand national council, at the town of Coweta, upon the Chattahoochie, where the adventurous Leclerc Milfort was introduced to him, as we have seen. He was, at this time, about thirty years of age. He was then in great power, for he had already become the object of attention on the part of the British authorities of the Floridas. When Colonel Tait was stationed upon the Coosa, they conferred upon Alexander McGillivray the rank and pay of a colonel, and associated him with Tait, for the purpose of procuring, through them, the alliance of the Creek nation in the war of the revolution. McGillivray, throughout the whole war, was devoted to their interests, and it was natural that he should have pursued that course towards those who first honored him; besides, his father, a man of great influence, was also a royalist.

1776 May

1778

Colonel McGillivray was tall, rather slender, and of a constitution by no means robust. To be a leader in war was not his

forte, and was unsuited to his tastes and habits. His great power lay in diplomacy, and in the controlling of men, as the reader will often see, in perusing this history at a later date.

1778 In 1778, he carried on an extensive correspondence with the British colonial governments of Florida, and also with that of the province of Georgia, and was indefatigable in co-operating with Tait, in confederating the Indians against the whigs. During the war, he led, in person, several expeditions with that officer; but his chief reliance was upon Leclerc Milfort, a man at once bold, daring, enthusiastic, possessed of an iron constitution, and every way qualified to lead Indians into battle. He often did so, while Col. McGillivray remained at home, controlling the arbitrary Chiefs, and compelling them to raise warriors for his King. All the while, McGillivray was not unmindful of the aggrandizement of himself and his nation, for it must be borne in mind that the blood which coursed his veins was Scotch, French and Indian. During the desperate struggle for human liberty, he acted in concert with many royalists, who had fled to East Florida, among the most conspicuous of whom were Colonel Daniel McGirth, and his brother, Captain James McGirth. They were bad men, but were brave and enterprising, and well suited to the times. Colonel McGirth commanded the "Florida Rangers," whose sudden and sanguinary attacks the whigs of Georgia often severely felt. Leaving Colonel McGillivray, with his red army and white allies, engaged in expeditions most harassing to the Georgians, on their western frontier, we hasten to portray the exciting scenes about Natchez.*

1778 Mar. 7 Here, also, the revolution began to be felt. James Willing, of Philadelphia, with a small body of American soldiers, arrived at Natchez, by the way of the Ohio. The ports upon that river, and the Upper Mississippi,

* MS. in my possession. Also information derived from conversations with the intelligent niece and nephew of Colonel McGillivray, still living; also with old Indian traders, who knew him in those times. See also Milfort's "Sejour dans la Nation Creek," and McCall's History of Georgia.

had fallen into the hands of the Americans, and had been supplied, for more than a year, by shipments from New Orleans, in consequence of a private arrangement between Don Galvez and Oliver Pollock, the American agent at New Orleans. Willing was now sent to further that end, and he was supplied with blank commissions, and authorized to recruit for the American service. Knowing that the inhabitants of this part of West Florida were loyal subjects of Britain, to allay their opposition to his schemes, he first sought to place them in a neutral position. A man of ingenuity and address, he made speeches, eloquently depicting the justice of our cause, and the certainty of final success, asserted that five thousand troops were then on their way to protect these inhabitants from the aggressions of the British government. He generally prevailed on them to take an oath of strict neutrality. Also enlisting a hundred men, whose officers he commissioned, he continued his voyage to Manchac, and was equally successful there. By stratagem, he made himself master of an English armed ship, which he conveyed to New Orleans, sold to the Spaniards, and wasted the avails in debauchery. With two subalterns, and forty of his original party, he returned to Manchac, plundered the plantations, without distinction, and rioted upon the booty. In the meantime, the Natchez people, hearing of these outrages, formed a large armed association, for their protection, and stationed themselves about the mouth of St. Catherine, not far below Natchez, to prevent the ascent of Captain Willing. He was presently seen to approach, but turned his boats to the opposite side of the Mississippi. Through the effects of a flag, and upon his professions of friendship, and assurances that he intended no injury to this section of the country, he received permission from the "settlers" to come over to them, across the river. After some consultation, he despatched Lieuten- 1778
ant Harrison, with a command, in a boat. In the meantime, the "associated settlers," reposing confidence in the prom-

ises of Willing, had abandoned their defensive positions, and now sat and lay upon the banks, at their ease. When the boat approached near enough, the gunner, by the orders of Lieutenant Harrison, fired a swivel upon the settlers, by which many were wounded. The latter instantly rose up, in great confusion, returned the fire with their guns, riddled the boat, and killed Lieutenant Harrison and seven of his men. The others came ashore, and surrendered. Willing, with his remaining banditti, fled to Manchac, sailed over to the Tensaw settlements, above Mobile, and endeavored, in vain, to enlist the people in his cause. He was eventually made a prisoner of war, and kept in the British camp, in chains, and was not released until the close of 1779.

The inhabitants now considered themselves absolved from their oath of neutrality, by the baseness of Captain Willing, and they all swore to defend the government of the King. They elected officers, repaired old Fort Panmure, and occupied it with a regular garrison. They also marched, in April, to the relief of the people in the neighborhood of Manchac, from which place Willing had already fled. Thus, by the indiscretions and outrages of the first American command sent here, our glorious cause was materially injured.*

Fort Panmure, at the Natchez, in a short time, received as a commander, Michael Jackson, a native of New England, an abandoned horse thief, who had been driven from the borders of civilization. During the whole of the fall and winter, this man, now a captain in the British service, produced great dissatisfaction by his oppressions and extortions. Colonel Hutchens, an influential citizen of Natchez, placed himself at the

* Memoirs and Adventures of Phelps, pp. 107-120. This author was one of the "associated settlers," and appears to have been a conscientious and truthful man. He is sustained by Judge Martin, in his History of Louisiana, vol. 2, pp. 42-3, in regard to the outrages of Willing. It is, however, due to the descendants of that officer, to observe, that Monette, in his History of the Valley of the Mississippi, represents him as a brave and honorable man, and severely censures the "associated settlers" for the perfidy which they displayed in the fire upon Harrison and his command. I, however, after a careful and dispassionate examination, believe the statement of Phelps. See Monette, vol. 1, pp. 434-6. Monette quotes Ellicott's Journal, pp. 131-2.

head of the malcontents, arrested and confined Jackson, and placed Captain Thaddeus Lyman in command. On 1778 promising to leave the country he was released, but the first night after his dismission from the fort he was joined by thirty deserters, who were as abandoned as himself. Jackson now stationed himself "under the hill," where he seized some military stores and artillery. Sending runners to the Choctaws, they returned with a considerable force of these savages. Jackson now exultingly fired his artillery upon the fort; but his Indian allies, seeing the British flag flying from the ramparts, and learning the nature of the dispute, refused to be made the instruments of the rascal, and retired peaceably to their homes. Seeing himself abandoned, Captain Jackson requested a parley, which was agreed to, and he was suffered, with his men, to enter the fort, and there peaceably to remain until the whole affair should undergo an investigation. Here he soon raised a mutiny, and one night caused the drums suddenly to beat to arms, and seizing Captain Lyman placed him in close confinement. His tyranny caused many to desert, who were pursued by a detachment under Lieutenant Pentacost. An engagement took place, when Pentacost was killed, and the deserters made their escape to the Spanish garrison at Manchac, across the Iberville. Again Jackson was overthrown and forced to retire; but before doing so he robbed the fort of all the valuables which he could transport.* In this manner the royalists were divided, and in the midst of their dissensions a large number of whigs were scattered about the country, anxiously awaiting the time when they should be joined by aid from a distance, under Colonel Clark, of Virginia.

Although Spain had long experienced evasions of her revenue laws on the part of the British, and had been compelled to establish a fort at Manchac to prevent them, nevertheless she had up to this period maintained a neutrality in the war waging between

* Phelps, pp. 121-197.

England and the United American Colonies. But France had not been an indifferent spectator, and the leaning of that power towards us brought about a collision with arbitrary John Bull. Spain interposed her friendly efforts to effect a reconcil-
1779 iation; but the canine propensities of England were aroused, and that ungenerous government declared war against Spain as well as France. His Catholic Majesty, fired at the ruthless manner in which he had been treated for a friendly act, now resolved to dispossess England of every foot of land in the Floridas. According to his directions, Don Galvez, the governor of his province of Louisiana, stood before Fort
Sept. 1 Bute, at Manchac, with a force of fourteen hundred men. After a resistence of five days it was carried by storm and utterly demolished. Reinforced by a number of militia, including American patriots, Galvez marched up and invested Baton Rouge. After a severe cannonade of two hours and a half, Colonel Dickson, the British commander, surrendered the fort and a garrison of four hundred regulars and one hundred militia. Fort Panmure, at the Natchez, a small fort and garrison on the Amite, and another at Thompson's creek, were also surrendered at the same time.

Leaving Don Grandpre in command, at Baton Rouge, and sending Spanish detachments to the other forts, which had already yielded to his arms, Galvez returned to New Orleans, and there began extensive preparations for the reduction of Mobile. After encountering a terrible storm, which came near destroying his transports and stores, he landed his army a little below Mobile, early in March, 1780. Fort Charlotte refused to surrender, and Galvez planted his six batteries. A severe cannonade
1780 opened a breach in the fort, when the British officer
Mar. 14 capitulated, by the surrender of Mobile and all its dependencies, extending from the Perdido to the Pearl river. Thus, the Spaniards were now in possession of all West Florida, except Pensacola, and the country as far as the Chatta-

hoochie. Knowing the great strength of Pensacola, Galvez determined to be well prepared for a siege. He put in requisition all his disposable regular forces and militia, both of Louisiana and of the country which he had conquered, and, in the meantime, sailed to Havana to obtain more troops and heavier artillery. With a large number of well equipped troops, and an abundance of stores and ordnance, he entered the bay of Pensacola with his fleet, while his Louisiana and Mobile forces marched across the country, from the mouth of the Perdido. Being invested both by sea and by land, General Campbell, after a vigorous defence, in which he was assisted by the Creek Indians, finally surrendered. The Creeks, on this occasion, were commanded by William Augustus Bowles, an interesting person, who will figure in our narrative hereafter. 1781 May 9

The town of Pensacola, the fortress and seaport, with eight hundred men, as prisoners of war, and the whole of West Florida, thus fell into the hands of the King of Spain. The victorious Galvez received many honors for his brilliant services.*

* Spanish MS.

CHAPTER XXII.

Extreme Perils and Sufferings of the Natchez Refugees.

During the siege of Pensacola, a series of events, of an interesting and romantic character, began at Natchez, and afterwards ended, with unparalelled sufferings, in the vast Indian wilderness, which extended from thence to the Ogechee river, in the distant province of Georgia. Some citizens of the Natchez district, the most prominent of whom were Philip Al-
1781 ston, Colonel Hutchens, John Alston, Captain Thaddeus Lyman, Thompson Lyman, Jacob Blomont, and Jacob Winfrey, put themselves at the head of a large party of royalists, for the purpose of seizing Fort Panmure, and expelling therefrom the Spanish troops, who had held it since September, 1780. They had learned that a powerful British fleet was off the Florida coast, whose object was the re-occupation of the country, and, believing that Don Galvez had already been defeated at Pensacola, they resolved immediately to anticipate what they supposed would be the desire of their King. Having as-
Apr. 22 sembled a large body of Choctaws, the insurgents assumed a position upon an eminence, above the town of Natchez, in full view of the fort. At night they advanced and planted their artillery so as to bear upon the works; but, when day approached, the Spanish cannonade compelled them to retire. During the succeeding twenty-four hours, the firing continued between the parties. The commandant sent a flag to Colonel Hutchens, representing the danger of rebellion,
1781 and promising the clemency of his government, if the
Apr. 29 people would disperse, after they should have surren-

dered the ringleaders. An answer was promised, to be returned the next day. During the interval, the malcontents arrested a man bearing a despatch to the Spanish commandant. It was from Captain McIntosh, a warm friend of the Spaniards, who lived in the neighborhood, and who wrote, entreating the commandant to hold out a little while longer, when he would be supported by friends from the country. His letter was destroyed, and another substituted, written by one who could imitate the autograph of McIntosh. It was conveyed to the Spanish commandant, and disclosed the astounding news, that the insurgents, by means of a deep ravine, which was at the base of the fort, had formed a cavern, leading directly April under the fort, in which a vast quantity of powder had been placed, ready to be exploded by a train; that the people of the country were flocking to the standard of the enemy, and he, consequently, suggested an honorable surrender. Not suspecting the fraud, the Spanish commandant, in his confusion and alarm, surrendered the fort, and marched his garrison to Baton Rouge.

But the exulting insurgents were, in a few days, deprived of the fruits of their victory. The news reached them, that General Campbell was defeated, and that the whole of West Florida had been surrendered to Spain. Consternation seized every one. They knew that they should receive no mercy at the hands of those whom they had harassed by rebellion and conquered by stratagem. Abandoning the fort they fled 1781 to the cane swamps, with their wives, children, horses, May and movable effects, with the determination of cutting their way to the British settlements on the Savannah.* The avenues by the Mississippi were closed against them by the Spaniards below and the American whigs above. In a short time more than one hundred individuals, besides slaves, mounted upon horses, and with other horses laden with their effects, set

* Memoirs and Adventures of Phelps, Appendix, pp. 4-5. Monette, vol. 2, pp. 462-3.

off to avoid the Spaniards, whom they had expected hourly to arrive at Natchez. Many of the children were small, and some were at the breast. They began their painful and distressing flight by striking towards the prairie country in the present State of Mississippi. Wishing to avoid the Chickasaws and Choctaws, into whose power they feared to fall, a circuitous route was wholly unavoidable, and they wandered from point to point, as their desperate circumstances led them. It was during an unusually dry spring, and the prairies, which they had now reached, afforded them no water. At one time they suffered from the want of it with an intensity more than ordinary human beings, it would seem, could bear. Bordering upon desperation and becoming bewildered, the general direction, which they had endeavored to keep, was abandoned, and they now strolled over the country, with parched lips, under the burning rays of the sun, and amid the heart-rending cries of the children. Ever and anon their eyes fell upon distant clumps of trees, and their spirits revived, in the hope that there certainly would be found the sweet beverage of nature. Pushing on to the delusive spot, they found it as moistureless as the land over which they had traveled. Mrs. Dwight, a heroine upon this eventful march, was descended from one of the best families of New England. She exhorted the miserable caravan to persevere in their efforts to find water, although more than thirty-six hours had passed since they had wet their mouths. They now halted and erected a small camp. The men, leaving the women and children in the camp, hunted for hours for water, but towards evening returned with their tongues exposed and fell down in despair. The noble Mrs. Dwight now set out, in company with several men and women. Fortune led her to the foot of two adjoining hills. The surface of the ground was spongy, and here by her directions they began to dig. Hitherto they had not resorted to this plan, but had wandered from point to point, expecting to find running streams. The signs of moisture increased, and pres-

1781
June

ently slow drippings commenced. Redoubling their exertions they struck a fountain. "Thank God!" was the shout of all. A messenger rapidly bore back the tidings. The miserable wretches rose from the ground and rushed to the spot. Dr. Dwight, the husband of the lady mentioned above, stationed a guard over the spring, until, by bathing the temples and the palms of the hands, they could drink a few drops, without fatal consequences. With their horses, also, who seemed as if they would tear up the very earth, and destroy everything that obstructed their passage to the water, they adopted the prudent course, of allowing small quantities at a time. All night, a continual 1781
drinking went on. The next day, filling their vessels June
from this spring, they continued northeast, and, on that day, happily reached some of the sources of the Tombigby. But now their provisions were exhausted. They killed and devoured the few things which crossed their route, and the meat of a large terrapin, divided into small pieces, once saved their lives. They had but little ammunition, which was reserved for defence alone. Having lost their compass, they could only follow the sun, which was sometimes obscured by clouds. It rained occasionally, now that they had crossed the prairies. Now and then they came across small hunting parties of Indians, who, at night, robbed them of their pack-horses and plundered their effects. In addition to all these misfortunes, a loathsome disease spread in the camp. Finally, after wandering nearly to the Tennessee river, and then marching in a nearly southern direction, they reached the Tombigby, about the site of the present town of Aberdeen, where they crossed upon rafts, constructed of dry logs. They next made the Warrior, at the Tuscaloosa Falls, which they crossed, by alternately wading and swimming, from rock to rock. Unfortunately, from this point, they assumed an improper direction. Fearing to follow any trail, they, after a long time, found themselves among the mountains of Blount county, Alabama. Having come thus far, again, towards the Tennessee, they thought

that they might reach Georgia, by way of the Cherokee nation, and they continued in that direction, until, one day, in a distant valley, they saw some persons approaching. All was breathless suspense. Presently an old Indian-trader, with two Chickasaw Indians, rode up, for they were now upon a trail. Shocked at the condition of the miserable caravan, the trader generously gave them all the provisions he had, and shared among them his last gallon of taffai.* He warned them not to attempt to reach Georgia through the Tennessee mountains, for they would meet with insurmountable obstacles, and be cut off by the Cherokees, many of whom were now in the interest of the whigs; but advised them to assume a southern direction, and enter the Creek nation, the inhabitants of which were entirely under the influence of Colonel McGillivray, who was a man of humanity, and a friend of King George. Turning immediately southward, they once more struck through the woods, re-crossed the mountains, and, after incessant toil and hunger, passed over those which border the Cahawba. Most of them had to walk, and lead their horses over the perilous rocks, while their naked feet bled at every pore. Finally, the caravan arrived upon the banks of the Coosa, in the upper part of the present county of Autauga, a few miles below the Big Island. Here the river was wide and deep, and its bottom rocky. But occasionally it was partially obstructed by small clumps of rocks, between which rushed the rapid current.

1781 June

The feeble wanderers lay down upon the wild banks, without energy to construct a raft. Indeed, some believed that a raft would be torn to pieces by the rocks. Mrs. Dwight, who continued to infuse a spirit of resolution into the party, which had, thus far, overcome all difficulties, put herself forward, and declared that, if but one man would accompany her, she would attempt the passing of the river,

1781 July

* A mean New England rum, the only spirituous liquor drunk, in those days, by the Indians.

when, perhaps, on the other side, they might find a canoe, or some better crossing place. Her husband, roused by her intrepidity, swore that he would not suffer his wife to risk her life for the good of the company without sharing in her perils. These two, with one other, then plunged their horses into the river, and the current carried them some distance down to a dry bed of rocks. Proceeding over these, to the farther end of the ledge, the two horsemen plunged from a steep rock and disappeared under the water, but presently arose, and their faithful horses carried them to the opposite shore. Mrs. Dwight, shutting her eyes, then made the fearful leap, and arose with her hands hold of the horn of her saddle. She, too, happily reached the opposite shore. Then the fearless party gave a whoop, to encourage their anxious friends, whom they had left behind. A mile above this they found a large, old Indian canoe, which had been stove against the rocks. Stopping the seams with whatever they could obtain, the two men went over the river in it, to their comrades, leaving the spirited Mrs. Dwight with the horses. Then the wide and angry Coosa roared and lashed its shores, separating her from every friend she had upon earth.

In the course of that day and the next, the whole party were safely boated over. Proceeding some twenty miles farther, they approached the Creek town, called by the traders the "Hickory Ground," embraced in the southern suburbs of the present Wetumpka, on the east bank of the same river which they had crossed. It is impossible to imagine a more forlorn band, or one more agitated by hopes and fears. This was the first Indian town which they had the boldness to approach, since they left Natchez, for, indeed, during the whole of their travels, they expected, every moment, to be tracked out, and all suddenly butchered. They now held a consultation, and it was decided to despatch three of their most plausible men, as ambas- 1781
sadors, to implore the compassion and hospitality of the July
inhabitants. With palpitating hearts, these men rode on,

leaving their companions behind to await the issue. As they rode up to the square, the squaws were hoeing their green corn, and the warriors reposed by the sides of their cabins. The reader has often seen the fierce mastiff, as he slumbered in the yard, or the tiger of a menagerie as he dozed in his cage arouse out of his sleep, erect his ears, move his tail, and throw his fiery eyes upon strangers as they entered. He can then imagine the sudden and fierce looks which the lusty warriors bestowed upon these haggard, way-worn and miserable men. Colonel McGillivray, unfortunately, was from home, for this place was one of his residences. The Indians scanned their saddles closely, and, as they were like those of the Georgians, they believed they were whigs. In vain they asserted they were royalists, and good friends of the Creeks. About seventy of the savages formed a circle around them. In vain did they allege the defenceless state of themselves, their company behind, with their wretched women and children, their destitution of provisions, and the frank and friendly manner in which they had entered their town. The expedition appeared to be mysterious, the motives which led to it inexplicable, and the unfortunate saddles, upon which they rode, contradictory to all their professions. A vehement debate began among the Indians, of which only a few ill-boding words were understood, such as *Virginians! long knives! no good!* From all appearances, the fate of the wanderers was sealed. Instantly every warrior seized his knife, every face became distorted with wrath, every eye lighted up with fierce and gloomy vengeance.

1781 July

Colonel McGillivray had a body servant. He was a smart black fellow, named Paro, who understood the English language as well as he did the Indian tongue. He had been off on a journey, and, at this moment, rode up among the excited throng. He demanded the cause of the tumult. They replied that these strangers were Georgians, were bad men, no friends to them or to their father, the King of Great Britain, and ought to be put to

death. The ambassadors now appealed to the negro, and gave him an account of the nature of their journey. He expressed himself fully satisfied, and endeavored to disabuse the minds of the savages. But they remained inflexible, when Paro called them fools and madmen. On account of their fear of McGillivray, they did not resent his offensive language, but assured him that the death of the strangers, and their friends behind, was resolved upon. A warrior, more moderate than the rest, said to the white men, "IF YOU TELL THE TRUTH, MAKE THE PAPER TALK." The ingenious Paro caught the idea, and asked the men if they had not kept a journal of their travels. They replied, No! He then asked if they had any paper about them, with writing on it, and said anything would do. One of them found an old letter in his pocket, which, according to the directions of Paro, he pretended to read, *slowly* and *solemnly*, giving a complete history of their flight from Natchez, and the cause of it. Paro, all the time, interpreted it to the Indians, with great animation. As the recital went on, their countenances gradually softened, and, before it was finished, the gloom gave way to a smile, and the ferocity was succeeded by friendship. The whole body put up their knives, and coming, one by one, to the ambassadors, shook them cordially by the hand, and welcomed them to the town. They presently brought in the whole caravan, lodged them in their houses, fed them at their tables, and "poured oil upon their wounds." 1781 July

When this party of royalists had sufficiently recruited, they proceeded on their route, crossed the Tallapoosa, Chattahoochie and Flint, and then divided their company, and separated. One of the parties shaped their course down towards East Florida, and finally reached Savannah in safety. The other party were taken prisoners by the whigs, but shortly afterwards were released. Strange to say, not one died, or was killed, upon the whole route from Natchez, which was accomplished in one hundred and forty-nine days. 1781 Aug.

Several of the Lymans, called the "unhappy family," were in this singular expedition. Two of the daughters of the late General Lyman died after reaching Savannah. Three of his sons were also in company. When the British evacuated Georgia, one of them went to New York, another to Nova Scotia, and the third to Providence. They all died with broken hearts. Few have been born to higher hopes; few have begun life with a fairer promise of prosperity than their honorable father, and, for a time, no American possessed a more extensive reputation.*

Colonel Hutchens, with one of his friends, also fled from Fort Panmure to the swamps. Receiving information
1781 that the Indians were in pursuit of him, he set off, with twenty men, upon horses, intending to overtake the larger party, whose peregrinations we have just described. They left their families and most valuable effects. Hutchens abandoned an excellent plantation, with twenty workers upon it, an immense body of land, and seventeen hundred head of cattle. The Spaniards confiscated the whole of it, except a bare support for his wife. On the second night of their flight, the Choctaws overtook them, and killed all of them but Hutchens and one other man, who fled towards Georgia and arrived there naked, sunburnt, starved, and worn down with fatigue. John Alston, and another small party, escaping to the Creek nation, were there arrested by the Indians, carried to Mobile, and from thence to New Orleans, where, after being tried for rebellion, they were condemned to die. But the governor pardoned them.
1781 During the fall of 1781 the property of all these unfortunate people was confiscated.†

In the meantime, the wild region upon the Cumberland river was explored, and some temporary establishments formed at the

* Travels in New York and New England, by Theodore Dwight, S.T.D., LL.D., late President of Yale College, vol. 1, pp. 306-316. Memoirs and Adventures of Phelps, Appendix, pp. 2-17. I also held conversations with several old Indian traders, of the Creek nation, two of whom, when youths, were at the Hickory Ground when these retreating royalists arrived there.

† Phelps' Memoirs, Appendix, pp. 17-19.

bluff, on which is now situated the city of Nashville. Captain James Robertson was the hero of these bold adventures, and had several times, with a small party of men, cut 1779
his way from extreme East Tennessee to that country, passing over the lofty Cumberland mountains and through dangerous Indian settlements. Returning to the Holston, after having made several of these trips, he raised a large company of emigrants, and built boats at Long Island. When they were nearly ready to be launched, he placed himself at the head of a horse party, and set out over the mountains for the Cumberland, intending to leave signs upon the trees at the head of the Muscle Shoals, after going from Nashville to that place. These signs he intended for the purpose of letting the voyagers know whether it would be practicable for them to disembark at the Muscle Shoals and go to the Cumberland by land.

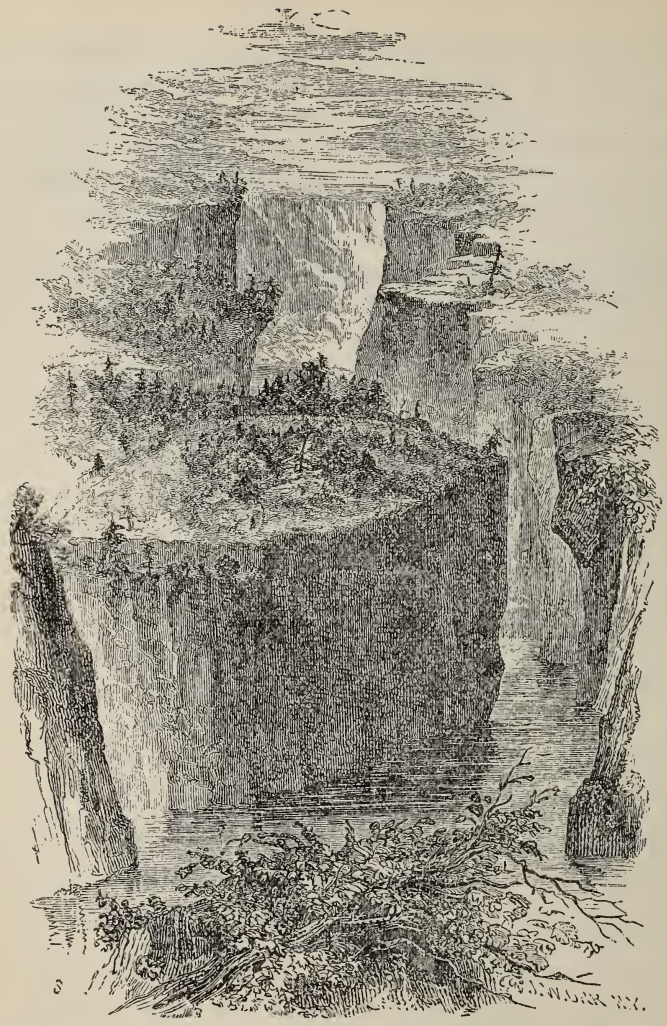
A large number of flat boats, filled with emigrants and their effects, began the voyage from Long Island, upon the Holston. Those recollected will be mentioned, for the gratification of descendants. The large Donaldson family, who, after reaching the Cumberland, settled upon Stone's river, 1779
and became connected by affinity with General Andrew Dec. 22
Jackson, all embarked on this occasion, Among the others were Robert Cartwright, Benjamin Porter, Mary Henry, Mary Purnell, James Cain, Isaac Neely, John Cotton, —— Rounsever, Jonathan Jennings, William Cutchfield, Moses, Joseph and James Renfroe, Solomon Turpin, —— Johns, Francis Armstrong, Isaac Lanier, Daniel Dunham, John Boyd, John Montgomery, John Cockrill, Mrs. Robertson, the wife of Captain Robertson, John Blackman and John Gibson. These per- 1779
sons had families with them, besides slaves.

In consequence of great difficulty in descending the Holston and many unavoidable delays, the rude fleet did not reach the mouth of the French Broad until March 2. It 1780

was then the habit to tie up at sunset, encamp upon the banks and around large fires, and to make the wild forests resound with noise and merry peals of laughter. All were now happy and filled with the most pleasing excitement. But when they approached the Cherokee towns below they observed great caution. When near Nickajack they were fired upon from both banks of the river by the savages, but keeping in the middle received no material injury. However, unfortunately, a boat belonging to Stewart, containing his family and negroes, amounting to twenty-eight souls, who had been compelled to keep behind a few miles on account of the small pox which they had taken, were all killed by the Indians, while their companions in advance could afford them no assistance. In passing the celebrated "Suck" the boats were again fired upon, when several of the voyagers were severely wounded. In the midst of the dismay and confusion a young woman, named Nancy Glover, seized the oar of her father's boat and steered it safely through the narrows, exposed to all the firing, and receiving a severe wound, of which she never complained. When the terrified voyagers had passed this place they entered a wide and smooth sheet of water, and were out of danger. But just at the termination of the narrows the boat of Jonathan Jennings was stove upon a large rock. The voyagers were forced to leave these unhappy people. The Indians coming upon them, all the effects were thrown out of the boat in great haste, and it was shoved off with Mrs. Jennings and Mrs. Peyton in it, who singularly made their escape. The Indians captured Jennings, his son, a negro, and a young man with them, and carried them to Chickamauga, where they soon burned the latter to death by a slow fire. They knocked Jennings down with a club, but his life was spared by Rodgers, a trader, who ransomed him. After being again attacked near the head of the Muscle Shoals, they finally reached those cataracts, where a consultation was held. Being unable, upon a diligent search, to find the signals of Captain Robertson on the north bank, they resolved

to trust their boats to the angry waves below. Fortunately the swollen state of the river carried them safely over the extended shoals. Reaching the mouth of the Tennessee on the 20th of March, an affecting and painful separation took place—Colonel Donaldson and more than half the voyagers going up the Cumberland, and the remainder to Natchez and the Illinois.*

* Haywood's History of Tennessee, pp. 85-94. Mrs. Rachel Jackson, the wife of General Jackson, and the daughter of Colonel Donaldson, who was then but a little girl, was with this party.



Ancient Indian Fortifications, at Little River Falls, Cherokee County, Alabama, from a Sketch by A. J. Pickett, who visited that place, in October, 1850.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Spaniards in Alabama and Mississippi.

England, having lost her West Florida provinces by the victories of Galvez, and having the American whigs, as well as the natives of France, Spain and Holland, arrayed against her, was finally forced to retire from the unequal contest.

A preliminary treaty of peace was signed at Paris. 1782
England there acknowledged our independence, and Nov. 30
admitted our southern boundary to be as follows: A line beginning at the Mississippi, at 31° north of the equator, and extending due east to the Chattahoochie river; down that river to the mouth of the Flint, and thence to the St. Mary's, and along that river to the sea. Great Britain also expressly stipulated, in that treaty, our right to the navigation of the Mississippi river, from its mouth to its source.

Great Britain and Spain entered into a treaty.
The former warranted and confirmed to the latter 1783
the province of West Florida, and ceded to her East Jan. 20
Florida.*

But although England, by the treaty of 1782, assigned to the United States all the territory between the Mississippi and the Chattahoochie, lying between the parallels of latitude 31° and 32° 28′, embracing the same portion of the territory of Alabama and Mississippi, which lay in the British province of West Florida, yet it was not surrendered to us by Spain for years afterwards. Spain occupied it, contending that Great Britain, in the treaty with her, in 1783, warranted the province of West

* American State Papers, Boston edition, vol. 10, p. 132.

Florida to her, not defining its northern limits, and that England had no right to restrict her limits, even if she had attempted it, for Spain had, before the negotiations commenced, acquired all of West Florida, by conquest, through the victorious arms of Don Galvez.

Turning to Georgia, with which this history will now be much connected, we find that that province continued to consist, as at the time of its colonization by Oglethorpe, of a narrow strip of country, between the Savannah and Ogechee rivers, until 1773, when, as we have already seen, Governor Wright acquired from the Creeks and Cherokees a strip of country north

1783 of this, extending above Broad river. The Legislature

May 31 of Georgia elected commissioners, who met a delegation of Cherokees at Augusta. The latter ceded to Georgia the country upon the western side of the Tugalo, including the head waters of the Oconee. A small delegation of the

Nov. 1 Creeks also assembled at Augusta, and agreed to the boundary made with the Cherokees. Thus, as Georgia supposed, the lines between her and those tribes were, for a while, determined. But the treaty made with the Creeks was denounced by a large majority of that nation, as obtained unfairly, and with the representation of scarcely any of the towns.*

But, before entering upon these exciting topics, it will be necessary to recur once more to the close of the war. It has been observed, that Lachlan McGillivray, previous to the revolution, owned extensive trading-houses in Savannah and Augusta, and plantations upon the river. He was an active and influential royalist, and the whigs of Georgia and Carolina sensibly felt his weight. When the British were forced to evacuate Savannah, he sailed with them to his native country, having scraped together a vast amount of money and movable effects. His plantations and negroes he abandoned, in the hope that his son, Alexander, his two daughters, and his Indian wife, Sehoy, then living upon

* American State Papers, Indian Affairs, folio edition, vol. 1, p. 23.

the Coosa, might be suffered to inherit them. But the whigs confiscated the whole of this valuable property, with the exception of a few negroes, who fled to the nation, and were added to those already at the residence of Sehoy. Thus, Col. Alexander McGillivray was deprived of a large patrimony, while his affectionate father was forced to flee the country. Another Scotchman, remarkable for his great commercial enterprise and capital sense, must also be introduced.

William Panton was born in Aberdeenshire, Scotland, and, at an early period, sailed for America, and landed in Charleston. He became an extensive Indian merchant, and owned large estates, in South Carolina and Georgia; but, at an early period of the war, was driven from these provinces, and his estates confiscated. He then established himself upon the St. Mary's. In 1781, when the Spaniards took Pensacola, he was residing there, owning an extensive trading house. He soon formed a commercial treaty with Spain, which enabled him to become enriched, while the government of Florida was strengthened by his influence with the Indian tribes south of the Tennessee. He had formed an acquaintance with Colonel McGillivray, and was struck with the power of his mind. Knowing that he had been deserted by the British, he sought to place him under the wing of Spain, for the personal advancement of the great Chieftain himself, who he expected would, in return, promote his Indian commerce. He introduced him to the Spanish authorities of West Florida. According to arrangement, Colonel McGillivray went to Pensacola, and entered into a treaty of alliance with Spain. Spain was represented by Don Miro, of New Orleans, Governor of West Florida; Don Arthur O'Neill, Commandant of Pensacola; and Don Martin Navarro, Intendant-General of Florida. Colonel McGillivray represented the whole Creek and Seminole nations. It was stipulated that the Creek and Seminole Indians should defend and sustain the cause of his Catholic Majesty, and obey his orders,

1784 June 1

through his Captain-General of the provinces of the Floridas and Louisiana, in those points which are compatible with Indian character; that Spain should proportion among the Indians a desirable and permanent commerce at the most judicious places; that the Creeks should establish a general peace with the Chickasaws, Choctaws and Cherokees; that all strangers, introducing themselves among the Indians for the purpose of stirring up rebellion against the King of Spain, should immediately
1784 be seized and conveyed to the Governor of Pensacola; that the Indians should admit no white person into their country who did not bear a Spanish permit; that they should abandon the practice of taking scalps, if engaged in war; that they should deliver up all white prisoners, subjects of the United States, and not admit into their nations fugitive slaves from the provinces of Louisiana and Florida, but should apprehend and deliver them to the commandants.*

Colonel McGillivray was induced to form an alliance with the Spaniards for various reasons, the chief of which were that the whigs, as he contended, had confiscated his estates, banished his father, threatened him with death and his nation with extermination, and were constantly encroaching upon Creek soil. The Spaniards wanted no lands—desired only his friendship, and had not encroached upon him or his people. Besides, they were the first to offer him promotion and commercial advantages. When he had signed the treaty, they made him a Spanish commissary, with the rank and pay of colonel.

Great dissatisfaction arose, as has been stated, in consequence of the treaty at Augusta and the occupation of the
1785 Creek lands. Border war commenced. The Spanish authorities fomented these discords between the Creeks and Georgians, for the purpose of monopolizing the entire commerce of the nation. Colonel McGillivray exerted himself to

* American State Papers, Boston edition, vol. 10, pp. 223-227.

defeat all attempts at peaceable negotiation, now undertaken by those who had charge of our national affairs.

The provisional Congress appointed Benjamin Hawkins, Andrew Pickens, Joseph Martin and Lachlan McIntosh, commissioners, to treat with the Southern Indians. Pickens addressed a letter to Colonel McGillivray, urging him to meet them at a convenient place, at the head of all the Chiefs 1785
of the nation, to enter into treaties of friendship. The Alabama Talleyrand replied, and we will publish his able and ingenious letter, as the reader can better understand from it the character of the man, and of the times of which he writes, than by a narration from the author:

"LITTLE TALLASE,* 5th Sept., 1785.

"*Sir*—I am favored with your letter by Brandon, who, after detaining it near a month, sent it by an Indian, a few days ago. He, perhaps, had some reasons for keeping himself from this region.

"The notification you have sent us is agreeable to our wishes, as the meeting is intended for the desirable purpose of adjusting and settling matters, on an equitable footing, between the United States and the Indian nations. At the same time, I cannot avoid expressing my surprise that a measure of this nature should have been so long delayed, on your part. When we found that the American independence was confirmed by the peace, we expected that the new government would soon have taken some steps to make up the differ- 1785
ences that subsisted between them and the Indians dur- Sept. 5
ing the war, to have taken them under their protection, and confirmed to them their hunting grounds. Such a course would have reconciled the minds of the Indians, and secured the States their friendship, as they considered your people their nat-

* Little Tallase, four miles above Wetumpka, on the east bank of the Coosa, was one of the residences of Colonel McGillivray, and from that point he wrote most of his able letters. Colonel Howell Rose now owns the site of Little Tallase, which is embraced in a cotton plantation.

ural allies. The Georgians, whose particular interest it was to conciliate the friendship of this nation, have acted, in all respects, to the contrary. I am sorry to observe that violence and prejudice have taken place of good policy and reason, in all their proceedings with us. They attempted to avail themselves of our supposed distressed situation. Their talks to us breathed nothing but vengeance, and, being entirely possessed with the idea that we were wholly at their mercy, they never once reflected that colonies of a powerful monarch were nearly surrounding us, to whom, in any extremity, we might apply for succor and protection, and who, to answer some ends of their policy, might grant it to us. However, we yet deferred any such proceeding, still expecting we could bring them to a true sense of their interest; but still finding no alteration in their conduct towards us, we sought the protection of Spain, and treaties of friendship and alliance were mutually entered into—they guaranteeing our hunting grounds and territory, and granting us a free trade in the ports of the Floridas.

"How the boundary and limits between the Spaniards and the States will be determined, a little time will show, as I believe that matter is now on foot. However, we know our
1785 limits, and the extent of our hunting-grounds. As a
Sept. 5 free nation, we have applied, as we had a right to do, for protection, and obtained it. We shall pay no attention to any limits that may prejudice our claims, that were drawn by an American, and confirmed by a British negotiator. Yet, notwithstanding we have been obliged to adopt these measures for our preservation, and from real necessity, we sincerely wish to have it in our power to be on the same footing with the States as before the late unhappy war, to effect which is entirely in your power. We want nothing from you but justice. We want our hunting grounds preserved from encroachments. They have been ours from the beginning of time, and I trust that, with

the assistance of our friends, we shall be able to maintain them against every attempt that may be made to take them from us.

"Finding our representations to the State of Georgia of no effect, in restraining their encroachments, we thought it proper to call a meeting of the nation, on the subject. We then came to the resolution to send out parties, to remove the Georgians and their effects from the lands in question, in the most peaceable manner possible.

"Agreeably to your requisition, and to convince you of my sincere desire to restore a good understanding between us, I have taken the necessary steps to prevent any future predatory excursions of my people against any of your settlements. I could wish the people of Cumberland showed an equal good disposition to do what is right. They were certainly the first aggressors since the peace, and acknowledged it in a written certificate, left at the Indian camp they had plundered.

"I have only to add, that we shall meet the commissioners of Congress whenever we shall receive notice, in expectation that every matter of difference will be settled, with that liberality and justice worthy the men who have so gloriously asserted the cause of liberty and independence, and that we shall, in future, consider them as brethren, and defenders of the land.* 1785 Sept. 5

"I am, with much respect, sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"ALEXANDER McGILLIVRAY."

"Hon. Andrew Pickens."

This well-written communication affords the first evidence of the consummate diplomacy of this great native Alabamian. The history of this remarkable Indian will be found to be full of interest. 1785 Oct. 28

The commissioners of Congress, elated by the conciliatory

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 17-18.

tone of Colonel McGillivray, arrived at Galphinton.* The latter failed to appear, and only the Chiefs from two towns, with sixty warriors, met them. Disappointed and mortified, the commissioners declined to treat with so few. In the meantime the Georgia commissioners protested against those proceedings which the agents of Congress had intended to adopt; but the latter declined to do anything further than to explain to the Indians the policy which the Congress intended to pursue towards them, thanked them for their attendance and afterwards departed. No sooner had they left than the commissioners representing Georgia made a treaty with the Creeks who were present, which confirmed the treaty of Augusta of 1783, and granted to the State of Georgia the territory lying on the east side of a line to run from the junction of the Oconee and Ockmulgee to the St. Mary's river, including all the islands and harbors, and which now constitutes more than half the coast of Georgia. What considerations induced the Indians to divest themselves of so much territory is not stated. The commissioners of Georgia laid before the

1786 legislature a copy of the articles intended to have been proposed to the Creeks by the agents of Congress had a sufficient number been present, which that body declared, by resolutions, to be subversive of the rights of the State. They instructed their members in Congress to insist on the abolition of the powers of the commissioners, while they adopted measures for the preservation of the rights of the citizens of Georgia. Edward Telfair, John King and Thomas Glasscock received the thanks of the General Assembly for their vigilance and patriotism, and particularly for the treaty which they had made.

The Georgia Legislature established a county called Houston, embracing the territory extending from Nickajack, below

1785 the Muscle Shoals, out of which are now formed the mod-

Dec. ern Alabama counties of Lauderdale, Limestone, Madison and Jackson. Sevier, Downs, Herd, Donaldson and Lin-

* This town was named in honor of George Galphin, the great Indian trader.

sey were appointed commissioners to organize the county of Houston. With eighty men, in flat boats, they arrived at the Muscle Shoals, and in the western part of the present Lauderdale county established a land office, appointed military officers and magistrates, and elected Valentine Sevier to be a member of the Georgia Legislature. This remarkable government existed but two weeks, when the colonists were driven off by the Indians.*

Congress appointed James White a superintendent of the Creek Indians, who immediately proceeded to the town of Cusseta, upon the Chattahoochie. He addressed a letter to Colonel McGillivray, and received the following reply:

"LITTLE TALLASE, 8th April, 1787.

"*Sir*:—It is with real satisfaction that I learn of your being appointed by Congress for the laudable purpose of enquiring into and settling the differences that at present subsist between our nation and the Georgians. It may be necessary for you to know the cause of these differences and our discontent, which, perhaps, have never come to the knowledge of the honorable body that sent you to our country.

"There are Chiefs of two towns in this nation, who, during the late war, were friendly to the State of Georgia, and had gone, at different times, among those people, and once, after the general peace, to Augusta. They there demanded of them a grant of lands, belonging to and enjoyed as hunting grounds by the Indians of this nation in common, on the east of the Oconee river. The Chiefs rejected the demand, on the plea that these lands were the hunting grounds of the nation, and could not be granted by two individuals; but, after a few days, a promise was extorted from them, that, on their return to our country, they would use their influence to get a grant confirmed. Upon their return, a general convention was held at Tookabatcha, when these two Chiefs were

1787 April 8

* Haywood's History of Tennessee, pp. 157-158.

severely censured, and the Chiefs of ninety-eight towns agreed upon a talk, to be sent to Savannah, disapproving, in the strongest manner, of the demand made upon their nation, and denying the right of any two of their country to make cession of land, which could only be valid by the unanimous voice of the whole, as joint proprietors in common. Yet these two Chiefs, regardless of the voice of the nation, continued to go to Augusta, and other places within that State. They received presents and made promises; but our customs did not permit us to punish them for the crime. We warned the Georgians of the dangerous consequences that would certainly attend the settling of the lands in question. Our just remonstrances were treated with contempt, and these lands were soon filled with settlers. The nation, justly alarmed at the encroachments, resolved to use force to maintain their rights; yet, being averse to the shedding of the blood of a people whom we would rather consider as friends, we made another effort to awaken in them a sense of justice and equity. But we found, from experience, that entreaty could not prevail, and parties of warriors were sent, to drive off the intruders, but were instructed to shed blood, only where self-preservation made it necessary.

"This was in May, 1786. In October following, we were invited by commissioners, of the State of Georgia, to
1787 meet them in conference, at the Oconee, professing a
April 8 sincere desire for an amicable adjustment of our disputes, and pledging their sacred honors for the safety and good treatment of all those that should attend and meet them. It not being convenient for many of us to go to the proposed conference, a few, from motives of curiosity, attended. They were surprised to find an armed body of men, prepared for and professing hostile intentions. Apprehensions for personal safety induced those Chiefs to subscribe to every demand that was asked by the army and its commissioners. Lands were again demanded, and the lives of some of our Chiefs were required, as well as those of some innocent traders, as sacrifice

to appease their anger. Assassins have been employed to effect some part of their atrocious purposes. If I fall by the hand of such, I shall fall the victim of the noblest of causes, that of maintaining the just rights of my country. I aspire to the honest ambition of meriting the appellation of the preserver of my country, equally with the Chiefs among *you*, whom, from acting on such principles, you have exalted to the highest pitch of glory. And if, after every peaceable mode of obtaining a redress of grievances proved fruitless, a recourse to arms to obtain it be a mark of the savage, and not of the soldier, what savages must the Americans be, and how much undeserved applause have your Cincinnatus, your Fabius, obtained. 1787
If a war name had been necessary to distinguish April 8
that Chief, in such a case, the Man-Killer, the Great Destroyer, would have been the proper appellation.

"I had appointed the Cussetas, for all the Chiefs of the Lower Creeks to meet in convention. I shall be down in a few days, when, from your timely arrival, you will meet the Chiefs, and learn their sentiments, and I sincerely hope that the propositions which you shall offer us will be such as we can safely accede to. The talks of the former commissioners, at Galphinton, were much approved of, and your coming from the White Town (seat of Congress) has raised great expectations that you will remove the principal and almost only cause of our dispute, that is, by securing to us our hunting grounds and possessions, free from all encroachments. When we meet, we shall talk these matters over. Meantime, I remain,

"With regard, your obedient servant,
"ALEXANDER McGILLIVRAY."

"Hon. James White."

Dr. White met McGillivray at Cusseta, with a large number of Lower Creeks, when the Superintendent desired them to ratify the treaties of Augusta, Galphinton and Shoulderbone, and

1787 April 10 to make arrangements for running the boundary line around the ceded territory. The Chiefs boldly opposed the proposition, and declared that their "lands were their life and breath, and if they parted with them they parted with their blood." The two Chiefs, who conveyed away these lands, being severely censured, stated that the Georgians compelled them to make the grant by threats and the flourish of long knives.

McGillivray startled the Superintendent with a new proposition. He said: "Notwithstanding I prompt the Indians to defend their lands, I look upon the United States as our most natural ally. Two years I waited before I would seek the alliance I have formed. I was compelled to it. I could not but resent the greedy encroachments of the Georgians, to say nothing of their scandalous and illiberal abuse. But I will now put it to the test, whether they or myself entertain the most generous sentiments of respect for Congress. If that honorable body can form a government to the southward of the Altamaha, I will be the first to take the oath of allegiance, and, in return to the Georgians for yielding to the United States that claim, I will obtain a regular and peaceable grant of the lands on the Oconee, on which they have deluded people to settle, under the pretence of grants from the Indians, and which you yourself (Dr. White) have seen are most ill-founded. I will give you till the first of August for an answer."

Thus terminated the council, and the Superintendent found himself baffled and perplexed by the ingenuity of McGillivray, who always managed to defeat any scheme of the Federal Government.

1787 Apr. 10 The Georgians on the other hand, denied the charges of violence and fraud, contended that a sufficient delegation of Indians were present to make the grants, and that they were procured from them fairly and honorably, without threats or the display of knives. They con-

tended that the Upper Creeks, who never occupied the Oconee lands, had no right to have a voice in the matter. They admitted that, at the treaty of Shoulderbone, in 1786, they had armed troops present; but they were there for the purpose of suppressing hostilities, should they show themselves. They also admitted that, for enforcing a compliance of the treaty, they carried hostages to Augusta, which had been customary in all former negotiations with savages.*

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 18-23.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Bloody Scenes in Alabama and Georgia.

At this period, some exciting scenes occurred in the region now known as North Alabama. We have already followed a party of emigrants to the Cumberland. Many others
1779 flocked to that country, and it soon became well settled,
1780 for a wild country. The Upper Creeks and Cherokees continually made war upon these Cumberland people. The French, upon the Wabash, had, for a long time, carried on a commerce, near the sites of the present towns of Tuscumbia and Florence. So long as M. Viez was at the head of this trade, the Cumberland people were not harassed; but, recently, he had been succeeded by others, who supplied the Indians with arms, and encouraged them to attack the American settlements. The latter had only acted upon the defensive, but it was now determined to advance upon the frontier towns of the In-
1787 dians. One hundred and thirty men assembled, from
June 1 different parts of the Cumberland region, and marched, under Colonel James Robertson, to the Tennesse river, piloted by two Chickasaws. David Hays was despatched from Nashville with boats, laden with provisions, destined for the Muscle Shoals. Descending the Cumberland, he was furiously attacked by the Indians, at the mouth of Duck river, and, after some of his men had been killed and others wounded, he returned to Nashville with his boats. Owing to this the horsemen were without food during the greater part of the expedition.

Striking the Tennessee at a point very near the present

town of Florence, Colonel Robertson concealed his men. A well-beaten path was discovered, leading down the banks, and on the south side of the river stood some cabins, in view. Seven men were placed in the canes, to observe the movements of the Indians. A canoe was seen to move to an island, filled with natives, who there plunged into the river and engaged in bathing. They then returned to the south bank, evidently watching for the Americans, of whose approach they had gained some vague intelligence. Captain Rains had set out up the river, with fifteen men, with orders to capture an Indian alive; but, after marching to the mouth of Blue Water, he returned, without having made any discovery. When the shadows of twilight began to darken the wilderness, the troops assembled, in the most noiseless manner, upon the low grounds. The seven men, who had watched all day, plunged into the mighty river early in the night, and swam to the opposite shore, where they discovered that the cabins were unoccupied. Finding a tremendous canoe, with a hole in the bottom of it, they brought it over to the north bank. Stopping the leak with their shirts, Colonel Robertson placed in it all the fire-arms, and forty men; but they soon paddled back, in a sinking condition. The party made no further attempt to cross, until daylight; then fifty men, with the arms and ammunition, went over in the boat, which had now been rendered seaworthy, by a piece of linn-bark. The rest of the party swam their horses over. A heavy rain coming on, as soon as they reached the southern shore they took shelter in the cabins. When the clouds had dispersed, they came forth, and began the march upon a plain path, leading westwardly. At about the distance of five miles they reached cornfields, and, further on, they came to Cold Water Creek, the same which runs by the modern Tuscumbia. The larger portion of the command immediately crossed over, and entered upon the low grounds, among a number of cabins, distant from the river about three hundred yards. The people of the town ran down to their boats.

1787 June

Some, in endeavoring to escape, crossed over the creek, to the east side, where they were shot down by Captain Rains and a few men stationed there to intercept them. Colonel Robert-
1787 son charged to the river, and his troops committed havoc
June on all sides. They killed many of the Indians, who got into the boats, and others who had plunged into the stream. Three French traders, and a white woman, who would not surrender, fled to a boat, and entered it, along with twenty-six Indians. The Americans, with one volley, killed them all. The chief French trader, and six others, were captured. In this town were stores of taffai, and all kinds of Indian merchandise, arms and ammunition. Colonel Robertson brought all the boats up the creek, had a strong guard placed over them, and then burned the town, killing the fowls and hogs. Next morning, giving to Toka, the Chickasaw guide, and his companion, who presently set out for their nation, a liberal supply of merchandise and arms, Colonel Robertson buried the whites, loaded several of the boats with goods, and placed them in charge of three men, who departed down the river with the French prisoners. Robertson marched by land, and near Colbert's Ferry overtook the boats, and they all encamped there together. To their great joy they found that not a soul had received a wound. In the morning the French prisoners, with a squaw, were permitted to depart in a boat. They were liberally supplied with provisions, and their trunks of clothing were given up to them. The sugar and coffee taken at the town were articles of great luxury in those days, and were now equally divided among the troops. Robertson marched across the country to the Cumberland, and thus terminated a fatiguing expedition of nineteen days. The boats with the merchandise proceeded down the Tennessee river in charge of Denton and others. On their way they met a party of French traders destined for the town which they had destroyed, who, in their enthusiasm, fired off their guns in a fit of joy, supposing the voyagers were also traders of their

people. The Americans took advantage of the discharge, and before they could re-load, captured the whole party with all their goods. Arriving in the Cumberland settlements the merchandise was sold at Eaton's Station, and the proceeds divided among the troops.

This expedition produced a short respite from Indian attacks. The savages, however, rallied, and began a warfare fiercer than ever. At length, in the fall, Captain Shannon with a mounted party pursued some Creeks from the Cumberland to the northern bank of the Tennessee, in the present county of Lauderdale, and engaged in a severe fight with Black 1787
Foot and his clan. Victory at length declared for the daring Cumberlanders. The Chief was killed with a number of his warriors. During this fall the settlers engaged in numerous military excursions, upon Duck and Elk rivers, in pursuit of Indians who were retreating from fresh scenes of pillage and blood. The magnificent forests of North Alabama were scoured in all directions by these intrepid Americans.*

At the same time the Creeks were active upon the Georgia frontier. Enraged at the settlement of the Oconee lands, they reduced to ashes the new town of Greensboro, together with the court house, killed many inhabitants on various portions of the frontier, and carried to the nation white captives, negroes, and all sorts of plunder.† Georgia urged the Congress to punish these depredators by sending against them an army; but the national agents were reluctant to enter into another war. However, Secretary Knox did plan upon paper a Southern army, which was not raised, while the Georgians were left to defend themselves to the best of their ability.

Congress, again seeking to interpose by a treaty, appointed Richard Winn, Indian Superintendent, with whom was associated George Mathews, on the part of Georgia, and Andrew Pick-

* Haywood's History of Tennessee, pp. 217-225.
† Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 23-24.

ens, on the part of South Carolina. They opened a negotiation with Colonel McGillivray, but he refused to meet them, unless they first removed the Georgians from the Oconee lands, within the bounds of the old British government. Hostilities, of course, continued, for it was now impossible to comply with the bold demands of McGillivray, who stood upon an enviable and
1788 independent footing. Caressed by Panton, with whom he was a co-partner in an extensive commerce, paid by the Spanish government, obeyed by his own people, and many of the Cherokees and Choctaws, and supplicated by the American Congress, the Chieftain could well afford to dictate arbitrary terms, and continue to advance against the Georgians with hundreds of his prowling warriors.

At length, Governor Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, entered into a correspondence with McGillivray, to endeavor to bring about a peace and the settlement of the boundary, and elicited from him several letters. A portion of one of them runs as follows:

* * * "The third invitation which was sent to us to treat, was from the Georgians only, through their commissioners, at the head of whom was Mr. Habersham, President of the Executive Council, and he proposed the Oconee as the place of meeting. They pledged their sacred honors for the safety and welfare of every Indian that should attend; but I, being so often threatened, and having the worst opinion of the back people, as they are called, did not go, but sent a few Coweta warriors, to report to me on their return. During the conferences of the Oconee, an additional cession was demanded, which was strongly opposed by the Cowetas and others, for which they were violently insulted by a Colonel Clarke, which the commissioners could not prevent. Though their sacred honors were pledged for maintaining good order, several warriors, of different towns, were forcibly seized upon by armed men and conveyed to Augusta, more as prisoners than hostages, to be kept as a pledge that my life, and six more

of the leading men, should be taken. Such conduct convinced the whole nation that it was full time to adopt measures for the general safety."*

About this time, a bloody transaction occurred in the territory of the present county of Conecuh. During the revolutionary war, Colonel McGillivray formed an acquaintance with many conspicuous royalists, and, among others, with Colonel Kirkland, of South Carolina. That person was at Mc- 1788
Gillivray's house, upon the Coosa, in 1788, with his son, his nephew, and several other gentlemen. They were on their way to Pensacola, where they intended to procure passports, and settle in the Spanish province of Louisiana. When they determined to leave his hospitable abode, McGillivray sent his servant to guide them to Pensacola. The presence of this servant would assure the Indians that they were friends, for it was dangerous to travel without the Chieftain's protection. Colonel Kirkland and his party had much silver in their saddle-bags. Arriving within a mile of a large creek, which flows into the Conecuh, they met a pack-horse party, about sunset, going up to the nation. They had been to Pensacola, on a trading expedition. This party consisted of a Hillabee Indian, who had murdered so many men, that he was called Istillicha, the *Man-slayer*—a desperate white man, who had fled from the States for the crime of murder, 1788
and whom, on account of his activity and ferocity, the Indians called the *Cat*—and a blood-thirsty negro, named Bob, the property of Sullivan, a Creek trader of the Hillabees. As soon as Colonel Kirkland and his party were out of sight, these scoundrels formed an encampment. The former went on, crossed the creek, and encamped a short distance from the ford, by the side of the trading path. Placing their saddle-bags under their heads, and reclining their guns against a tree, Kirkland and his party fell asleep. At midnight, the bloody wretches from the

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 19-20.

other side, cautiously came over, and, seizing the guns of Kirkland and his men, killed every one of them, except three negroes, one of whom was the servant of the great Chieftain, as before stated. Dividing the booty, the murderers proceeded to the Creek nation, and, when the horrid affair became known, Colonel McGillivray sent persons in pursuit of them. Cat was arrested; but the others escaped. Milfort was directed to convey the scoundrel to the spot where he had shed the blood of these men, and there to hang him, until he was dead. Upon the journey to that point, Milfort kept him well pinioned, and, every night, secured his legs in temporary stocks, made by cutting notches in pine logs, and clamping them together. Reaching the creek where poor Kirkland and his men were murdered, Cat was suspended to the limb of a tree, the roots of which were still stained with the blood of the unfortunate colonel and his com-
1788 panions. While he was dangling in the air, and kicking in the last agonies, the Frenchman stopped his motions with a pistol ball. Such is the origin of the name "MURDER CREEK."*

* Conversations with Lachlan Durant, and two old traders, named Abram Mordecai and James Moore.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Deep Intrigues of McGillivray.

Occasionally, the Spanish authorities at Pensacola and Mobile were guilty of consummate folly in imposing restrictions upon the Creeks, which frequently offended them, creating a prejudice, which it required the compromising spirit of Panton and the authority and ingenuity of McGillivray to remove. We will here introduce a letter of the Chief, in relation to the Spanish outrages. It was written to Panton and dated at Little Tallase.

"I had written to you, during the great hubbub at Pensacola, by Frank Leslie. I gave, then, a sketch of my idea of the times. The sudden flight of Curnells and Walker ought not to surprise you. The cowardice of the former is proverbial, and Walker fled, being my servant. When Linder and the others were taken up, a little Irishman, living at Tensaw, was in Pensacola. He became frightened, ran out to Walker, and informed him that the governor, in very severe terms, threatened to 1788 seize him, understanding that he was recruiting men for Sept. my service. Upon which, says Curnells, 'I am his interpreter, therefore my chance to escape is small.' The idea of the mines operated so strongly upon their imaginations, that they precipitately fled. This custom, of taking up traders ignorant of the language, laws and customs of Spain, upon frivolous reports, if persevered in, will have effects of the most pernicious tendency. * * * You were lucky that the American stores were broken up by us, upon the Altamaha; or else, after paying you some part of their skins, the whole of the Lower Creeks and part of the Upper Towns would have, in future, gone to them

for supplies, so greatly have the traders been alarmed by the late proceedings at Pensacola. If our friends, the Spaniards, knew how very delicate it was to awaken the suspicions and fears of my people, by harsh measures, they would use none in future. All the traders that have already gone to you, I was positively obliged to *drive down*, or you would not have seen one, for they would rather have gone to St. Marks or St. Johns. I hope all this is now subsided in Pensacola, for I am ashamed and sorry for it. I can see no reason for all this bustle. If the Grand Turk, or any other power, chooses to make me a present, provided they are not at war with Spain, they cannot be reasonably offended with me for accepting it. We are a free people, and mean to continue so. * * * Your letter of the 2d runs in the same strain of advice as your others, advising and exhorting me to be guarded in treating with the Americans, and to reserve our trade wholly to Spain. Governor Miro has instructed me to the same purpose, and which I am fully resolved to do, that is, if I have power to offer and insist upon any stipulations, and so I have answered his Excellency. But I was apprehensive that our late royal orders (concerning our treaty with the Americans), now strictly operating, would embarrass our affairs, if not altogether frustrate our intentions, regarding trade: because, if I comprehend the order right, it is that I must treat of peace, and measures which I have found fault with, to enforce it. It must be, of course, allowed that every power to insist upon an article of that kind, or, indeed, any other, is wholly taken from me—for experience has proved that such matters are only to be attained by the longest fire and point of sword, particularly with the Americans. So, as our affairs now stand, I cannot see a chance of our resisting any conditions which they may choose to dictate to us, and we all can foresee these will be no means favorable to our present condition. In the meantime, I have thrown some obstacles in the way of the present treaty, and have written

1788 Sept.

to Governor Miro, stating these matters in a strong point of view, which he mentions he has referred to the Captain-General Esplelata, of Havana. The letter is dated 28th August, and sent by one Nolen, a genteel young Irishman, whom the governor desired me to forward to Cumberland, with some propositions towards a commercial treaty.

"The present interregnum in the American government, and the commissioners putting off the treaty until the next spring, will afford us all time to look around us. Whitefield's letter will show you the dispositions of the Georgians. The United States commissioners wanted the Assembly to co-operate, in a treaty of peace, and the House would not assemble. The Georgians proclaimed a truce of arms with us, on the 31st July. A Coweta Indian gave me, lately, a wretched, dirty and scandalous scrawl, on foul paper, which he found on a tree, near Flint river. It proved to be a threatening talk to me and my savage subjects; that we (the Creeks) should have no establishment of peace until they (the Georgians) shall have full satisfaction of all their desires, etc. Signed, James Alexander, the 15th August. The chap that signs is Colonel Alexander, who murdered the Cussetas. He and Clarke sway Upper Georgia.

"The impolicy of certain late measures, in tieing us up, is evident. If we could have followed up our blows, those fellows, ere this time, would have been effectually humbled; but we have all our work to do over again.

"I observe, with much satisfaction, that the Governor and Intendant of New Orleans have relinquished their claim of one-fourth of the profits of your trade. Such a pro- 1788 cedure is extremely generous, and, as for my part, I now Sept. repeat to you what I told you more than twelve months ago, when we were talking upon the subject of the trade. I then observed that my nation was much benefited by the honorable and liberal manner in which you supplied them with goods; that, as my attention was wholly occupied about my people, it could

not be in my power to be of any essential service to your business; therefore I could not, and ought not, to claim or hold a share of your industry and risks. * * * In the meantime, I am thankful for the generous credit of necessaries which you offered me, and if I conclude a peace with the Americans, which I expect to do, it will be in my power and ability to settle my account with you. These gentry will probably restore me my property now among them.

"Our Indian news is in the old strain. The Congress, on the one hand, pretends to hold out the white wing to all the Southern nations; on the other, the back settlers of North Carolina are overrunning the Cherokees, driving them into the woods, murdering women and children, as if they wished to extirpate these poor wretches. A party of my warriors lately
1788 went among the Cherokees, collected some of them from
Sept. their hiding places, and attacked a body of the Franklin troops, that were laying all waste before them, and completely routed them. Only three Americans escaped. This is the first check they ever got in that country, and it has revived the drooping spirits of the Cherokees.

"During our present suspense and half truce, I have encouraged a considerable party of the Upper Creek warriors to go to the assistance of these poor devils, for a few more checks will be of great service to their affairs with the Americans. * * * I have instructed Daniel McGillivray concerning the skins he carries down, of the Wewocoe store. This specimen of the troubles of trade has sickened me with it.

"Farewell, my dear sir, may every good attend you.

"Yours most truly,

"ALEXANDER McGILLIVRAY."

"To William Panton, Pensacola."

The perusal of this letter has revealed the motives of its author. McGillivray had offended the Spanish authorities, and

this letter appears to have been written chiefly for their eyes. He affects, also, to be under great obligations to Panton, and of little service to him in their commercial connection, which he pretends to desire shall terminate. This was all done for the purpose of alarming Panton, whom he informs he hopes to be able to pay up, if he should make a favorable treaty with the Americans. The wily Chieftain well knew that both Spain and this distinguished merchant would make *any* sacrifice, before they would permit him to be bought up by the Americans, and that his letter would go to extort from them further favors and emoluments. 1788 Sept.

During the succeeding twelve months, the Federal Government seized upon every occasion to gain the friendship of McGillivray, and to put an end to the excitement in Georgia. H. Osborne and Andrew Pickens were all the time upon the frontiers, representing the General Government, and writing to McGillivray to meet them, with a delegation from the entire Creek nation, at Rock Landing, upon the Oconee, to settle the serious matters in dispute. The Chieftain at length arranged to meet them; but, just before the time of joining them, wrote the following letter to Panton, which he requested should *privately* be exhibited to the Spanish authorities: 1789

"LITTLE TALLASE, 10th August, 1789.

"*Dear Sir*:—There being no pack-horses going to Pensacola for a long time past, I have had no opportunity to answer your last letters. The bearer, on my promising him two kegs of taffai, has undertaken to convey these to you. 1789 Aug. 10

"Galphin, whom I sent to the Rock Landing with a talk, declining the treaty of June last, returned about a fortnight since, and I find that they are resolved upon making a treaty. In order to accommodate us the commissioners are complaisant enough to postpone it till the 15th of next month, and one of them, the late

Chief Justice Osborne, remains all the time at Rock Landing. Pickens returned for the Cherokee treaty; but in this I took measures to disappoint him, for those Chiefs would not meet. In this do you not see my cause of triumph, in bringing these conquerors of the Old and masters of the New World, as they call themselves, to bend and supplicate for peace at the feet of a people whom shortly before they despised and marked out for destruction.*

1789 Aug. 10

"My being all at home, and the grand ceremony of kindling the new fire being just over, I deem it the fittest time to meet these commissioners, and have accordingly made the broken days, of which nine are left, to set out in. In conducting the business of the treaty I will, as you observe, confine it to the fixing of our limits and the acknowledgment of the independence of my nation. This I deem very necessary, as the Americans pretend to a territorial claim and sovereignty over us in virtue of the late peace made with England. This being settled will, in a great measure, be doing away with any cause of future quarrel between us. You well know how customary it is in all treaties with the Indians to agree to a commercial one also, it being absolutely necessary, as it more firmly attaches them to friendships formed; for without stipulations of that sort in a treaty of peace, none will be lasting. However, in this instance I will agree to none, as you have a prospect of being able, by the favor of the Spanish government, to supply this trade on as moderate terms as the Georgians can do. Here let me observe to you, that in the affair of trade the Americans will push hard for it, and it will be for us the most difficult part of the negotiation. But I will risk the breaking off of the conference before I will give in to it. On the whole, if I find that the commissioners insist upon stipulations that will in their operation clash with those already entered into with Spain, I

1789 Aug. 10

* I can well imagine how McGillivray looked when he wrote this strong and eloquent sentence. At that moment he evidently felt his power, and his face must have been expressive of much pride, exultation and scorn.

shall not hesitate to cut short the negotiation, and support the connection which we have with Spain, it being more safe and respectable than the republicans can make one. But at the same time I must insist upon an equal resolution in our friends, the Spaniards, to afford us their decided support by every means in their power, and not under any pretences to repeat their conduct of last summer, in the very moment of vigorous exertion to refuse a further aid, and incense and menace us to make a peace, right or wrong, with the Americans, which, if we had done at the time, we should have been driven into hostility with Spain before this day. I repeat to you what I have frequently done to Governor Miro, that if we are obliged, for want of support, to conclude an unconditional peace with the Americans, it will prove essentially hurtful to the King's interest.

"The ammunition and arms, given us by the King, we have not yet been able to fetch away. It is a good store in hand, to make ourselves firm in treating with the Americans. But I am miserably disappointed in the guns. These, my people, who have ever been accustomed to the best English guns, find the greatest difficulty to use, being entirely unfitted either for the purposes of hunting or war. They may say they have no other; but I pointed out where they may be got, and, if our friends resolve to support us, they might do it with that which is good. 1789 Aug. 10

"A chief of the Coosawdas, named Red Shoes, has lately returned from New Orleans, very well satisfied with the reception and treatment there, and has brought a very good talk with him, and I am equally satisfied that the western horizon is again cleared up, and looks fair, and so it will always continue, if the intention of adopting, as good Spaniards— * * * The restless American is entirely given up, I mean in our neighborhood, between us and the Choctaws. I have observed to Governor Miro, that the reasons he gave me for settling Americans on the west side of the Mississippi are founded in real political princi-

ples, and I truly wish it was in the compass of our power to drive them all from the Cumberland and Ohio, to seek the new asylum, so, being moved out of our way, our warriors would never follow them there. The Coosawda Chief, Red Shoes, being disgusted with Captain Folch, of Fort 'Tombecbe,' resolved to go to Governor Miro, who satisfied him. Between you and I, believe me, that Folch is a madman. If he had spoken to an assembly of the Creek Chiefs, as he did to the Alabamas, challenged them to war, and exhibited to them his swivels, etc., he would have been directly taken at his word. He has been heard to declare that any person who would murder me should be protected in Spanish limits. I do not doubt his evil intention, as he has already given a specimen of it, in having assassins to murder a poor fellow, Lawrence, in the house of my sister, Sehoy Weatherford.* Such men, in official stations, do great injury to their country, at one time or another. This has been proved.

"My friend, the governor, is likewise possessed with the belief that all the damage done the settlers below is done by us; but it is wrong. The whole was a few horses and men taken, and my sister Durant took back the greater portion of these from the Coosawdas. But, at present, the Choctaw is the favorite, and all the outrages which they commit are carefully turned upon us by their partizans. It is notorious that the Choctaws are discontented, and Indians never fail to manifest it, either in taking scalps or committing depredations, which last they do, for it is common for them to kill horses and cattle, etc., on 'Tombecbe,' and this summer even about Mobile. But all this is concealed from Governor Miro. Ben James, who is so

* Lawrence was killed in the house of Sehoy Weatherford, then situated upon the spot where Colonel Charles Hooks formerly lived, and which is now owned by Maurice Connolly. In those days a man and his wife seldom lived in the same house. The husband, Charles Weatherford, lived at his race track, a few miles above, on the Alabama. Lawrence and others were accused of stealing horses from the Spaniards, near Mobile, and Captain Folch sent some equally bad men in pursuit of them. The accused took refuge in Sehoy Weatherford's house. It was surrounded, and Lawrence was killed in the middle of the floor. The others escaped. It is this circumstance to which McGillivray alludes. I derived these facts from Lachlan Durant, who was at the house of his aunt Weatherford when Lawrence was killed. Durant was then a boy.

much confided in, is privately an American agent, and has actually a commission, which he received from Georgia, to act with Davenport, and I know, could he be supported with any necessaries by the Americans, he would throw off the mask. He was even weak enough to address me for leave to open a trade with the States, which I refused him, as well as his application. As a proof of my assertions respecting the Choc- 1789
taws, Folch sent them a talk this summer, menacing Aug. 10
them with a stoppage of their trade, until they made satisfaction. I am ever ready to make allowances for a momentary impression, caused by false reports; but it would be better that they were more guarded against, and not made the grounds of making differences, which might produce a serious effect. The late menaces which were thrown out to me created no great anxiety in my mind, because I could have directly opened the eastern door, where large magazines of goods, etc., have been stored for some time past, awaiting it to be opened, but, for peace and quietness sake, I hope that there will be no occasion now for it—as everything is fallen into a calm, so let it remain; and all that I have said or done was solely to discover and show the means to prevent it, I hope forever, between us.

"The Chickasaw nation are content (whatever Diego Mingo may say to the contrary,) to put up with the loss of that chap's brother and son, for having fallen in bad com- 1789
pany. This will be a warning, and convince them that Aug. 10
they will not be permitted, with impunity, to act or encourage hostile designs against us, in concert with any people.

"Now, let me talk a little upon my private affairs. I wish I could lay my hand on that last letter, to send you, and a very curious, and, to you, not an uninteresting Carolina newspaper, just received; but they are both swallowed up in a multitude of papers. You know how it is with me, in the paper way. The commissioners of the United States say it would give them great pleasure to have a private conversation, previous to our entering

into the business of the treaty, as it would tend to make it go on agreeably, and with more ease. I need not interpret this paragraph to you, when you already know that I have, for some time past, been endeavoring to recover my house and lands, with my family estate, which, to your knowledge, is more than £30,000 sterling, the offer of which is now, I expect, to be pressed upon me. And there has, since I saw you last, arisen considerable conflict in my mind, in revolving these matters over. Here am I, an absolute heavy tax upon you, for years, and, in fact, not only for my private support, but for all the extra expenses of this department; and although, my dear sir, I know that I can still depend upon your generosity, and in your friendship, that you overlook the heavy expense that I put you to, yet you well know how hurtful it is to the feeling heart, to be beholden to subsist on the bounty of private friendship. Thus situated, I ask—I wish you to give me your opinion. On the one hand, I am offered the restoration of my property, of more than one hundred thousand dollars, at the least valuation: and on the other, not wherewithal to pay an interpreter. And I find that letters are still addressed to me, as agent for his Catholic Majesty, when

1789 Aug. 10 I have some time ago renounced the pittance that was allowed, as being a consideration disgraceful to my station. If they want my services, why is not a regular establishment made, as was done by the English, with a competent salary affixed, and allowance for two interpreters, one among the Upper and one among the Lower Towns, for hitherto I have had to maintain them myself; or shall I have recourse to my American estate, to maintain them and myself? I wish you to advise me what I had best do.

"Although I have no solid ground to hope a complete adjustment of our dispute with the Americans, I am resolved to go, if it is only to wipe off the suggestion made to me by our friends, that I am actuated by unjust motives and an unreasonable prejudice against the Americans, as the ground of hostility against

them. But if they, on the other hand, should find a body of people approaching their mines, would not they say, What business have you here? Do not you know that there are grounds from which we draw the chief source of our conveniences and happiness, and we cannot suffer you to participate in, or deprive us of them; and these encroachers should refuse to withdraw, would they not commence and support an inveterate hostility, until they should expel them?

"The fellow, Romain, whom Madame Villar writes of, was a great liar. He came here from the Choctaws, with a quantity of silverware and a few goods, and wanted Nick White to join him in purchasing negroes, to carry and sell in New Orleans. After roving about for some time, he had a difficulty with Milfort,* who threatened to send him, in irons, to New Orleans, which terrified him, apparently, and he went off to the Creek town, Chehaw, and, from thence, either to Detroit or to the States. 1789 Aug. 10

"A copy of this letter you can send to the **** Miro, as I intended the former one.

"I expect our treaty will be over by the middle of September. If we return safe, expect a visit early in October, from,

"Dear sir, yours most truly,

"ALEXANDER McGILLIVRAY."

"To William Panton, Pensacola."

William Panton was under great obligations to McGillivray, for the power of the Chieftain had enriched him beyond measure. He now had large trading establishments at all the prominent posts of Florida. His chief store was at Pensacola. It usually contained a stock of goods to the value of fifty thousand dollars, and he employed fifteen clerks to attend to it. Here he had extensive "skin-houses," where his valuable skins and rich furs were assorted, and packed up, for foreign

* The French officer who lived so long in the nation.

markets. Besides his stores at St. Johns, St. Marks, St. Augustine, Pensacola and Mobile, he had trading establishments at the Chickasaw Bluff, upon the Mississippi. It is said that fifteen schooners, owned by himself, were constantly employed by him, in his business. How alarming to him, then, was the preceding letter of McGillivray, and how anxious was he that no treaty should be made with the Americans, that would affect his extensive commerce. McGillivray, on the other hand, was in a situation the most favorable to obtain honors and emoluments, and he could well threaten the Spaniards with "opening the eastern door"—the Americans with support from the King of Spain—and alarm Panton with the idea of a new commercial treaty. This able and ingenious Indian, Scotchman or Frenchman, (for who can tell which blood most influenced his disposition), kept Panton, Spain and the United States in a
1789 state of feverish excitement, while Georgia was horribly harassed, and made to feel his malignant resentments, for the banishment of his father and the confiscation of his patrimony.

Washington was now President. He associated with Gen. Pickens, David Humphreys, Cyrus Griffin and Benjamin Lincoln, as commissioners, to treat with McGillivray. These three gentlemen, sailing from New York, arrived at Savan-
Sept. 10 nah, with abundant provisions to feed the Indians, while at the treaty ground. In a few days, they reached Rock Landing, upon the Oconee, where McGillivray, at the head of two thousand warriors, had been encamped for more than a week, on the western bank of the river. The commissioners pitched their camp on the eastern bank. The first two days were spent in private conferences with McGillivray, much to the satisfaction of the commissioners, for they were treated by him with great courtesy and politeness. The latter also visited most of the Chiefs, who all appeared friendly, and glad to make
1789 their acquaintance. The commissioners crossed the
Sept. 24 river, to the western side, and, after partaking of the

black drink, were conducted, by the Chiefs, with great pomp and ceremony, to the place of council. One of them made a speech to the Indians, promising much liberality on the part of the United States, which was well received. Impressed with the favorable turn of things, as they supposed, they immediately read to the Chiefs a copy of the treaty, which they had drawn up. It stipulated that the boundary made at Augusta, Shoulderbone and Galphinton should remain; that the United States would guarantee the territory, west of that boundary, forever to the Creeks; that a free trade should be established with the Indians, from ports upon the Altamaha, through which the Indians could import and export, upon the same terms as the citizens of the United States. That all negroes, horses, goods and American citizens, taken by the Indians, should be restored.

The commissioners then retired to their encampments, and that night McGillivray and his Chiefs went into a grand private council. The next morning the Chieftain informed the commissioners, by letter, that the terms they proposed were not satisfactory, and that the Indians had resolved to break up and go home. He promised to meet them again at some future time, and to keep his warriors from acts of hostility during the ensuing winter. The commissioners were astounded, for they had imagined that everything was in a proper train. But the terms they proposed were unaccompanied with a solitary equivalent, and exhibited an extremely niggardly spirit, from which the high-minded Andrew Pickens wholly dissented. He knew that a treaty could not be made without liberal compensation for the valuable lands which the Georgians were then cultivating. The federal powers also knew this, and had instructed the commissioners to pay the Creeks a fair equivalent for this territory. They now sought every means to induce McGillivray to remain, and begged him to state his grounds of objection to the draft of the treaty. But he broke up his encampment and retreated to the Ockmulgee, from which place he addressed the commissioners the following letter:

1789 Sept.

"OCKMULGEE RIVER, 27th Sept., 1789.

"*Gentlemen*:—I am favored with your letter of yesterday, by Weatherford. I beg to assure you that my retreat from my former camp on the Oconee was entirely owing to the want of food for our horses, and at the earnest entreaty of our Chiefs. Colonel Humphreys and myself at different interviews entered deeply and minutely into the subject of the contest between our nation and the State of Georgia. I observed to him that I expected ample and full justice should be given us in restoring to us the encroachments we complained of, in which the Oconee lands are included; but finding that there was no such intention, and that a restitution of territory and hunting grounds was not to be the basis of a treaty between us, I resolved to return to the nation, deferring the matter in full peace till next spring. Many of the principals have gone hunting—nothing further can be done. I am very unwell, and cannot return. We sincerely desire a peace, but cannot sacrifice much to obtain it. As for a statement of our disputes, the honorable Congress has long since been in possession of and has declared that they will decide on them on the principles of justice and humanity. 'Tis that we expect.

"I have the honor to be, etc.,

"ALEXANDER McGILLIVRAY."

"To the HON. COMMISSIONERS, Rock Landing."

The commissioners repaired to Augusta with their fingers in their mouths. They drew up a series of questions for Governor Walton, of Georgia, who answered them. He stated that the lands between the mountains and the old Ogechee line, north of the Oconee, were equally the property of the Creeks and Cherokees; that before the revolution the lands in the territory of Wilkes county were ceded by these tribes to Georgia; that during the war the province had been attacked by these Indians, and at the close of it they were respectively called upon to make some satisfaction;

that in the spring of 1783 the Cherokees came to Augusta and signed a treaty, and the Lower Creeks came in the autumn and performed the same act, thus ceding to Georgia their respective rights to lands specified in these treaties. These treaties were laid before the legislature. These lands were surveyed, sold, settled and cultivated in peace; that the Indians made these cessions voluntarily, and received presents, in return, of value, and that, at the treaty of Galphinton, no unworthy use was made of the force which was sent upon the ground. 1789 Nov.

Governor Walton appended to this statement, a list of the Georgians who had been killed, and of the property stolen, during the recent hostilities, which was alarming in magnitude.*

The first impulse of President Washington, upon the return of the commissioners to New York, was to wage a war of invasion against the Creeks and compel them to make a peace, and relinquish the Oconee lands. He was influenced to this course, against his judgment, by the urgent demands of the Georgia delegation in Congress. But when he found, from an estimate, that the expenses of the war would amount to fifteen millions of dollars, he abandoned the project, believing that the General Government could not sustain such an expense, while it was still struggling with that incurred by a long war with England. He believed that the difficulties could yet be settled by negotiation, if he could once get Colonel McGillivray into his presence. Colonel Marinus Willett, a native of Long Island, New York, and a distinguished officer in the Canadian war, and the American revolution, was selected by Washington, as a secret agent, to visit the Creek nation, by a circuitous route, and to endeavor to return, with McGillivray, to the seat of the Federal Government. He was strictly enjoined to keep his mission a profound secret from every one, except General Pickens, to whom he bore a letter. Colonel Willett sailed from New York, 1789

* American State Papers, Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 65-78.

with a servant and two horses, and, after a passage of fourteen days, arrived in Charleston. Leaving this place, he had not proceeded far, before the servant, manifesting much fear, was ordered back to New York, while a German, of doubtful character, supplied his place. Colonel Willett reached the residence of General Andrew Pickens, on the Seneca river. General Pickens was a gentleman who had been engaged extensively, as we have already seen, in negotiations with the Indians, and one in whom Washington reposed great confidence. Obtaining from General Pickens an Indian guide for the Cherokee country, and purchasing two additional horses, he sat out to complete his lonely and difficult mission, after having enjoyed for several days the hospitality and kindness of that distinguished revolutionary character. Pursuing his journey leisurely, the Cherokee town of Santee, containing eighteen houses, and surrounded by mountains, was first reached. The route lay through Little Chote, and the town of Huntowekee, which embraced both sides of a branch of the Coosa, and contained about fifty houses. Along the banks of the Etowah, Colonel Willett entered Newcoheta, or Long Swamp, where he met Mr. Thomas Gogg, to whom he bore a letter from General Pickens. This gentleman accompanied him to Pine Log, where he had long resided, as a trader among the Cherokees, and introduced him to Yellow Bird, the Chief, who not only received him with unaffected hospitality, but invited him to witness the novel and exciting game of the ball play. On the banks of the river, they reached Eustenaree, a city of refuge, to which the guilty were wont to fly and be safe from punishment. No blood could be shed within the bounds of its sacred corporation. Here resided two Indian Chiefs, Badger and Jobberson, who gave him a warm reception, induced by the letters of General Pickens.

1790 Apr. 13

1790 Apr. 19

The next morning Jobberson and the interpreter, Mr. Carey, having agreed to accompany him to the Creek nation, the party all proceeded to Hihote, the last of

1790 April 28

the Cherokee towns in this direction, crossed the Etowah in a canoe, swam the horses, and ascended the Pumpkin Posh mountain, which is nearly a day's travel from the river. The wealthy Mr. Scott, a European, who had long been a trader in the nation, resided in the first Creek settlement, which they now entered. Here, learning that McGillivray was then on a visit to Ocfuske, on the Tallapoosa river, Colonel Willett determined to join him at that place. Since he had left the borders of South Carolina, more than ten days had been consumed in his solitary march over a wilderness country, which was the constant scene of murder and robbery. The expenses of the expedition, chiefly for provender, were paid for in ribbons and paints. At the house of Mr. Graison, in the Hillabees, the secret agent had the good fortune to meet Colonel McGillivray. He describes him as a "man of an open, generous mind, with a good judgment and very tenacious memory." Delivering the important letter of General Washington, two days were passed in conversation with this distinguished Indian personage, and here Colonel Willett, for the first time, witnessed the religious ceremony of the black drink. The party, accompanied by Colonel McGillivray and his servant, took leave of the hospitable mansion of Graison, and, after ten miles travel, approached the Fish Pond Town, where, in the evening, they were honored with a dance by the inhabitants. They soon arrived at the Hickory Ground, a large town, and one of the residences of Colonel McGillivray. Here, it was understood that the Indians of Coosawda were engaged in a grand busking for mulberries.

April 30

1790 May 3

May 4

It was not long before Colonel McGillivray sent out ten broken days, for the Chiefs of the Lower Towns to meet at Ositchy to consult on public business; and, during this time, Colonel Willett amused himself in riding about the vicinity. He visited the old French fort, "Toulouse," the remains of which were scarcely visible. He tarried several days at Little Tallase,

the birthplace of McGillivray, which was also called the "Apple Grove," situated on the east bank of the Coosa, five miles above the Hickory Ground, a most delightful and well improved place. Here he fared sumptuously on fish, venison, strawberries and mulberries. On the 12th of May the agent and McGillivray, with their servants, set out eastwardly, and arrived at the great town of Tookabatcha at four o'clock in the evening, and passed the night with Mr. Curnells, the interpreter. Crossing the Tallapoosa, in company with their host, they went by the house of the Tallase King, and saw a Scotchman, named James McQueen, who had been a trader for sixty years, in the nation. The next day, they passed the residence of the Hollowing King, and reached Coweta, upon the Chattahoochie river, where Mr. Deresau, the interpreter, sheltered them for the night. Many of this numerous population were engaged in drinking taffai, and the night was spent in much noise and carousal. Passing down to Ositchy the next morning, these distinguished gentlemen remained there, awaiting the arrival of the Chiefs, when, at 11 o'clock a. m., Colonel Willett, the secret agent, delivered to the assembled wisdom of the Creek confederacy an address, the substance of which was, that he had been sent an immense distance by our Great Chief, George Washington, to invite them to his council-house,

1790 May 17 at New York, where he, with his own hand, wished to sign, with Colonel McGillivray, a treaty of peace and alliance. He stated to them that the United States wanted none of their lands, and that Washington would take effectual measures to secure their territory to them, according to the treaty which he and Colonel McGillivray would conclude; that the President was ready to promote their trade, by affording them means to procure goods in a cheap and easy manner, and intended to perform other acts which would promote the welfare and happiness of the Creek nation. Colonel Willett concluded his speech by earnestly inviting them to embrace these

terms, and to select such Chiefs as they chose to accompany Colonel McGillivray to the great council-house of New York, where Washington would make a treaty with their Great Chief "as strong as the hills and lasting as the rivers."

Retiring for an hour from the vast assembly, whom he left to deliberate upon his overtures, Colonel Willett was again called in, when he received the following speech from the Hollowing King, a fine-looking man and great orator:

"We are glad to see you. You have come a great way, and, as soon as we fixed our eyes upon you, we were made glad. We are poor, and have not the knowledge of the white people. We were invited to the treaty at the Rock Landing. We went there. Nothing was done. We were disappointed, and came back with sorrow. The road to your great council-house is long, and the weather is hot; but our beloved Chief shall go with you, and such others as we may appoint. We will agree to all things which our beloved Chief shall do. We will count the time he is away, and, when he comes back, we shall be glad to see him with a treaty that shall be 'as strong as the hills and lasting as the rivers.' May you be preserved from every evil." 1790 May 17

Having negotiated this business to the mutual satisfaction of himself and the warriors, Colonel Willett returned to Coweta that evening, and the next morning assumed the retrograde march for Tookabatcha, where he arrived on the 21st, partook of the ceremony of the black drink, and received a speech from the venerable White Lieutenant, as the voice of the Upper Creeks, breathing sentiments similar to those delivered at Ositchy. Late in the evening of the next day McGillivray and the agent arrived at the Hickory Ground. From this place Colonel Willett despatched a letter to the Secretary of War, by the hands of Mr. Carey, the Cherokee interpreter.

Finally, Colonel McGillivray, with his nephew and two servants, accompanied by the secret agent, set out from Little Tal-

lase for New York. They were all mounted on horse-
1790 back, and accompanied by several pack-horses. Taking
June 1 a northeastern direction through the wilderness, they arrived at the Stone Mountain, in the present State of Georgia, and were there joined by the Coweta and Cusseta Chiefs. Reaching the house of General Pickens, the party received the warmest welcome, and, after being joined by the Tallase King, Chinnobe, the "great Natchez warrior," and other Chiefs, the expedition again set out, with three wagons, in which rode twenty-six warriors, while four were on horseback. Colonel McGillivray and suit were mounted on horses, and the agent rode in a sulky. At Guildford C. H., North Carolina, a truly affecting scene occurred. Some years before this the Creeks had killed a man named Brown, and captured his wife and children,
June whom they brought to the nation. Colonel McGillivray, moved at their unfortunate situation, redeemed them from slavery by paying the price of their ransom, as he had done many others, and maintained them at his house over a year. Mrs. Brown, hearing of the arrival of Colonel McGillivray, rushed through the large assembly at the court house, and, with a flood of tears, almost overpowered him with expressions of admiration of his character, and gratitude for his preservation of her life, and that of her children, while alone in a land of savages. The party passed through Richmond and Fredericksburg, where they were treated with much kindness, while Colonel McGillivray
1790 was received by the most prominent citizens with distin-
July 17 guished consideration. Arriving at Philadelphia, Colonel Willett and his party were there entertained, for three days, in a manner which could not fail to please. Entering a sloop at Elizabethtown Point, they landed in New York, where the Tammany Society, in the full dress of their order, received them in splendor, marched them up Wall street by the Federal Hall, where Congress was then in session, and next to the house of the President, to whom they were introduced with much pomp

and ceremony. Then, visiting the Minister of War and Governor Clinton, a sumptuous and elegant entertainment at the City Tavern finished the day.*

When it became known that McGillivray had departed for New York, great excitement arose in Florida and Louisiana. A correspondence began with the Captain-General at Havana, and ending by his despatching from East Florida an agent with a large sum of money to New York, ostensibly to buy flour, but really to embarrass the negotiations with the Creeks. Washington, apprised of the presence of this officer, had his movements so closely observed, that the object of his mission was defeated.

Washington, communicating with the Senate, advised that the negotiations with McGillivray should be conducted informally, as all the overtures hitherto offered by the commissioners had been rejected. Embarrassments existed, because the commerce of the Creeks was in the hands of a British company, who made their importations from England into 1790
Spanish ports. It was necessary that it should be diverted into American channels; but McGillivray's treaty, at Pensacola, in 1784, could not be disregarded, without a great breach of faith and morals on his part.

But finding, from the informal intercourse with them, that McGillivray and the Chiefs were ready to treat, upon advantageous terms, Henry Knox was appointed to negotiate with them, and a treaty was concluded by him, on the Aug. 7
part of the United States, and, on the other side, by McGillivray and the delegation, representing the whole Creek nation. It stipulated that a permanent peace should be established between the Creeks and the citizens of the United States; that the Creeks and Seminoles should be under the protection, solely, of the American government, and that they should not make treaties with any State, or the individuals of any State; that they should surrender, at Rock Landing, white prisoners

* A Narrative of the Military Actions of Colonel Marinus Willett, pp. 95-113.

and negroes, taken during the recent hostilities, in default of which the Governor of Georgia was authorized to send persons in the nation to claim and demand them; that the boundary line between the Creeks and Georgia was to be that claimed by the latter in the treaties which she had made at Augusta and Shoulderbone.

Thus did Alexander McGillivray at last surrender the Oconee lands, about which so much blood had been shed, and so much negotiation wasted. And for what? For fifteen hundred dollars, to be paid annually to the Creek nation, with also some goods, to be distributed among the Indians, which were then in the warehouses of Augusta. The Federal Government also guaranteed to them their territory free from future encroachments.*

Did the proud, the powerful, the shrewd Alexander McGillivray surrender these valuable lands for the pitiful amount already mentioned? Ah!—but the reader must not be too fast. There was a *secret* treaty between him and Washington, which now for the first time, comes to light in history. It provided that,

1790 after two years from date, the commerce of the Creek nation should be carried on through the ports of the United States, and, in the meantime, through the present channels; that the Chiefs of the Ocfuskees, Tookabatchas Tallases, Cowetas, Cussetas, and the Seminole nation, should be paid annually, by the United States, one hundred dollars each, and be furnished with handsome medals; that Alexander McGillivray should be constituted agent of the United States, WITH THE RANK OF BRIGADIER GENERAL, AND THE PAY OF TWELVE HUNDRED DOLLARS PER ANNUM; that the United States should feed, clothe and educate Creek youth at the North, not exceeding four at one time.

Thus Colonel McGillivray secured to himself new honors, and a good salary, by a secret treaty, which left him in a position to return home and intrigue with Spain. Even in the

* American State Papers, Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 81-82.

presence of Washington, and his able cabinet, the Chieftain pushed hard for favorable terms, and received them.*

Receiving half of his salary in advance, McGillivray left New York, with the Chiefs, for the bright waters of the Alabama. A veil of silence covers the acts of the august Chieftain for several months, and we hear nothing more of him, until he was visited, in the nation, by Lieutenant Heth, who bore with him two thousand nine hundred dollars in gold, the balance due to the Chiefs, agreeably to the treaty. He brought this money, on pack-horses, from New York around by Virginia and East Tennessee. Heth was instructed to remain with McGillivray a long time, and endeavor to get him to carry out the provisions of the treaty, in regard to the restoration of prisoners and negroes, and the running of the line between the Creeks and Georgians.

1780 Aug. 18

* I am indebted to Colonel John A. Campbell, an eminent lawyer of Mobile, and to Mr. Alfred Hennen, a distinguished member of the New Orleans bar, for placing in my hands papers filed in the District Court of Louisiana, containing the letters of Alex. McGillivray to Panton, dated at Little Tallase, September 20, 1788, and August 10, 1789, which have been copied in this History, at length. I also found among this file the "secret treaty," written upon sheep-skin, and signed by Washington, Knox, McGillivray and the Chiefs. A celebrated law-suit brought in this court by Johnson and other claimants, under the heirs of McGillivray vs. the heirs of Panton, was the means of the preservation of these important historical papers.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The First Yazoo Sale—Bowles, the Freebooter.

Georgia claimed, under a charter of Charles II., all the territory, from the Savannah to the Mississippi river, lying between 31° and 35°. She had, as early as February, 1785, established by legislative enactment, the county of Bourbon, embracing the settlements along the Mississippi, above and below Natchez; but the occupation of this country by the Spanish government prevented its occupation and settlement.

1789 Dec.

Governor Telfair approved an act of the General Assembly, at Savannah, which authorized a conditional sale of the larger portion of this wild domain, for the purpose of peopling it, and enriching the treasury of the State. For a little upwards of sixty thousand dollars, five millions of acres, now embracing the territory of the middle counties of Mississippi, were sold to a "South Carolina Yazoo Company."

Seven millions of acres now embracing the territory of the northern counties of Mississippi, were sold to the "Virginia Yazoo Company," for a little over ninety-three thousand dollars.

Three million, five hundred thousand acres, now embracing the territory of the northern counties of Alabama, were sold for something over forty-six thousand dollars to the "Tennessee Company."

Spain claimed much of this territory, by conquests made towards the close of the revolutionary war, as we have already seen, and that power and the United States were now negotiating to settle the boundaries; but Georgia

1789 Dec.

took the matter into her own hands, as she has ever done with whatever concerned her, and as she always will do, as long as her soil is inhabited by its present enterprising, brave and restless population.

Washington, becoming alarmed at the collision which he supposed would take place between the Federal Government, Georgia, Spain and the Indians, in consequence of this extraordinary sale of territory, issued a proclamation against the whole enterprise. But the "Tennessee Company" heeded him not. Its head and front, Zachariah Coxe, with a number of his friends, floated down on flat-boats from East Tennessee to the Muscle Shoals. Here, upon an island, they built a block-house, and other works of defence, intending to sell out much of the best lands, north and south of the river. But the Cherokees, under the Chief, Class, probably set forward by Governor Blount, of Tennessee, who was the active agent of Washington, advanced upon this establishment, drove Coxe and his adherents out of the block-house, and consumed it by fire. Other efforts were afterwards made to colonize this region; but were defeated by the opposition of the Chickasaws, the Cherokees and the Federal Government.*

1790 Aug. 25

1791 May

The "South Carolina Yazoo Company" also attempted to colonize their lands, and for that purpose constituted Dr. James O'Fallan their agent-general, who went to Kentucky, raised troops, and issued commissions, in an illegal manner, with the design of taking the Natchez country from the Spaniards, and peopling the territory. At the same time, Edmund Phelan, the sub-agent of the company, was piloted through the Creek and Choctaw country to Natchez by an old Indian countryman, named Thomas Basket, who was to have been their interpreter. But Washington caused O'Fallan to be arrested, and ordered General St. Clair to put down, by

1790

* Haywood's History of Tennessee, pp. 249-256. Indian Affairs, vol. 1, p. 115.

military force, all attempts to colonize the Natchez country, against which the Spanish Minister had vehemently remonstrated. Great excitement existed; Washington was much embarrassed and much abused.

The "Virginia Yazoo Company" made no attempts to settle the lands which they had purchased.

These companies all failed to meet the payments due Georgia for these lands, and that State, by subsequent enactments, rescinded the whole bargain, having in the meantime withheld grants from the purchasers, which was a condition of sale, until the debt was fully discharged. A great deal of recrimination and abuse passed between the authorities of Georgia and these companies, and the people who had innocently suffered in fitting out private enterprises to settle the new region. So ended the *first* Yazoo sale by the legislature of Georgia. An account of another, and a more important and extensive one, will hereafter be introduced.*

A Quaker of Pennsylvania, named Andrew Ellicott, appointed by the Federal Government to run the line between the Creeks and Georgians, arrived at Rock Landing, upon the Oconee, in company with James Seagrove, an Irishman, who was appointed Superintendent of the Creek nation.

1791 May

At this place the government erected a strong fort, and threw into it a large garrison. McGillivray was constantly urged from this point, to cause the Indians to consent to the running of the boundary line, and to assist in its execution; but the Chieftain delayed, and threw all the blame upon the hostile efforts of an extraordinary man, who must now be introduced to the reader.

William Augustus Bowles, a native of Maryland, at the age of fourteen, entered the British army, as a foot soldier, and, after a year's service against his countrymen, sailed with a British regiment to Jamaica, in 1777, as an ensign, and from thence

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 116-117. Public Lands, vol. 1, pp. 120-121-163.

went to Pensacola. Here he was deprived of his rank, for insubordination. Disgusted with military discipline, and fond of a roving life, he contemptuously flung his uniform into the sea, and left Pensacola in company with some Creeks. He lived upon the Tallapoosa for several years, and acquired the Muscogee language to great perfection. He visited the Lower Towns, and there married the daughter of a Chief. Hls elegant and commanding form, fine address, beautiful countenance of varied expressions, his exalted genius, daring and intrepidity, all connected with a mind wholly debased and unprincipled, eminently fitted him to sway the bad Indians and worse traders among whom he lived.

Bowles led a party of Creeks to Pensacola, in 1781, and assisted General Campbell to defend that place from the attacks of Don Galvez. He went to New York, joined a company of comedians, and sailed to New Providence, of the Bahamas. Here he alternately acted upon the stage, and painted portraits, for which he had taste and genius. Lord Dunmore was then the Governor of the Bahamas. Panton, Leslie & Co., despatched to John Forbes, one of their associates, living at New Providence, a schooner, in which were six thousand piastres. Lord Dunmore seized upon this money, as contraband property. Panton instituted a complaint to the British Court, when the money was ordered to be returned. Dunmore ever afterwards hated Panton and his co-partners. He selected Bowles as an agent, to establish a commercial house upon the Chattahoochie, which would check the prosperous commerce of these merchants. Bowles shortly appeared among the Lower Creeks, and threw the weight of his influence against Panton, and against McGillivray and the Georgians, all of whom he despised. But Milfort was sent to the Chattahoochie, with an order for Bowles to leave the nation in twenty-four hours, on penalty of losing his ears. He fled to New Providence, and from thence was sent to England, by Dunmore, in company with a delegation of Creeks,

Seminoles and Cherokees, to enlist the English government in the cause of these nations by repelling American aggression. The British Court treated him with kindness, and heaped upon him valuable presents. He soon returned to New Providence, and began a piratical war upon the coasting vessels of Panton, having taught his warriors to navigate the Gulf. He captured some of these vessels, laden with arms and ammunition, ran them up in bayous, where he and an abandoned set of white men from the prisons of London, together with hosts of savages, engaged in protracted debaucheries, and day and night made the woods echo with horrid oaths and panther screams. Panton's boxes of merchandise were torn open, distributed among the Indians, and carried to all parts of the nation. Such piratical successes soon gave him popularity in the Creek country.* He now boldly advanced to the heart of it, denouncing General McGillivray as a traitor to his people, and sought to overthrow him and
1791 place himself in power. He had many bad men of influence with the Indians, who endeavored to stir up rebellion. The most conspicuous of these were Willbanks, a native of New York and a refugee tory, and a half-breed Cherokee named Moses Price. His emissaries contended that neither the Americans nor Spaniards had any right to control the Indians, for that England had not ceded any of their country to either power, and that General McGillivray had endeavored to sell his people, first to Spain and next to the Federal Government. Indeed, at this period McGillivray, for the first time in his life, began to lose the confidence of many of the Chiefs and common Indians, who were indignant at the provisions of the New York treaty, which they openly disavowed. The Spanish authorities were angry with him, and Panton was deceived by him. Bowles even bearded him in his den. All this time the Federal Government was annoying him with urgent solicitations to comply with

* Du Lac's Voyage dans les deaux Louisianes, in 1801, 1802, 1803, pp. 458–460. Milfort's Sejourn dans le nation Creek, pp. 116-124.

the treaty. Truly one might suppose that General McGillivray was an unhappy man, and was soon to fall from his high position. At length he departed for New Orleans, when Bowles and his emissaries exultingly declared that he had fled, never again to show his face upon the Coosa. 1791 Nov.

He went frequently to New Orleans, Mobile and Pensacola during the winter, and was treated with great attention by the Spanish authorities, notwithstanding the treaty of New York. The *secret* one, of course they knew nothing of, nor did Panton. He professed to be sick of his trip to New York, and requested not to be given the title of General. Here he arranged for the capture of Bowles, and soon the freebooter was brought to New Orleans in chains, and from thence sent to Madrid, in Spain, where we must leave him for the present.

It was not long before measures were adopted to expel the American inhabitants, principally traders, from the Creek nation. Governor Carondelet decreed that they were all to take the Spanish oath of allegiance, and "fight for the King from the head waters of the Alabama to the sea." James Leonard, who had recently arrived at Tensaw, refusing to take the oath, was stripped of his property, and, while arrangements were making to send him to Moro Castle, in Havana, he made his escape to Rock Landing, upon the distant Oconee. 1792 June

McGillivray returned to the banks of the Coosa, still in power and authority. It was suspected that he had intrigued with the Spanish authorities. Not long afterwards, one Captain Don Pedro Oliver, who was a Frenchman, but wore the Spanish military uniform, made his appearance in the nation, and was stationed at the Hickory Ground, upon the Coosa. His pay was one hundred dollars a month, and he was accompanied by an interpreter named Antonio. These things looked very suspicious to the federal agents upon the Oconee. It was believed by many that General McGillivray did not openly act against the American government, but that he was doing it secretly, through Captain Oli-

ver and others. It was certain that, upon the representations of Carondelet to the Court of Spain, respecting the treaty
1792 of New York, and the remonstrances of Panton to that power, in regard to its neglect of the Chieftain, his Catholic Majesty made McGillivray Superintendent General of the Creek nation, with an annual salary of two thousand dollars! In July, to this amount was added a salary of fifteen hundred dollars by the same power.* He was, at this time, the agent of Spain, with a salary of thirty-five hundred dollars; the agent of the United States, with a salary of twelve hundred dollars; the co-partner of Panton, and the Emperor of the Creek and Seminole nations. He was almost unrivalled in intrigue, and we doubt if Alabama has ever produced, or ever will produce, a man of greater ability.† We wish we could defend his conduct with a clear conscience, but we cannot. It was eminent for treachery, intrigue and selfish aggrandizement. However he may have been wronged by the Americans, he ought to have acted in good faith with them, after he had made the treaty with Washington. But McGillivray was like many ambitious and unscrupulous Americans of our day, who view politics as a trade. But, notwithstanding he displayed eminent selfishness in his relation towards these rival powers, he was generous to the distressed, whom he always sheltered and fed, and protected from the brutalities of his red brethren. He had many noble traits, and not the least of which was his unbounded hospitality to friends and foes.

During the summer and fall of 1792, General McGillivray secretly caused large meetings to be held over the Creek and Cherokee nations, at which he appeared to be only a visitor, while Panton and Captain Oliver, in speeches, forbid the running of the line between them and the Georgians, in the name of the King of Spain, and decreed that no American trader should enter the nation. Governor Carondelet was also active in

* Papers filed in the District Court of Louisiana.

† I have only introduced a few of McGillivray's letters, to show the order of his mind. The American State Papers contain many of his ablest letters, addressed to Congress and to the Secretary of War.

endeavoring to defeat the provisions of the New York treaty. He sent to the Creek nation a large body of bloody Shawnees, armed and equipped, who took up their abode at Souvanoga, upon the Tallapoosa. McGillivray moved his negroes to Little river, gave up his house to Captain Oliver, whom he had so well established in the affections of his people, and was gone a long time to New Orleans and Pensacola. The Spaniards not only had in view the prevention of the advancement of the Americans on the east, but determined to oppose the settlements upon the Mississippi, to effect all of which they attempted to unite the four nations of Indians on their side. They strengthened all their forts, and authorized Captain John Linder, of Tensaw, and other active partisans, to raise volunteers. Carondelet gave Richard Finnelson and Joseph Durque passports to go through the Spanish posts to the Cherokee nation as emissaries to incite those Indians to make war upon the Cumberland people.

John Watts, a half-breed of Willstown, was also an active agent. There was, suddenly, great excitement produced over the whole Indian country. One Chief declared at Willstown* that he had taken the lives of three hundred Americans, but that now he intended to "drink his fill of blood." The Cumberland people fell victims on all sides, while the settlers upon the frontiers of Georgia shared the same fate. During all this time McGillivray and the Federal authorities at Rock Landing were engaged in fruitless correspondence—the former professing his willingness to carry out the provisions of the New York treaty, but never doing it. Everything conspired to defeat the hopes of Washington. Even Captain Oliver had become intimate with Willbanks and the rest of the adherents of Bowles, and used them against the American interests. McGillivray also carried on a correspondence with the Secretary of War, in which he displayed his usual powers of diplomacy.† 1792

* Willstown, named for a half-breed Chief called Red Head Will, whose father was a British officer, was an important Cherokee village. The grave of Red Head Will is within two hundred yards of the residence of Jesse G. Beeson, who owns the entire site of Willstown, situated in Little Will's Valley, DeKalb county, Alabama.

† Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 305-315-288-290-432.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Singular Inhabitants of Alabama.

The territory now called Alabama was but sparsely settled in 1792, except by the natives, and they occupied only some of the principal water-courses. Fort Charlotte, at Mobile, 1792 was garrisoned with Spanish troops. The old French "Tombecbe," which, in Spanish times, was called Fort Confederation, contained also a Spanish garrison. The English trading post, near the present Stockton, then called Tensaw, was repaired and occupied. A Spanish garrison occupied Fort St. Stephens, which was built upon a bluff on the Tombigby, called by the Choctaws, Hobuckintopa. A considerable Spanish garrison held the fortress at Pensacola. West Florida and Louisiana were governed by the Captain-General at Havana. The next person in authority was the Governor of Louisiana, to whom all the commandants of the posts in Alabama and Mississippi were subordinate. The whole territory of Alabama was then 1792 an immense wilderness, with American trading-posts on the east upon the Oconee, and those of Spain upon the south and west, while it was uninhabited by whites as far as the distant Cumberland settlements on the north.

The most populous settlement, with the exception of Mobile, was upon the Tensaw river and lake of that name. It was composed of both whigs and royalists. The latter had been driven from Georgia and the Carolinas. Added to these, were men, *sui generis*, appropriately called old Indian countrymen, who had spent much of their lives in Indian commerce. The most conspicuous and wealthy inhabitant of this neighborhood 1792 was Captain John Linder, a native of the Canton of

Berne, in Switzerland. He resided many years in Charleston, as a British engineer and surveyor. There General McGillivray became acquainted with him, and, during the revolution, assisted in bringing here his family and large negro property.

In February, 1791, a party of emigrants, consisting of Colonel Thomas Kimbil, John Barnett, Robert Sheffield, Barton Hannon, and ——— Mounger, with a wife and children, three of whom were grown, set out from Georgia for the Tombigby. Entering the Creek nation, one of the children was injured by a fall, which compelled the elder Mounger and his younger family to stop upon the trail. They were afterwards robbed by the Indians of everything they possessed, and had to make their way back to Georgia on foot. The three young Moungers, and the other emigrants, continued to the Tensaw, passing the creeks and rivers upon rafts. They found upon their arrival at Tensaw, the Halls, Byrnes, Mims, Kilcreas, Steadhams, Easlies, Linders and others. Crossing the Alabama and Tombigby upon rafts, they found residing below McIntosh Bluff, the Bates, Lawrences and Powells. Above there, on the Tombigby, they discovered the Danleys, Wheets, Johnsons, McGrews, Hockets, Freelands, Talleys and Bakers. Among these few people, Colonel Kimbil and his little party established themselves, and began the cultivation of the soil with their horses, upon the backs of which they had brought a few axes and ploughs.

1791 Feb.

1791 Mar.

The garrison at St. Stephens was composed of one company, commanded by Captain Fernando Lisoro. The block house, the residence of the commandant, and the church, were good buildings, of frame-work, clay and plaster. The other houses were small, and covered with cypress bark. All the inhabitants of this place, and of the country, were required to labor so many days upon the public works, to take the oath of allegiance, and to assist in repelling the depredations of the Creeks, who stole horses and other property. Some French farmers also lived

upon this river, who dwelt in houses made almost entirely of clay, while those of the Americans were constructed of
1792 small poles, in the rudest manner. They all cultivated indigo, which was worth two dollars and fifty cents per pound. The burning of tar engaged much of the time of the Spaniards, still lower down.

Upon Little river, dividing the modern counties of Baldwin and Monroe, lived many intelligent and wealthy people, whose blood was a mixture of white and Indian. This colony was formed at an early period, for the benefit of their large stocks of cattle, for the wild grass and cane were here never killed by the frost. A most remarkable woman, a sister of General McGillivray, lived occasionally among these people. Sophia McGillivray, a maiden beautiful in all respects, was living at her native place, upon the Coosa, when Benjamin Durant, a man of Huguenot blood, came from South Carolina, to her mother's house. A youth of astonishing strength and activity, he had mastered all who opposed him at home. Being informed by the traders that a man in the Creek nation was his superior, he immediately set out for that region, to which he had long before been inclined to go. He was handsome, and his complexion was almost as brown as that of the pretty, dark-eyed Sophia. She went with him to the Hickory Ground, only a few miles distant, where
1792 many Indians had collected, to see the antagonists meet. They encountered each other, and a tremendous fight ensued. Durant felled his antagonist to the ground, where he lay, for a time, insensible. The conqueror was proclaimed the champion of the nation. He soon married Sophia, and went to reside upon one of the estates of her father, the wealthy Lachlan McGillivray, situated upon the Savannah river. During the siege of Savannah, she was there with her father, her husband and her little boy, Lachlan Durant, who is now favorably known to many of our modern citizens, and is yet a resident of Baldwin county. When the city was surrendered to the Americans, she

parted from her father, amid a flood of tears, and set out for her native Coosa, while he, as we have seen, sailed with his British friends back to Scotland.

Sophia Durant had an air of authority about her, equal, if not superior, to that of her brother, Alexander. She was much better acquainted with the Indian tongue, for he had long lived out of the nation. When, therefore, he held councils in the vicinity of her residence, she was accustomed to deliver his sentiments in a set speech, to which the Chiefs listened with delight. Her husband became a wealthy man, and "Durant's Bend,"* and other places upon the Alabama, still preserve his memory. In the summer of 1790, while McGillivray was at New York, the Creeks threatened to descend upon the Tensaw settlers and put the whole of them to death. Mrs. Durant mounted a horse, with a negro woman upon another, and set out from Little river, camped out at night, and, on the fourth day, arrived at the Hickory Ground, where she assembled the Chiefs, threatened them with the vengeance of her brother upon his return, which caused the arrest of the ringleaders, and put a complete stop to their murderous intentions. Two weeks afterwards, this energetic and gifted woman was delivered of twins, 1792 at the Hickory Ground. One of them married James Bailey, who was killed at the fall of Fort Mims, in 1813, and the other lived to be an old woman. At a later period Mrs. Durant will again appear in this history.

The territory of the present county of Montgomery contained a few white inhabitants in 1792. Among others, there was a white woman, who had lived with her husband at Savannah. He was there a foot soldier in one of the British regiments, but deserted from the army, when she fled with him to the Chattahoochie. He died at Cusseta, and his bold and adventurous wife

* The most remarkable bend upon the Alabama, embracing a large tract of land lying between Montgomery and Selma, formerly the property of the late Honorable William Smith, and now owned by John Steele, of Autauga. It was cultivated by Benjamin Durant as early as 1786.

continued to wander through the Creek nation, and finally settled in the territory of the present county of Montgomery, upon the eastern side of a creek, which still bears her name, for she was called by no other than that of "Milly." Here, among the Cuwalla Indians, she established herself, without husband, father, children, or even a single friend. Espousing one of the sons of the forest, she soon began to have comforts around her. Her stock of cattle became large, to which was added in a few years, a large drove of ponies. For many years Milly lived alone upon this creek. The trading path leading from Pensacola to Tookabatcha passed by her house. But, at the period of 1792, her solitary hours were agreeably relieved by the prattle
1792 of a little white girl. In 1790, a party of Creeks advanced to the Georgia frontiers, and, surrounding the house of one Scarlett, killed him and his wife and children. A little girl, named Tempey Ellis, about eight years old, the child of a neighbor, was in the house at the time, and, when the attack was made, she concealed herself under the bed. After all the family lay upon the floor, in the sleep of death, a warrior discovered Tempey Ellis, and, dragging her out by the hair, raised his hatchet to kill her; but, reflecting that he could possibly obtain a handsome sum for her ransom, he placed her on his horse and carried her to Auttose, on the Tallapoosa. Here she was often beaten, and made to bring water from the springs. One day Milly heard that the Auttoses had a white girl in slavery. She immediately mounted her pony, rode to Auttose, paid ten ponies and six head of cattle
1792 for Tempey, and the next day carried this unfortunate child to her house. For several years she acted the part of a most affectionate mother. Subsequently the child was delivered to Seagrove, the Creek Agent, at St. Mary's, and was sent from thence to her friends in Georgia. Old Milly was exceedingly attached to Tempey, and gave her up with great reluctance.*

* I have conversed with Tempey Ellis. She is now a respectable old woman, the wife of Mr. Thomas Frizell, residing in Pike county, Alabama.

Near the prairies, within a few miles of this solitary woman, lived William Gregory, a native of one of the States, who had resided for years among the Indians. He was now a stockkeeper, and lived in a cabin, which contained his Indian family. As far as the eye could reach over the beautiful and gently rolling plains his cattle and horses fed, undisturbed by man or beast. It is said that William Gregory was a kind-hearted man, who fed the wanderer "without money and without price," and who, even in a lawless land, possessed a heart which prompted him to be honest.

In 1785 came also into this neighborhood a Jew, named Abram Mordecai, a native of Pennsylvania, and who established a trading house at the spot where now stands the house of Mrs. Birch, two miles west of Line Creek. Here also lived James Russell, another trader, who, being a tory, had sought this place to be rid of whig persecution. A tory, named Love, and Dargan, a Dutchman and notorious horse thief, lived near the site of Mount Megs, where they carried on a small commerce. All these traders had Indian wives except Mordecai, whose faithful spouse was Indian considerably darkened with the blood of Ham.

At Econchate, *Red Ground*, now embracing the southern suburbs of the city of Montgomery, lived several white traders. Charles Weatherford established a trading house upon the first eastern bluff below the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, and laid out the first race-paths ever known in East Alabama. Often would the noted horse thief, fresh from the frontiers of Georgia, here for the first time try the speed of his stolen ponies.

The most blood-thirsty, fiendish and cruel white man that ever inhabited any country was Savannah Jack, or, as he was universally called by this outlawed world, "*Savaner Jack*," who lived at Souvanoga, upon the Tallapoosa. He boasted that he had killed so many women and children, upon the Cumberland and Georgia frontiers, in company

1792

with his town's people, that he could swim in their blood if it was collected in one pool.

Thus we see that the territory of Montgomery county, now the focus of so much wealth and intelligence, was then a wilderness, inhabited by Indians and the few singular characters who have been named. Indeed, all over the territory of Alabama and Mississippi, wherever an Indian town of importance was found, white traders lived. Some of them became wealthy, but like all property acquired in a commerce with Indians, it generally left the owner in his old age. One of these up-country traders, "Woccocoie Clarke," living at Woccocoie, in the modern Coosa county, transported his merchandise and skins upon seventy pack-horses. His squaw, who was of great assistance to him, he called Queen Anne, for Clarke was an Englishman.

Besides skins of various kinds, the traders bought up beeswax, hickory-nut oil, snake-root, together with various medicinal barks, and transported them to Augusta and Pensacola on pack-horses, and to Mobile and New Orleans in large canoes. The pack-horses used in this trade were generally small ones, raised in the nation, but were capable of sustaining heavy loads and of enduring great fatigue. A saddle of a peculiar shape was first placed upon the pony. The load consisted of three bundles, each weighing sixty pounds. Two of these bundles were
1792 suspended across the saddle, and came down by the sides of the pony, while the third was deposited on top of the saddle. The whole pack was covered with a skin to keep off the rain. Thus the pony sustained a load of one hundred and eighty pounds. Even liquids were conveyed in the same manner. Taffai, a mean rum, was carried on these horses in small kegs. Indeed, these hardy animals transported everything for sale; and even poultry of all kinds was carried in cages made of reeds strapped upon their backs. A pack-horseman drove ten ponies in a lead. He used no lines, but urged them on with big hickories and terrible oaths. Accustomed to their duty, they,

however, seldom gave trouble, but jogged briskly along. The route and the stopping places became familiar, and, as evening approached, the little fellows quickened their trot with new life and activity. When the sun retired over the hills the caravan stopped; the packs were taken off, piled in a heap, and covered with skins; the horses were belled and turned out to find their food, which consisted of grass and young cane. It was usually late the next morning before the horses were collected and packed, for no person in an Indian country is fool enough to regard time. An attack from the natives upon traders was of rare occurrence. They imagined that they needed the supplies which they brought into their country, and regarding these singular merchants as their best friends, did not even rob them. A pack-horseman always drank taffai—it cheered him in the forest and emboldened him in distress. With a bottle slung by his saddle he often indulged, while those before and behind him followed his custom. Those going to Pensacola and other places were frequently in want of the stimulant, and it was customary for the traders, whom they met coming 1792 from the market, to halt and treat and interchange jokes. The trader who suddenly rushed by a thirsty party was long remembered as a mean fellow.

Nothing stopped these men on their journey. They swam all swollen creeks and rafted over their effects or produce. Where they had no canoes, rivers were crossed in the same manner. If they reached a stream having large cane on its banks, these were presently cut, ten feet long, and tied up into bundles about three feet in circumference, which were placed in the water. Across these others were laid, which formed an admirable raft, capable of sustaining great weight. 1792 Logs were, also, often employed in the construction of rafts. Guided by long grapevines, they were generally dragged safely across to the opposite side, where the wet ponies stood, ready to receive their packs again. Then all hands drank taffai,

and journeyed on, with light hearts and laughing faces. The average travel was twenty-five miles a day. The route from Pensacola was a well-beaten path, leading up the country and across the fatal Murder Creek, and thence to within a few miles of the Catoma, when it diverged into several trails, one of which led to Tookabatcha, along the route of the old Federal road, the other to Montgomery and Wetumpka, by the Red Warrior's Bluff, now Grey's Ferry, upon the Tallapoosa. This trail continued to the Tennessee river.*

Northward, there were no white settlements between the Alabama river and the vicinity of Nashville. Here, in 1792, the Creeks committed many depredations. They pushed their hostilities to the very doors of Nashville. They attacked the house of Thompson, a wealthy and respectable man, killed the whole family, except his interesting daughter, just arrived at womanhood, whom they carried in captivity to Kialigee,
1792 upon the Tallapoosa river, together with an amiable lady, named Caffrey, with her little son. The unhappy prisoners found in this town a young woman, named Sarah Fletcher, who had, several years before, been captured in the Miro district, which was also called Cumberland district. Miss Thompson was ransomed by Riley, a trader, for eight hundred weight of dressed deer-skins, worth two hundred and sixty dollars, and was treated with kindness by her benefactor, and restored to her friends. Mrs. Caffrey was separated from her son, beaten with sticks, scratched with gar's teeth, and made to work in the fields. After two years, she was also carried to Nashville, but without her boy. The little fellow became an Indian in his feelings, and, when he had been in the nation five years, it was with difficulty that Mordecai could separate him from his Indian playmates, and carry him to Seagrove. That gentleman sent him to

* Conversations with Abram Mordecai, James Moore, and many other old traders; also conversations with Hiram Mounger, of Washington county, Mrs. Sophia McComb, Mrs. Howse and Lachlan Durant. In many things, they are supported by the reports contained in Indian Affairs, vol. 1.

Governor Blount, and he finally reached his mother's arms. The bloody Coosawdas, who lived upon the Alabama, were frequently out upon the Cumberland, engaged in the massacre of the settlers and the plunder of their effects. Captain Isaacs, the Chief of this town, returned, in 1792, with Elizabeth Baker, a young lady from Cumberland. How miserable and lonely must have been the journey, with these sanguinary warriors, who bore the scalps of her father, mother, brothers and sisters, daily suspended upon poles before her eyes. When she arrived in Coosawda, the savages hung their trophies upon the council-house, and danced around them with exulting shouts. But she found a friend in Charles Weatherford, who lived across the river. He ransomed Miss Baker, and placed her in charge of his wife, Sehoy, the half sister of General McGillivray, and the mother of the celebrated William Weatherford, who will figure in this history hereafter. The unfortunate captive ultimately reached her friends. It would be an endless task, to enumerate all the instances of murder and captivity which occurred upon the frontiers of Georgia and Tennessee.*

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 431-433-270-274-634.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Death of McGillivray—Bloody Scenes.

The Spanish authorities of Louisiana and the Floridas were accused of producing the bloody scenes, to which allusion was made in our last chapter. Great jealousies and difficul-
1792 ties existed between them and the southwestern people of the United States, and even between them and the Federal Government. John Jay, on the part of the latter, and Don Guardoqui, representing Spain, began a correspondence at New York, then the seat of the Federal Government, as early as 1785, for the purpose of settling the matters in dispute. Jay insisted upon the right of the people of the Union, now fast settling upon the head branches of the Tennessee, the Cumberland and the Ohio, to navigate the Mississippi to the Gulf, with their commerce, free of duty, and also the right to occupy, exclusively, all the territory east of that river, as low down as the line of 31°, all of which, he contended, was consistent with our treaty with England, made in 1782. Guardoqui resisted these claims, with great show of reason. He contended that Don Galvez, in 1780, by his victories, took from England, Mobile, Baton Rouge, and Fort Panmure, at Natchez, with all their dependencies; that, at the same time, Captains Parre and Villars, with Spanish troops, took formal possession of the English posts on the Upper Mississippi, east of that river, one of which was situated two hundred and twenty-two leagues above St. Louis; that, in 1781, Don Galvez completed these conquests by the reduction of Pensacola; that the territories now in dispute were, at the time of the signing of the treaty between England and the United

States, solely in the occupation of Spain, and that England had no right to negotiate in regard to them, and, in fact, did not really do so, but rather "tacitly left safe the territorial rights of his Catholic Majesty." These positions were met by Jay, by a reference to the treaty which Spain made with England, seven weeks after the latter had made the one with us. In the eighth article, Spain agreed to restore, without compensation, all the English territories conquered by her, except the Floridas, the northern limit of which, he asserted, was 31°; that Spain was bound, by this article, to have delivered up to England (who was to deliver to the United States) all the territory claimed by Georgia, from the Chattahoochie to the Mississippi, between 31° and 35°. But there was the rub. Which was the northern boundary of Spanish West Florida? We have impartially examined this subject. The charter of Charles II. to the lords proprietors of South Carolina, under which Georgia claimed all the present States of Alabama and Mississippi, that monarch had no right to make. The territory of these States was discovered (to say nothing of the conquest of De Soto) by the French, under Marquette and La Salle, and then by Iberville. Alabama and Mississippi were immediately occupied by France. That power continued to hold possession for sixty-two years. We have seen that she did not surrender these territories to England until 1763. These territories were occupied, then, by England from 1763 until 1780 or 1781, when they fell by conquest into the hands of Spain, who immediately occupied them with her troops and extended over them her government. Well, now, where was the just claim of the United States for Georgia? Did England have any right to transfer to us, in a treaty, territories of which she had three years before been deprived by Spanish conquest? Nay, England not only had no right to do that, but she admitted she had no right when, seven weeks afterwards, she concluded a treaty with Spain, and confirmed to her West Florida, the Brit-

ish northern line of which was 32° 28′, and not 31°, as contended for by Jefferson, Jay, and various American historians.

The negotiations between Guardoqui and Jay resulted in nothing, and the navigation of the Lower Mississippi remained closed against American citizens. In the meantime Spain became alarmed.

1792 March

The treaty with McGillivray at New York and the movements of the first Yazoo companies aroused her. She asked for a renewal of negotiations. The President responded by sending to Madrid Carmichael and Short, who entered into negotiations once more with Guardoqui, who had been recalled to Spain, and was then Secretary of Foreign Affairs.* After much correspondence, in which both powers frequently accused each other of improper interference with the Indians inhabiting the disputed region, over whom they each exclusively claimed the superintendence, the negotiations terminated, without arrangement satisfactory to us. All that

1793 April

Spain would admit, was the probability of her ultimately allowing the northern boundary of her West Florida possessions to be the line of 32° 28′, while she was also disposed to allow the establishment of a warehouse at the mouth of the Yazoo, in which American citizens could deposit their produce, from their own boats, brought down the Mississippi. These productions were then to be taken to New Orleans in Spanish boats, and sold or exported, subject to Spanish duties.† All this time the agents of Spain, near the Federal Government, were constantly annoying Jefferson, the Secretary, with a series of complaints against Governor Blount, of Tennessee, and Seagrove, the Creek Agent, which were answered by similar complaints against the Spaniards on the part of the latter. Much ill-feeling was elicited between these parties, while the people of Georgia were perfectly rampant, censuring the Federal authorities for the weakness, irresolution and tardiness displayed in conducting the

* American State Papers, Boston edition, vol. 10, pp. 131-137; also, Foreign Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 252-255.

† American State Papers, Boston edition, vol 10, pp. 159-162.

negotiations. They proclaimed that, if the United States much longer neglected to drive the Spaniards from their territory, they would undertake it themselves. The horizon of this vast Indian wilderness was still further darkened by the incessant border warfare between the Indians and the frontier Americans.* Spain assumed very high and unwarrantable grounds, in one respect. She even opposed the running of the line around the Oconee lands, and it was made the subject of remonstrance to the Federal Government. She claimed a surveillance over the affairs of the Creeks, by her treaty with them, at Pensacola, and avowed her determination to protect them against the encroachments of the Georgians. As none of the Oconee territory lay within the limits of West Florida, Spain certainly stepped beyond reason in seeking a quarrel with the Americans about it.

General McGillivray continued to make visits to Governor Carondelet. In returning from New Orleans, late in the summer of 1792, a violent fever detained him long in Mobile. Recovering, he went to Little Tallase, where he wrote his last letter to Major Seagrove. He appeared to deplore the unhappy disturbances which existed, and ascribed them to the interference of the Spaniards with our affairs. He had often responded to the letters of the Secretary of War, in relation to carrying out the provisions of the New York treaty, and, several times, assured him that he had explained that instrument frequently to the Chiefs, and had urged them to comply, but that the Spanish influence had defeated his recommendations. In one of his letters, he says to the Secretary: "You will recollect, sir, that I had great objection to making the south fork of the Oconee the limit, and, when you insisted so much, I candidly told you that it might be made an article, but I could not pledge myself to get it confirmed, or that of the restoration of the negro property, which had so often changed owners."

But this remarkable man was fast approaching dissolution.

* American State Papers, Boston edition, vol. 10, pp. 185-186.

1792 and 1793

He had long been afflicted, and was always of a delicate constitution. He spent the winter upon Little river, which now divides the counties of Monroe and Baldwin. The account of his death is presented in the language of the great merchant, William Panton, in a letter, dated Pensacola, April 10, 1794, and addressed to Lachlan McGillivray, the father of the Chieftain, who was, at that time, still alive at Dunmaglass, Scotland.

* * * "Your son, sir, was a man that I esteemed greatly. I was perfectly convinced that our regard for each other was mutual. It so happened that we had an interest in serving each other, which first brought us together, and the longer we were acquainted the stronger was our friendship.

"I found him deserted by the British without pay, without money, without friends and without property, saving a few negroes, and he and his nation threatened with destruction by the Georgians, unless they agreed to cede them the better part of their country. I had the good fortune to point out a mode by which he could save them all, and it succeeded beyond expectation.

* * * "He died on the 17th February, 1793, of complicated disorders—of inflamed lungs and the gout on his stomach. He was taken ill on the path coming from his cow-pen on Little river, where one of his wives, Joseph Curnell's daughter, resided, and died eight days after his arrival here. No pains, no attention, no cost was spared to save the life of my friend. But fate would have it otherwise, and he breathed his last in my arms.

* * * "He died possessed of sixty negroes, three hundred head of cattle, with a large stock of horses.

* * * "I advised, I supported, I pushed him on, to be the great man. Spaniards and Americans felt his weight, and this enabled him to haul me after him, so as to establish this house with more solid privileges than, without him, I should have attained. This being the case, if he had lived, I meant,

besides what he was owing me, to have added considerably to his stock of negroes. What I intended to do for the father I will do for his children. This ought not to operate against your making that ample provision for your grandson and his two sisters which you have it in your power to make. They have lately lost their mother, so that they have no friends, poor things, but you and me. My heart bleeds for them, and what I can I will do. The boy, Aleck, is old enough to be sent to Scotland to school, which I intend to do next year, and then you will see him."*

General McGillivray was interred with Masonic honors in the splendid garden of William Panton, in the city of Pensacola. He was a severe loss to that gentleman and to the Spanish government. His death, among the Indians, everywhere, produced deep sorrow and regret. The great Chieftain, who had so long been their pride, and who had elevated their nation, and sustained it in its trials, now lay buried in the sands of the Seminoles.

General McGillivray was six feet high, spare made, and remarkably erect in person and carriage. His eyes were large, dark and piercing. His forehead was so peculiarly shaped, that the old Indian countrymen often spoke of it: it commenced expanding at his eyes, and widened considerably at the top of his head. It was a bold and lofty forehead. His fingers were long and tapering, and he wielded a pen with the greatest rapidity. His face was handsome, and indicative of quick thought and much sagacity. Unless interested in conversation, he was disposed to be taciturn, but, even then, was polite and respectful. When a British colonel, he dressed in the British uniform, and when in the Spanish service, he wore the military dress of that country. When Washington appointed him a brigadier-general, he sometimes wore the uniform of the American army, but never when

*I found Panton's letter among the bundle of papers in the District Court of New Orleans.

in the presence of the Spaniards. His usual dress was a mixture of the Indian and American garb. He always travelled with two servants, David Francis, a half-breed, and Paro, a negro, who saved the lives of over a hundred royalists, in 1781, as we have seen. He had good houses at the Hickory Ground and at Little Tallase, where he entertained, free of charge, distinguished government agents, and persons travelling through his extensive dominions. Like all other men, he had his faults. He was ambitious, crafty, and rather unscrupulous; yet he possessed a good heart, and was polite and hospitable. For ability and sagacity, the reader will admit that he had few superiors. We have called him the Talleyrand of Alabama. Will not his political acts, but a few of which have been presented for the want of space, entitle him to that appellation?

The Indian sky still remained darkened by scenes of murder and robbery. The Chehaw Creeks, upon the Flint, instigated by William Burgess, a trader in the Spanish interest, plundered the store of Robert Seagrove, at Trader's Hill, upon the St.
1793 Mary's, killed Fleming, the clerk, and two travellers,
Mar. named Moffit and Upton, most cruelly beating, with sticks, a woman residing there, named Ann Grey. Six miles from the hill, they killed a family of men, women and children, moving in their wagons, and made prisoners a woman and a child, whom they reserved for greater sufferings. The inhabitants of the new counties of Glynn and Camden
April often felt such attacks. At the Skull Shoals, of the Oconee, Richard Thrasher, two children and a negro woman, were shot down, while his wife, plunging into the river, with a babe in her arms, received a ball in her head, turned over, and sunk beneath the waves. Governor Telfair determined, at once, to raise a large force for the invasion of the Creek country. Washington, at the solicitation of the Georgia delegation in Congress, sent to Augusta a large stand of arms and ammunition. He authorized Governor Telfair to enlist a few

companies for the protection of Georgia, but remonstrated against the contemplated invasion, stating that it was unauthorized by law, would embarrass the negotiations still pending between the Federal agents and the Creeks, and also those going on with Spain, and that the enemy had only killed some people upon the remote frontiers. But Governor Telfair, with the true spirit of a Georgian, heeded him not, and resolved to "carry the war into Africa." He disdained to accept of the troops which the President had authorized him to raise, but placed General Twiggs at the head of seven hundred mounted men. That gallant officer, of revolutionary memory, marched to the Ockmulgee river, where a mutinous spirit and the want of provisions caused a retreat. This abortive attempt at conquest emboldened the Creeks to new scenes of pillage and blood. Although mortified at the failure of his first attempt at invasion, Governor Telfair did not relax in his exertions to protect the people, but constantly scoured the country between the Oconee and Ockmulgee, with a large force of mounted militia, which, for a time, stopped the Indian ravages. These operations again called out the remonstrances of Washington which had no effect whatever upon the Georgians, many of whom entertained for the President the most implacable hostility, and placed his effigies upon pine trees, and fired guns at them. It is a very common belief, with people of modern times, that Washington, during his executive career, HAD NO ENEMIES. He received as much abuse, not only in Georgia, but in various portions of the Union, as any of our Presidents.*

1793 June

Although Seagrove had been Superintendent over two years, he had never entered the Creek nation, but had communicated with the Chiefs through an honest and intelligent man, named Timothy Barnard, who had long resided among the red people. At Cusseta, that gentleman met a council of Chiefs, the most prominent of whom were the White Lieutenant, John Kinnard, the Mad Dog, the Head King,

1793 March

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 362-368.

and Alexander Curnells, representing the Upper and Lower Towns, who requested him to assure Seagrove that they desired to see him in their country, and promised to protect him while he remained with them. But the efforts of the agent to restore peace, and to procure the marking of the boundary, were embarrassed by the military operations of Governor Telfair, who assured him that his contemplated mission to the Creek nation would result in no good; that his mind was made up to chastise the Creeks, until they restored the white prisoners, the negroes, and other stolen property, and delivered up ten hostages from the Upper, and an equal number from the Lower Towns, together with thirteen principal hostiles, to be put to death by the people of Georgia; that he would submit to no treaty made with the Creeks, where Georgia agents were not allowed to participate. Such was the treaty of New York. It is singular that this treaty, made by Washington, for the good of all parties concerned, should have been so violently opposed. The Spaniards, as was anticipated, denounced it, but it received equal opposition from the Creeks and *Georgians*.

Notwithstanding the high grounds assumed by Governor Telfair, Seagrove resolved to go into the nation; but was deterred by information which he received that a body of armed men, under Captain Peter B. Williamson,* intended to intercept and prevent him, and that the Georgia troops had destroyed Little Ocfuskee, upon the Chattahoochie, which resulted in the death of six Indians, while eight othere were carried prisoners to Greensboro. Barnard was again sent to the Chattahoochie, who, after a council with the Chiefs, returned, with another invitation for Seagrove to visit their country, and that, although they were much aroused against the Georgians for this attack upon a peaceable town, they imputed no blame to the Federal authorities. Finally, the agent set out from Fort Fidius, escorted by a military guard, to "prevent," as

1793 Sept. 21

* Afterwards Judge of the County Court of Lowndes, Alabama.

he wrote to the Secretary of War, "my being robbed by the frontier banditti, who two days ago stole ten of the horses upon which I had to carry goods to the Indians." Seagrove had the reputation of being a timid man, and of not entertaining a very high sense of honor. Arriving at the Ockmulgee the escort was dismissed, when one hundred and thirty Indian warriors took charge of his person from thence to Cusseta, upon the Chattahoochie. At this place he was saluted by the Indians with the beating of drums and the roars of a piece of artillery. He advanced to Tookabatcha, the capital of the nation, which lay upon the west bank of the Tallapoosa. He occupied one Nov. 23 whole day in a speech to a vast assembly, and, although surrounded by Spanish agents and enemies, he rose above his character, boldly pointed out the aggressions of the Creeks, and their faithlessness in not complying with the New York treaty.

The council sat forty-eight hours without adjournment, and then rose, having stipulated, on the part of the Creeks, to deliver to Seagrove the negroes, horses, cattle, and other property taken from the Georgians during the last twelve months. They further agreed to put to death two or more of the principals engaged in the late murders upon the frontiers. The Spanish agent, Captain Don Pedro Oliver, was present, and congratulated Seagrove upon what he was pleased to term his fortunate mission.

Having remained at Tookabatcha some weeks, arranging his business with the Chiefs, Seagrove one night was attacked by the Tallase King at the head of a party; his house was plundered, and he was forced to fly for his life to a pond, thick with trees and bushes. There he remained several hours, up to his waist in cold water, expecting every moment to be scented out, dragged forth and put to death. In the morning the Chiefs interposed, pacified the Tallase King, and the trembling agent came out from his watery place of refuge. The Tallase King was one of those who had conveyed away the Oconee lands, at Augusta, and

who, like the Georgians, entertained no good feeling for the Federal agent.*

A spirited border war continued to be waged upon the northern frontiers. Captain Hadley, whose troops had been attacked upon the Cumberland mountain, was brought to Willstown by the victorious party, composed of Creeks, Cherokees and Shawnees. They debated, for several days, upon his life, which was at length saved, through the solicitations of Alexander Campbell and John McDonald, two old British traders of Willstown, but now in the Spanish interest. Great preparations were on foot, in this region, for the final extermination of the Cumberland people. John Watts, a Cherokee half-breed, had regularly organized three companies of mounted Indians, who had been furnished with the necessary arms by Governor Carondelet. A large deputation of Shawnees, from the north, had just completed a campaign through the Creek nation, endeavoring to enlist recruits for that end, and had succeeded in collecting six hundred and seventeen warriors, who passed through Willstown on their way up. The people of East Tennessee, also, felt the attacks of these marauding parties. They defended themselves with bravery, but sometimes were guilty of acts of great imprudence, which served to irritate the Indians who were friendly. Captain Beard, at the head of mounted militia, attacked the peaceable people of Hiwassa, wounded Hanging Maw, the Chief, and killed his wife and a dozen others. The Indians rallied and repulsed the asailants. Such was the state of feeling and alarm, that Governor Blount placed General Sevier at the head of six hundred mounted men. That officer, crossing the Tennessee below the mountains, marched for the Oostanaula, where he made some Cherokee prisoners. Proceeding to the site of the modern Rome, he discovered Indian entrenchments on the opposite bank of the Etowah. Plunging into that stream, the

1793 June 12

1793 Oct. 17

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 305-412-422-471-472. Also conversations with old Indian countrymen.

troops gained the southern bank, and, after a fight of an hour, the Indians gave way, bearing off their dead and wounded, but leaving their camp equipage, horses, Spanish guns and ammunition. General Sevier afterwards scoured this whole region, without opposition, and returned to East Tennessee. It appeared that the evil one, himself, was stalking through this wild region, for, independently of the commotions upon the frontiers of Georgia and Tennessee, the Creeks and Chickasaws were engaged in a bloody war, while French emissaries were at work to estrange the affections of the Southwestern people from the Federal Government.*

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 434-439-441-454-464-470.

CHAPTER XXIX.

The French Minister, Genet—His Designs Upon the Southwest.

Louis XVI., the friend of America, had been beheaded at Paris, and Robespierre and other hyenas swayed unhappy France. Genet was their American Minister. Upon his arrival
1793 in the United States he assumed unwarrantable grounds.
Jan. 26 After failing to enlist Washington in his Jacobinical notions of liberty, he sought to disaffect the Southern and Western people, and to dismember the Union. He took advantage of the excited feeling of the population upon the Holston, Cumberland, Ohio and other tributaries of the Mississippi, who had long denounced the Federal Government for allowing them no protection against the savages, and for not compelling the Spaniards, who held the Lower Mississippi, to grant them the free navigation of that river. Indeed, these brave and adventurous people had just grounds of complaint. They were cut off from the rest of the Union, and had to defend themselves, while their rich products of corn, flour and tobacco rotted at their doors on account of the arbitrary laws of the Spanish provinces below them. They, naturally enough, entertained no love for a Union which was no advantage to them. The Georgians, on the other hand, claimed all the territory between 31° and 35°, from the Savannah to the Mississippi, and, although independent of the navigation of the "Father of Waters," viewed its exclusive occupation by the Spaniards as a great outrage, not only against their rights, but those of their Northwestern brethren. Georgia was also irritated with the Federal Government for its irresolu-

tion and tardiness in adjusting her various rights, both in regard to the Spaniards and Creeks, as we have repeatedly seen. Again, Genet was further encouraged in his nefarious schemes on account of the war which was then declared between France and Spain. He was led to believe, from all these circumstances, that it would be an easy matter to make the disaffected citizens of the United States allies of France, and, associated with the dissatisfied French population on the Mississippi, he could overthrow the Spanish provinces of Louisiana and the Floridas, and establish a government dependent upon the republic of France. Two expeditions were planned by him in the West while in Charleston. Several distinguished citizens had accepted commissions under him. The desire to invade the Floridas prevailed in Georgia to an alarming extent. From the frontiers of South Carolina and Kentucky detachments, called the "French Legion," marched to places of rendezvous. They were to serve three months, and receive bounties of land. Genet was to have been commander-in-chief. His most influential and powerful assistant was General Elijah Clarke, of Georgia. That gentleman had despatched an agent to Lexington, Kentucky, who purchased, upon his credit, two boats, powder and cannon ball, which were conveyed down the Ohio. An agent was furnished with ten thousand dollars, to purchase supplies for a Georgia army, to assemble at St. Mary's.

Clarke had authority to issue military appointments, in the name of the French republic, and he constituted Peter B. Williamson, major, —— Carr, a colonel, and conferred the commission of captain on —— Bird and other citizens of Georgia. The French sloop-of-war, Las Casas, direct from Charleston, anchored at St. Mary's, within musket-shot of the American post, which was in command of Major Gaither. She was destined for Louisiana, and her officers asserted that thirteen sail, large and well-manned, were yet to follow, from different ports of the United States. In the meantime, boat-builders

1794 March

were vigorously employed upon the Ohio, and persons of character and wealth sold their property at auction, to facilitate their completion. A considerable body of Creeks and Cherokees had likewise been enlisted in the cause of the "French republic." The Governor of East Florida, alarmed at these preparations, remonstrated with Governor Mathews, of Georgia, who immediately issued his proclamation, forbidding the people of
May 14 Georgia to engage in such enterprises. Shortly afterwards, Washington issued a proclamation against the whole project, and authorized Governor Mathews to employ all the United States troops, then in Georgia, to put down the contemplated invasion.

Governor Carondelet was active in preparations for defence. He strengthened New Orleans, and added troops to the fort at Mobile, and other posts, while he erected new ones at several points below the mouth of the Ohio. The militia, throughout Louisiana and the Floridas, were completely organized. It is strange that the Baron Carondelet should, at this time, have resorted to the same scheme contemplated by his enemy, Genet. He, too, despatched an emissary—an Englishman, named Powers—among the Western American citizens, with offers of arms, ammunition, money and free navigation, if they would join his standard, and separate themselves from the Federal Union. But his plans, as well as those of Genet, were defeated by the firmness of Washington and the loyalty of the States of
1794 Georgia and South Carolina. The latter, too, came to the rescue of the Federal Government—the Legislature adopting measures for the arrest of Genet's agents.*

Seagrove remained at Tookabatcha until the 1st of April. Then he departed for Georgia, with a delegation of Chiefs, who visited Governor Mathews, who appears to have been a more conciliatory man than the fiery Telfair, who had now gone

* American State Papers, Foreign Relations, folio edition, vol. 1, pp. 454-460. Martin's History of Louisiana, vol. 2, pp. 91-118-122-123-126-127-128. Monette's History of the Valley of the Mississippi, vol. 1, pp. 469-485-492-496-505-510.

out of office. The Chiefs expressed a desire for peace, and Governor Mathews sent them back to the nation, well pleased with their visit, and guarded by a detachment, under General Glasscock.

A new settlement, contemplated west of the Oconee, was now about to originate more trouble with the Creeks. The restless and enterprising General Elijah Clarke, who had fought with so much indomitable courage, and who had displayed such remarkable endurance, during the whole of the revolutionary war, and was one of the best whigs that ever lived, was at the head of this movement, and that, too, immediately upon the heels of the abortive attempt to invade Florida. After the revolution, he continued to defend his State, and his resolute spirit and mighty arm beat off many a murderous savage band. But he was too impulsive and restless for times of peace. He now undertook to extinguish the Creek claims, in a very practical manner. With a large party of men, he began a settlement opposite Fort Fidius, on the west side of the Oconee, upon Indian tertitory. General Irwin, on the part of the State, ordered him to remove, which he refused to do. Mathews forbid, by proclamation, the contemplated settlement, and accused Clarke of an attempt to form a separate and independent government. The latter appeared at the Superior Court of Wilkes, and surrendered himself to the Judge, who placed his case before the Magistrates. These worthy and learned men went into a full history of the laws of the United States, those of Georgia, those of the world, called the "law of nations," those of the Creeks, and those of the Spaniards, and came to the very liberal decision, endorsed upon the indictment, "*that the said Elijah Clarke be, and is, hereby discharged.*" 1794 July

Many people now flocked to the standard of Clarke. His settlements were pushed with vigor, a town was laid off, and Forts Advance and Defiance were erected and garrisoned. Washington was uneasy at this movement, and requested Governor

Mathews to put down all attempts at the occupation of the Indian domain, and promising to furnish him with troops from South Carolina, if it should become necessary. Mathews directed Generals Twiggs and Irwin to break up these establishments. They approached them with Georgia militia, who acted with great firmness and moderation. Clarke, abandoned by all his men except twenty, surrendered, upon condition that his property, and that of the colonists, should be returned to them. The forts and houses were destroyed by fire, and the affair happily ended, without the shedding of a drop of blood.

1794 Sept. 25

The northern frontiers were still disturbed by Indian marauding parties. Major James Ore advanced from Nashville, with five hundred and fifty mounted infantry, to the town of Nickajack, surrounded and attacked it by surprise, and killed many of its inhabitants, while nineteen women and children were made prisoners. On his march from thence up the river, he was attacked at the Narrows by the savages, who, after a few fires, gave way and retreated to Running Water, which was soon taken, and likewise destroyed. Ore re-crossed the Tennessee, before night, and took up the line of march for Nashville, with his prisoners and a large quantity of effects, which had been taken by the Indians from various persons. Andrew Jackson, afterwards President, was a private in this expedition.*

Sept. 13

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 495-500-632. Kendall's Life of Jackson, p. 89.

CHAPTER XXX.

The Second Yazoo Sale.

The winter of 1794 and 1795 was remarkable for the celebrated Yazoo speculation, or, as the more intolerant opponents of the measure termed it, the "Yazoo fraud." We have already seen how a prior sale of territory, lying in Alabama and Misssissippi, by the Georgia Legislature, ultimately terminated.

We have said that we did not believe that Georgia, under the treaties made between Spain, Great Britain and the United States, in 1782 and 1783, had a right to the extensive territory lying between the Chattahoochie and the Mississippi, but, as the Federal Government contended that she had, it ought to have placed her in possession of the country, by the expulsion of the Spaniards. The Georgians felt much aggrieved by the conduct of the General Government, in not only permitting the Spaniards to occupy what they really believed to be their soil, but in suffering them constantly to instigate the Creeks in killing and plundering their frontier population, and in interfering with their treaties. In truth, Georgia did not recognize the right, even in the Federal Government, to make treaties with the Indians, respecting the territory which she claimed—while the General Government, on the other hand, did not admit any right in Georgia to make treaties. These, and many other things of a like nature, we are charitable enough to believe, prompted the Yazoo sale. 1794 and 1795

The first bill which the Legislature of Georgia passed, in regard to the Yazoo sale, at the session of 1794, was returned with the objections of Governor George Mathews. He contended that

the time had not arrived for the disposal of the territory; that the sum offered for it was not enough; that the quantity reserved for the citizens was too small; that greater advantages were secured to purchasers than to citizens; that it would operate as a monopoly; and that at least one-fourth of the lands ought to be reserved for the future disposal of the State. The Legislature became excited at the veto of the bill, and in a few days passed another, which Governor Mathews signed.

1794 Dec. 29

1795 Feb. 7

Governor Mathews was a man of honor and integrity. He vetoed the first bill, not on account of any fraud which he supposed the Legislature was committing upon the Federal Government, for, in common with many other prominent citizens of Georgia, he believed that the State had a right to sell its own lands; but he vetoed it for the reasons which we have enumerated.

Governor Mathews was a native of Ireland, and landed upon the Virginia shore in 1737. Establishing himself in the county of Augusta, he immediately became a formidable and fearless defender of the country against the Indians west of the Ohio, who frequently made incursions into Western Virginia. After many combats, in defence of his father's house, and those of his neighbors, he was appointed a captain, and participated in the most gallant manner in the great battle fought between the Virginians and Indians, at the junction of the Ohio with the Kenawha, on the 10th October, 1774. In 1775 he was elected a colonel of the ninth regiment, and for two years he commanded it on the eastern shore of Virginia, after which he joined General Washington. Colonel Mathews commanded his regiment at Brandywine, and at the battle of Germantown captured a regiment of the enemy. He received a very severe wound with a bayonet in another skirmish, was taken a prisoner, and confined on board a British ship in the harbor of New York. He was not exchanged until the termination of the war, when he joined General Greene as commander of

the third Virginia regiment. He removed to "Goose Pond," on Broad river, Georgia, in 1785, with his family. One year afterwards he was elected Governor of the State. Under the present constitution he was the first representative of Georgia in Congress, and in 1794, 1795, he was again Governor.

Governor Mathews was short in stature and compactly made. His hair was light, and his complexion was fair and florid. He wore a three-cornered cocked hat, a pair of top-boots, a shirt full-ruffled in front and at the wrist, and occasionally a long sword at his side. He was a man of unsurpassed bravery, and of indomitable energy. His mind was of a strong and vigorous order, but wholly uncultivated, except by observation of men and things. His education was more limited than that of any other man of the same distinction. In consequence of his valuable military services, the Legislature of Virginia has preserved his memory in the name of one of the counties of that State.

The preamble to the Yazoo bill declared that the articles of confederation stipulated that each State was to retain her territory; that, by the treaty of Paris, of 1783, the boundaries of Georgia, as well as those of other States, were confirmed; that they were consistent with all the former acts of Georgia, and with the convention held at Beaufort, in 1787, between South Carolina and Georgia; that the States had the right of pre-emption, as well as the full exercise of all territorial rights; that the Legislature disapproved of the New York treaty with McGillivray; that the President had no authority to guarantee therein all the territory west of the Oconee to the Creeks; and that Georgia clearly had the right to convey fee simple titles to all her territories to individuals or companies.

The act stipulated that one-fifth of the purchase money should be paid into the Georgia treasury previous to the passage of the bill. The remainder was to be paid on the 1st November following, secured, by a mortgage, to the Governor. Payments

were to be made in specie, United States Bank bills, or military warrants, drawn by the Governor, from 1791 to 1795, inclusive.

For the sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, the Legislature sold to James Gunn, Matthew McAllister, George Walker and their associates, termed the "GEORGIA COMPANY," an immense area of territory, which now embraces the following modern counties:

IN ALABAMA—Clarke, Marengo, Greene, Perry, Autauga, Bibb, Shelby, Tuscaloosa, Pickens, Fayette, Jefferson, St. Clair, the southern portions of Blount, Walker and Marion, and portions of Wilcox, Monroe, Dallas, Sumter and Baldwin.

IN MISSISSIPPI—The larger portions of Kemper, Neshoba, Leake, Madison, Yazoo and Issaquena, all of Washington, Holmes, Attala, Winston, Noxubee, Lowndes, Oktibbeha, Choctaw, Carroll, Sunflower, Bolivar, Tallahatchie, Yalabusha, Chickasaw and Monroe.

1795 Feb. 7

For the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, the Legislature sold to Nicholas Long, Thomas Glasscock, Ambrose Gordon, Thomas Cumming, and their associates, called the "GEORGIA MISSISSIPPI COMPANY," all the territory out of which has since been formed the following counties:

IN MISSISSIPPI—The northern portions of Greene, Perry, Marion, Pike, Amite and Wilkinson, all of Adams, Franklin, Lawrence, Covington, Jones, Wayne, Jefferson, Copiah, Simpson, Smith, Jasper, Clarke, Lauderdale, Newton, Scott, Rankin, Hinds, Warren, Claiborne, and the southern portions of Yazoo, Issaquena, Madison, Leake, Neshoba and Kemper.

IN ALABAMA—Nearly all of old Washington and Sumter, and the southwest corner of Greene.

For the sum of thirty-five thousand dollars, that body also conveyed to Wade Hampton, John B. Scott and John C. Nightingale, termed the "UPPER MISSISSIPPI COMPANY," the territory extending entirely across the extreme northern part of the State of Mississippi, twenty-five miles deep, now embracing

the northern portions of the modern counties of De Soto, Marshall, Tippah, Tishamingo and a fragment of the northern part of Tunica.

For the sum of sixty thousand dollars the Legislature of Georgia also sold to Zachariah Coxe, Mathias Maher and their associates, called the "TENNESSEE COMPANY," all the territory comprising the whole of North Alabama, out of which the following counties have since been formed: Lauderdale, Limestone, Madison, Jackson, DeKalb, Cherokee, Marshall, Morgan, Lawrence, Franklin, and the northern parts of Marion, Walker and Blount. 1795 Feb. 7

The lands thus conveyed to the four Yazoo companies, for the gross sum of five hundred thousand dollars, contained twenty-one million five hundred thousand acres. A reserve of two millions of acres was made from this purchase for the benefit of the citizens who desired to become purchasers upon the original terms of sale. The four companies paid promptly into the treasury one-fifth of the purchase money, and obtained titles from the governor. During the progress of this bold measure the members of the Legislature were in the midst of the profoundest excitement, which extended to the "lobby members" and the whole community.

The bill was signed by Thomas Napier, Speaker of the House; Benjamin Taliaferro, President of the Senate; and approved by his Excellency, George Mathews, Governor.

It was asserted that "bribery and corruption distinguished the proceedings of the members favorable to the Yazoo act." The public documents abound with affidavits, pro and con. It was asserted that members were bought up to vote for the measure, by receiving in advance from the companies certificates of large shares of the land which they were about to vote to sell. The public became aroused upon the subject.

A majority of the counties, through their grand juries, pronounced against the act. Public meetings assembled all over

Georgia, and the bitterest denunciations fell from the lips
1795 of every speaker. A large convention was held at Louis-
May 10 ville, where hundreds of petitions were read and evidence adduced setting forth "the atrocious peculation, corruption and collusion by which said usurped acts and grants were obtained." Although the tide of public sentiment swept over the State in angry torrents, destroying the popularity of the members who voted for the act, and elevating to power its most violent opponents, yet the four companies paid up the
Nov. 1 whole of the purchase money, and believed themselves secure in their vast fortunes, because the bill stipulated that the acts of no subsequent legislature should affect their title.

Washington was astounded at the Yazoo sale, and laid before Congress copies of the bill, using this language in reference to it: "These acts embrace an object of great magni-
Feb. 17 tude, and their consequences may deeply affect the peace and welfare of the United States." The two houses of Congress adopted a resolution instructing the Attorney-General to investigate the title of Georgia to the lands sold.

The Legislature of Georgia again convened in the winter, with a new governor and a new body of members, except those who voted *against* the Yazoo sale. General James Jack-
1795 son, a distinguished partisan officer of the revolution, was at the head of the new organization. He had canvassed the State, and, from the hustings, denounced the extraordinary measure, while, with his able pen, he produced several severe pamphlets upon the subject. He introduced a bill for the repeal of the Yazoo sale, which declared it "null and void." It was adopted, and received the signatures of Jared Irwin, the new Governor, Thomas Stephens, Speaker of the House, and
1796 Benjamin Taliaferro, President of the Senate. In the
Feb. 12 midst of the largest procession ever known in the land, the records of the Yazoo act were expunged, and, to

show the indignation of its opponents, the bill itself was consumed, in the streets of Louisville, by fire from HEAVEN.*

But, in the meantime, hundreds had emigrated to the Tombigby and the Mississippi, establishing themselves in those distant and isolated regions, intending soon to occupy the lands which the companies had proposed to grant them. In this respect, the Yazoo sale was a great blessing. It contributed to throw into that wild region, a population of Georgians, whose activity, ability and enterprise better fitted them to seize, occupy and bring into cultivation a wilderness, mark out towns, people them, build female academies, erect churches and hold courts than any other people.

By an arrangement between the President and the Georgia authorities, Benjamin Hawkins, of North Carolina, George Clymer, of Pennsylvania, and Andrew Pickens, of South Carolina, repaired to Coleraine, upon the St. Mary's river, where they met James Jackson, James Simms and James Henricks, agents for Georgia. The object was the formation of a treaty of peace with the Creeks, and the cession to Georgia of the lands between the Oconee and the Ockmulgee. A full delegation of Indians, consisting of twenty Kings and seventy-five Chiefs, together with three hundred and forty warriors, soon arrived. Seagrove, the Creek Agent, suggested the propriety of moving the council from Coleraine to Muscogee, a short distance off, which was accordingly done. There, the Chiefs, after marching under the United States flag, performing the eagle-tail dance, smoking with the commissioners, and engaging in other ceremonious preparations, began the council. The first day was occupied with the speeches of the commissioners, who gave a full exposition of the views and wishes of the President. On the following day, General Jackson,

1796 May

* They held a sun-glass over the paper until it was consumed by the fire thus generated. The Yazoo act may be seen, together with all the votes upon it, and an account of the excitement which it produced, in Public Lands, vol. 1, pp. 120-144. Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 551-555-561. Georgia Digest of 1798, pp. 557-558.

on the part of Georgia, made a long speech, in which he pointed out the faithless observance of their treaties with his State by the Creeks, and exhibited two schedules of the property which they had stolen, amounting to the value of one hundred and ten thousand dollars, which he demanded to be restored. The Indians listened with profound attention, and when he had concluded, they adjourned for the day—the Big Warrior, who had lately become a prominent Chief, facetiously remarking, "I can fill up more paper than Jackson has done, with a list of similar outrages of the Georgians upon my people."

1796 June 29

A treaty was concluded, between the Chiefs of the *whole* Creek nation and the Federal commissioners, the former ratifying the New York treaty, and pledging themselves to carry out its provisions, and to assist Spain and the United States to run their line. They also stipulated to allow the government the right to establish posts upon the territory between the Ockmulgee and Oconee, allowing to each five miles square of land; but they positively refused to cede any of this territory to Georgia. The United States stipulated to allow the Creek nation two blacksmiths and two strikers, with tools and iron, and to distribute immediately six thousand dollars' worth of goods among those who were present.

June

The Georgia agents were offended with Seagrove, with the Indians, and with the Federal commissioners. They presented to the latter a protest, in which they accused them of having disregarded the interests of Georgia. They brought charges against Seagrove, who, they contended, influenced the Creeks not to cede the lands as far as the Ockmulgee. The Federal commissioners denied these allegations. Seagrove and Jackson became great enemies, and afterwards fought a duel.*

Washington had despatched Thomas Pinckney, as Envoy Extraordinary, to Madrid, who there concluded, with the Prince

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 586-616.

of Peace, a treaty, in which the King of Spain stipulated that the southern boundary of the United States should be the line of 31°, from the Mississippi to the Chattahoochie, thence down the middle of that river to its junction with the Flint, thence direct to the head of the St. Mary's river, thence down the middle of that stream to the Atlantic; that all Spanish posts and inhabitants, found north of this boundary, should be removed within six months after the ratification of the treaty, and the American posts and inhabitants living south of it, should also be removed within the same period; that the navigation of the Mississippi, from its source to the Gulf, should remain free for the commerce of the subjects of Spain and the citizens of the American Union; that both powers should cultivate peace with the Indians for mutual benefit and protection; that, hereafter, Spain should not form treaties of alliance with Indians living upon American soil, nor the Federal Government with Indians living upon Spanish territory; and that Spanish and American commissioners should mark the boundary, before the expiration of six months, after the ratification of the treaty.* 1795 Oct. 27

Colonel Andrew Ellicott, who had remained upon the Oconee so long, to no purpose, awaiting a favorable opportunity to run the line according to the New York treaty, was now transferred by Washington to Natchez, as one of the commissioners to mark the boundary between Spain and the United States. He reached Natchez, by way of the Ohio, and immediately commenced negotiations with Don Manuel Gayoso de Lamos, commandant of Fort Panmure, Governor of the Natchez dependencies, and commissioner on the part of Spain. But Carondelet had determined not to comply with the treaty, affecting to consider it made by his sovereign as a "*court finesse*," until he could settle his European difficulties, when he would wholly disregard it, and hold on to his 1797 Feb. 24

* Foreign Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 553-559.

posts east of the Mississippi. He again began to intrigue with the Western American population for the dismemberment of the Union, through his emissary, the notorious Powers. General James Wilkinson, then at the head of the Western American army, who had long been the intimate friend of Carondelet, and had received from him private and exclusive privileges of trade, which were highly beneficial to him as a Western planter, was suspected of secretly advancing these ends. Meanwhile Lieutenant McLeary, with an American force, unfurled the Fed-
Mar. 15 eral flag upon the heights of Natchez. He soon afterwards marched to Fort Panmure, and demanded its surrender, agreeably to the treaty. But Gayoso, who had placed it in complete repair, and had strengthened it with artillery and men, refused to evacuate it. The Spanish posts at Walnut Hills and Baton Rouge were all strengthened, by the order of Carondelet. An angry correspondence ensued, in which Ellicott remonstrated against this conduct, as conflicting with the letter and spirit of the treaty. Gayoso justified himself upon the ground that the Choctaws and Chickasaws, whom he had hired to surround Natchez and make threats, intended to attack the Natchez settlements, in consequence of the presence of the American troops. While these things were going on Lieutenant Percy Smith Pope arrived at Natchez with forty men, which were added to the American force. Gayoso remonstrated against the presence of these troops, intrenched within sight of Fort Panmure. Their flag was an eye-sore to the Spaniards. He desired
1797 their removal to Clarksville, but Ellicott refused. Va-
May rious reasons were given by the Spaniards for not evacuating the country, one of which had some foundation, and that was the descent upon New Orleans contemplated by Western American citizens, who had joined the British of Canada for that purpose. One of these men was Governor Blount, of Tennessee, whom the United States Senate, of which he was a member, unanimously expelled for endeavoring to enlist Western

men in such an enterprise. Colonel Hutchens, Mr. Ripelge, and other prominent citizens of the Floridas, it is asserted, were also concerned in the contemplated invasion. But this soon blew over, and other excuses for delay were invented by Carondelet and his subordinate commandants. These things served to irritate the Natchez population, which had greatly increased, and desired the expulsion of the Spaniards. Ellicott constantly urged Gayoso to begin the running of the line, but never could get him to appoint a time. The people became tumultuous, and Gayoso, dreading the consequences of an outbreak, issued a proclamation, announcing that the treaty would ultimately be complied with. They refused to listen to his promises, and the excitement became alarming, when it was ascertained that Gayoso had imprisoned an American citizen, a Baptist preacher, named Hannah, who having taken too much whiskey, had given the Spanish commandant some insulting language. The excitement was great in the country. Public meetings advised violent measures.

Gayoso. was greatly alarmed, and issued another proc- 1797
lamation, exhorting the people to submit to the Span- June 14
ish government until the difficulties could be settled,
and promising pardon to all who should repent of their misdeeds. The Georgians had never been accustomed to such language as this, and their anger now knew no bounds. Gayoso skulked through the cane, and had an interview with Ellicott, whose room he approached by the back way. By his earnest entreaties, the American commissioner urged the people to become quiet, and he was greatly assisted by Colonel Hutchens, who had much influence with the old English population. He is the same gentleman, it will be recollected, whose property the Spaniards confiscated in 1781, and who made his escape, through the Creek nation, to Georgia.

In the midst of scenes like these, Ellicott was kept in suspense, until the 29th March, when the Spanish fort was evacuated, and all the Spanish troops sailed down the river

1798 Mar. 29 He then marched his own troops, and corps of woodmen and surveyors, to Tunica Bayou, and commenced his survey in a dense swamp, upon the eastern bank of the Mississippi, where the line of 31° strikes it. In a few days he was joined by Major Stephen Minor and Sir William Dunbar, commissioners on the part of Spain.* Gayoso was now Governor of Louisiana, and he visited Ellicott's camp, with his military staff, and approved of the work, as far as it had progressed. Spain, as well as the United States, furnished troops to protect the surveyors from attacks of the Indians. These, with the pack-horses, woodsmen and laborers, had the appearance of an army. The commissioners met with great difficulties, from thick swamps, creeks, marshes and rivers, all of which they had to go through. The trees were well blazed along the line, and a mound thrown up at the end of every mile. They did not reach Pearl river until the 19th November. There Ellicott left the surveyors, and went down that stream in a canoe to New Orleans. Arranging his business with Gayoso, and purchasing a small vessel, camp equipage and supplies, he sailed to Mobile, and thence up the river of that name until he reached the camp of the surveyors. They had passed entirely through the Choctaw nation without opposition from that people. The line of 31° struck Mobile river six miles below the junction of the Tombigby and Alabama, where several rivers run parallel, forming an immense swamp several miles wide, which was now inundated. By means of boats, they erected signals upon the high lands of either side, and took the necessary observation and distances. These signals consisted of flags and tremendous lightwood fires. Ellicott here again left the surveyors, sailed to Pensacola, and lodged at the elegant quarters provided by the hospitable firm of

1798 Nov. 19

1799 Mar. 17

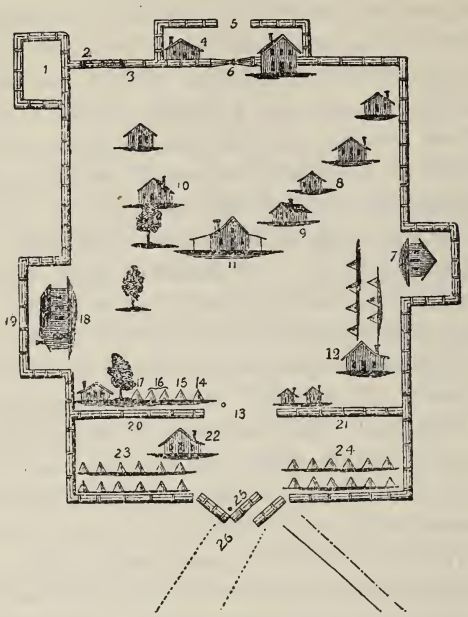
April 2

* Monette, vol. 1, pp. 517-532. Stoddart's Sketches of Louisiana, p. 89. Marbois' Louisiana, pp. 163-165. Ellicott's Journal, pp. 26-176. American State Papers, Boston edition, vol 3, p. 335.

Panton, Leslie & Co. Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, now a prominent Creek Superintendent, left the nation, by appointment, and reaching Pensacola, informed Ellicott that a large number of Creeks were then on their way down, to hold a council. It was decided to meet them upon the Conecuh, where the line would cross. This was in opposition to the suggestion of Governor Folch, who proposed Pensacola, where, it was supposed, he intended to intrigue with the Creeks to prevent the line being run. Indeed the Spaniards generally were opposed to the surrender of so much territory. At Miller's Bluff, Ellicott, Hawkins, Minor, and Colonel Maxant, with several Spanish officers, met the Creeks. These agents of the United States and Spain, addressing the Indians, urged them to assist in running the line, and not to oppose it, all of which they had stipulated to do at the treaty of Coleraine. The Mad Dog, of Tookabatcha, replied, on the other side, and assured the commissioners that their wishes would be complied with, as they now understood that the line was to be run through their territory, by the consent of Spain. The surveyors, to whose party were added two Chiefs and twenty Creek warriors, had reached the Conecuh, and begun the line from thence to the Chattahoochie. Returning to Pensacola, Hawkins and Ellicott learned, to their surprise, that a large body of Creeks were on their way, by an arrangement of Governor Folch, and that the survey would be stopped. Encamping three miles north of Pensacola, these savages demanded presents of the American commissioner, which, from motives of policy, were granted, although he had no agency in assembling them. It was soon ascertained that Folch was secretly using every exertion to defeat the plans of the American government. Ellicott left Pensacola, sailed for the mouth of the Apalachicola, and ascended that river. Reaching the surveyor's camp, he ascertained that the Creeks had been very insolent, hanging upon their rear in large bodies, and plundering their effects. Greatly discouraged by this news, he pushed the survey to the Chatta-

DRAWING OF FORT MIMS,

Found among Gen Claiborne's manuscript papers.



REFERENCES

1 Block House.
2 Pickets cut away by the Indians.
3 Guard's Station.
4 Guard House.
5 Western Gate, but not up.
6 This Gate was shut, but a hole was cut through by the Indians.
7 Captain Bailey's Station.
8 Steadham's House
9 Mrs. Dyer's House.
10 Kitchen.
11 Mims' House.
12 Randon's House.
13 Old Gate-way—open.
14 Ensign Chambliss' Tent.
15 Ensign Gibbs'.
16 Randon's.
17 Captain Middleton's.
18 Captain Jack's Station.
19 Port-holes taken by Indians.
20 21 Port-holes taken by Indians.
22 Major Beasley's Cabin.
23 Captain Jack's Company.
24 Captain Middleton's Company.
25 Where Major Beasley fell.
26 Eastern Gate, where the Indians entered.

hoochie, where he fortified himself. He sent a runner to the Ockmulgee, for Hawkins, who had left Pensacola. About this time, Captain Minor dismissed his military escort, discharged many of his laborers, according to the instruc- 1799
tions of Gayoso, given in May, and became very impor- Aug. 25
tunate to set out for the St. Mary's. In the meantime, Hawkins had arrived, and advised the continuance of the work. But a party of Indians advanced, and declared their intention to plunder the camps. Resolutely marching up to them, with the military, Hawkins kept them at bay until 10 o'clock at night, when they promised to remain at peace till morning. All that night, however, the woods rang with their riotous yells, while they threw down the beef-pens, and stole cattle and horses. They cut all the rigging of Ellicott's schooner, and robbed the master and crew, stripping them to their shirts. Fortunately, the cargo had been taken to the camp. The commissioners determined to retreat from Governor Folch's savage banditti. Captain Minor, who is believed to have been innocent of any participation in originating these hostilities, set out for the St. Mary's, attended by the American military escort, with the surveyors, who now ceased to work. Ellicott entered Sept. 18
his naked schooner, and propelled her, in the best way he could, down the Apalachicola, having saved all his papers and astronomical apparatus. Nearly three years had expired since he landed at Natchez, and he had only been able to mark the line from the Mississippi to the Chattahoochie, in consequence of the duplicity, treachery and opposition of the Spaniards. But the chief object was accomplished—*the establishment of the southern boundary of the present States of Mississippi and Alabama.* Colonel Hawkins, abandoned by the whole expedition, fearlessly remained several days among the Indians endeavoring to reconcile them.

Approaching the sea, Ellicott found, wrecked upon Fox Point, a schooner of the British navy, commanded by Lieutenant

Wooldridge, among whose crew was the celebrated William Augustus Bowles. We left that gifted but bad man in
Sept. 22 the prison of Madrid in 1792. Knowing his great influence with the Creeks, the King of Spain often sent persons of his Court to the prison, with offers of military titles and pay if he would abandon his allegiance to the English interest, join that of Spain, return to the Floridas and contribute to strengthen the colonies with his warrior forces. But the proud and unyielding Bowles spurned these offers. The Court then confined him in elegant quarters, and surrounded him with servants, sparkling wines and rich viands, with the hope of engaging his affections; but this treatment answering no purpose, he was threatened with transportation to the Island of Manilla, in the distant Pacific. Still unyielding, he was ironed and sent there in a vessel, where he remained until February, 1797. He was then despatched back to Spain, but on the way, hearing of the war between that power and England, he escaped at Ascension Island, and reached Sierra Leone, where the English Governor gave him a passage to London.* Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Portland provided for his necessities in a munificent manner. He left England in the schooner in which he was now wrecked, with which he had for some time preyed upon the commerce of Panton and Spain in the Mexican Gulf. General Bowles addressed Ellicott a polite note, inviting him to the wreck, where the latter repaired and was entertained with kindness. He and Bowles were of mutual assistance to each other—the one supplying the perishing crew with some American stores, and the other giving him charts and valuable directions in relation to the navigation around the Florida peninsula. Bowles had repeated conversations with Ellicott, in which he avowed his hatred of the Americans and his hostility to Spain, and declared his determination to visit his vengeance upon the latter in incessant attacks upon the Florida posts at the head of the Creeks, whom he termed "My people."

* Du Lac's Voyage dans les deaux Louisianes, pp. 466–470.

Ellicott sailed from the wreck to St. Marks, where he lodged in the house of the commandant, Captain Portell, and was agreeably entertained by his fascinating wife. Having repaired his schooner, he sailed around the peninsula, and went up the St. Mary's to the camp of the surveyors, where he found all had arrived safe, and where, in conjunction with Minor, he determined the point of the line of 31°, and there erected a large mound. Thus ended this protracted and disagreeable business.* 1800 Feb. 26

* Ellicott's Journal, pp. 180-278. Also his Appendix, p. 83. The Indians who broke up the survey belonged to the towns of Tallase, upon the Tallapoosa, and Ufaula, upon the Chattahoochie.

CHAPTER XXXI.

The Americans in Alabama and Mississippi.

It has been seen that the Legislature of Georgia promptly repealed the Yazoo act. Congress, with the consent of that State, organized a large portion of the domain,
1798 which was conveyed under the Yazoo sale, into a terri-
May 10 torial government, embracing the country between the Chattahoochie and Mississippi rivers, extending from the line of 31° to that of 32° 28′. This government was not to impair the rights of Georgia to the soil.

John Adams, now President of the United States, conferred upon Winthrop Sargent the post of Governor of the "Mississippi Territory." John Steele was, at the same time, appointed Secretary, while Thomas Rodney, of Delaware, and John Tilton, of New Hampshire, were constituted Judges of the Superior
1799 Court. Four months after the evacuation of the coun-
April try by the Spaniards, these officers arrived at Natchez. They found the country in the occupation of the Federal troops, under General Wilkinson. The Governor, whose powers were extensive, commenced the organization of his government. He decreed, by proclamation, the formation of the Natchez district into the counties of Adams and Pickering. He established County Courts, which were to be holden quarterly by Associate Justices. Six thousand inhabitants, including slaves, comprised the population, who lived upon the waters of Bayou Pierre, St. Catharine, Cole, Homochitto, and Buffalo creeks. There was also a settlement at the Walnut Hills, and one upon Big Black. It has been seen what kind of a

population lived upon the Tensaw and Tombigby in 1792. It was now much increased, but was composed of the same kind of people. An advance towards civilization had, however, been made in that region by the establishment of a ferry by Hollinger, an Indian countryman, across the Tombigby, 1797 and another by Samuel Mims to convey people over Oct. the Alabama. The route lay across Nannahubba Island, and in times of high water passengers were ferried from one river to the other, the distance of ten miles. Lieutenant McLeary had marched across the country, from Natchez, 1799 and had taken possession of Fort St. Stephens, when May 5 the Spanish garrison marched out and dropped down below Ellicott's line.

This portion of the Mississippi territory was utterly defenceless, entirely isolated, and surrounded by Indian nations on the north, east and west, while the treacherous Spaniards were just below at Mobile. To protect it the Federal Government established a post upon the first bluff below the confluence of the Tombigby and Alabama. Captain Shaumberg, of the second regiment, marched from Natchez with two companies and built a stockade with one bastion, which was called July Fort Stoddart, and was situated on the site of the present arsenal landing of Mount Vernon.

Governor Sargent issued another proclamation, defining the limits of Washington county, embracing the population upon the Tombigby and Alabama. Of all counties that 1800 ever were established it was by far the most extensive June 4 in territory. It extended to the Chattahoochie on the east and to Pearl river on the west, and was bounded on the south by the line of 31°, and on the north by that of 32°, 28′. Twenty counties in Alabama and twelve in Mississippi have since been formed out of the territory of the original county of Washington. The people of the territory, becoming dissatisfied with the arbitrary measures of the Governor, remonstrated with the Presi-

dent. These things, together with a prodigious increase of population, induced Congress to establish a second grade of territorial government, which allowed a Legislature. Four representatives from Adams, four from Pickering, and one
Dec. from Washington, convened at Natchez. The Governor held an unqualified veto power.

General Wilkinson deserves to be remembered for many important public services, among which were the treaties which he made with Indian tribes, and the military organization of new counties. He wrote with astonishing ease, and always expressed himself well. He was unquestionably a man of genius, as well as of much usefulness; yet he had always been suspected of allowing personal considerations to control much of his military and official conduct. However, now acting with great zeal and fidelity, he stationed troops at different points on the line of demarkation, from Fort Adams, upon the Mississippi, to Pearl river, and caused, as we have seen, Fort Stoddart to be built. While his headquar-
1801 ters were at Natchez, he made an advantageous treaty with
Oct. 27 the Chickasaws, obtaining their consent, among other things, to the cutting of a road, to remain as a highway, extending from the Cumberland district to the American settlements of Natchez. He made another treaty with the
Dec. 17 Choctaws for a road from Fort Adams to the Yazoo river. The old boundary between the British and Choctaws was also confirmed by him and marked anew. He likewise repaired to the distant Oconee, and, near a fort named in honor of him, made a treaty with the Creeks, by which the latter, for valuable considerations, ceded to the United States all
1802 the territory east of a line, to run from High Shoals,
June 16 upon Apalache, thence down the Oconee to its junction with the Ockmulgee, and thence to Ellicott's mound, upon the St. Mary's. The fearless, wise and patriotic agents, Benjamin Hawkins and Andrew Pickens, were associated with General Wilkinson in all these treaties, and, with him, travelled

from the Chickasaw Bluff, upon the Mississippi, backwards and forwards over this Indian world, encountering its dangers and sharing in mutual hardships.*

Mr. Jefferson, who was now President of the United States, appointed William C. C. Claiborne Governor of the Mississippi Territory. Governor Sargent retired from office, and never afterwards filled a public station. The new Governor, who was descended from an ancient Virginia family, removed to Tennessee when a youth, was a member of the convention which formed the constitution of that State, a Judge of the Supreme Court, and a member of Congress. A man of unquestioned tal- 1801
ents, fine address, and strict probity and honor, he could not fail to make a popular and useful officer in the Mississippi wilderness. The Territorial Secretary was Cato West, and the bench of the Superior Court was filled by Daniel Tilton, Peter B. Bruin and Seth Lewis.

The counties of Adams and Pickering being sub-divided into five others, and the name of the latter changed, they were now called Adams, Jefferson, Wilkinson, Claiborne and ——. A code of jurisprudence was adopted, and the seat of government removed six miles east of Natchez, to the town of Washington. Joshua Baker was Speaker of the House, and 1801
John Ellis President of the Executive Council or Sen- and
ate. About this period, Colonel Andrew Marschalk, of 1802
Wayne's army, established the "Natchez Gazette," the first paper issued in our country, and, afterwards, was so long engaged in the occupation, issuing different journals for forty years, that he was styled the "Father of the Mississippi press." It was not long, however, before Timothy and Samuel Terill published the "Mississippi Messenger," at the seat of government, where, also performing the duties of public printers, they published the first Digest of the Territory, compiled by Judge Harry Toulmin.†

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 648-681.
† Monette, vol. 2, p. 345. Notes on the War in the South, by Nathaniel H. Claiborne, pp. 91-102.

Upon the Tombigby and Lake Tensaw, the people still lived without laws, and without the rite of matrimony. For years, the sexes had been in the habit of pairing off, and living together, with the mutual promise of regular marriage, when ministers or magistrates should make their appearance in the country. An amusing incident will here be related, in which a young couple were united by a functionary not hitherto known as participating in such sacred rites. The house of Samuel Mims, a wealthy Indian countryman, was the most spacious in the country, and hither the young and the gay flocked to parties, and danced to the music furnished by the Creoles of Mobile and others, for the country abounded in fiddlers, of high and low degree. Daniel Johnson and Miss Elizabeth Linder had, for some time, loved each other. She was rich and he was poor, and, of
1800 course, the parents of the former objected to a *pairing*. On Christmas night, a large party was assembled at "Old Sam Mims," and the very forests resounded with music and merry peals of laughter. In the midst of the enjoyment, the lovers, in company with several young people, of both sexes, secretly left the house, entered some canoes, paddled down Lake Tensaw, into the Alabama, and arrived at Fort Stoddart, an hour before daylight. Captain Shaumberg, who had risen early to make his egg-nog, was implored to join the lovers in the bonds of matrimony. The proposition astounded the good-natured old German, who protested his ignorance of all such matters, and assured them that he was only a military commandant, having no authority whatever to make people man and wife. They entreated, telling him with truth, that the Federal Government had placed him there as a general protector and regulator of affairs, and that the case before him demanded his sanction and adjustment. After the egg-nog had circulated pretty freely, the commandant placed the lovers before him, and, in a stentor-
1800 ian voice, pronounced the following marital speech: "I, Captain Shaumberg, of the 2d regiment of the United

States army, and commandant of Fort Stoddart, do hereby pronounce you man and wife. Go home! behave yourselves—multiply and replenish the Tensaw country!" The happy pair entered their canoes, rowed back to the Boat Yard, and were pronounced, by the whole settlement, "the *best* married people they had known in a long time."*

The Federal Government displayed much wisdom in the establishment of a factory, or trading-house, at St. Stephens. It was well stored with such merchandise as suited the Choctaws, for whom it was particularly designed. It 1802
served to create a good feeling with those Indians, and to entice them from the control of Panton and the Spaniards, below the line. Joseph Chambers, a man of a well-cultivated mind, and of business capacity, a native of Salisbury, North Carolina, was made superintendent of this factory, with an assistant, Thomas H. Williams, also from North Carolina, who afterwards was Secretary of the Territory, Collector of the port of New Orleans, and United States Senator from Mississippi.

The Yazoo act had been repealed, the treaty of Madrid had been made, Ellicott's line had been run, and the Spaniards had been removed; still great difficulties had arisen between Georgia and the Federal Government in relation to lands granted under the Yazoo act, which the companies and various purchasers under them resolutely claimed and defended. Many plans were proposed for satisfactory adjustment, which produced debate and contention of an angry character. Finally, Albert Gallatin, James Madison and Levi Lincoln, on the part of the government, and James Jackson, Abraham Baldwin and John Milledge, representing Georgia, made a final disposition of the matter. For the sum of one million two hundred and fifty 1802
thousand dollars Georgia ceded to the United States all Apr. 24
the territory within the following boundaries: Beginning upon the Mississippi, at the line of 31°, thence continuing

* Conversations with old settlers.

up that river to the line of 35°; thence along that line, due east, to Nickajack; thence southward to the mouth of Uchee creek; thence down the Chattahoochie to Ellicott's line; thence along that line due west to the Mississippi, the place of beginning. The purchase money was to be paid to Georgia out of the first net proceeds of the sales of these lands. The United States stipulated to recognize all good claims to any of this territory under Spanish and British grants, and also under the act of Georgia of 1785 creating the county of Bourbon; but it refused to admit any of the Yazoo claims.* The United States now held the right of jurisdiction and the right of soil to all the territory which forms the present States of Alabama and Mississippi. After this compromise the money paid by the Yazoo companies was made over to the United States. Some of it had been drawn by the purchasers under the laws of Georgia; some of it had been lost whilst in deposit at the treasury, from which the State had taken the precaution to be saved harmless, having declared in good time that the deposit should remain in the treasury at the risk of the depositors. The Yazoo grantees, or those claiming under them, were never suffered to hold lands in Alabama or Mississippi, in virtue of either the Yazoo act or the compromise. They might have held as much as they pleased in virtue of the stock of five million scrip created by an act of Congress.

Emigrants flocked to the Mississippi Territory by various routes, all of which were difficult, and some of them very circuitous. A party set out from North Carolina, consisting of Thomas Malone, a young clerk in the land office of Raleigh; John Murrel and his family; James Moore, Goodway Myrick, George Nosworthy, Robert Caller, William Murrel, and sixty negroes. With great difficulty they ascended the Blue Ridge with their wagons, and descended through its dark gorges into the valley of the Tennessee. Constructing flat-boats at Knoxville, they floated down the

1801 Dec.

* Public Lands, vol. 1, p. 114.

river to the head of the Muscle Shoals, where they disembarked at the house of Double-Head, a Cherokee Chief. Placing their effects upon the horses, which had been brought down by land from Knoxville, they departed on foot for the "Bigby settlements," about St. Stephen's, a great distance off, and to which not a solitary direct path led. After a fatiguing march, they reached the residence of Levi Colbert, a celebrated Chickasaw Chief, who gave them the necessary directions. Pursuing their journey, they came upon the Tombigby, at the Cotton Gin, which had not long before been erected by the Federal Government to encourage the Chickasaws in the cultivation of the great staple.

Desiring to lessen the fatigues of the long and painful trip, the party constructed two canoes at this point, each forty feet in length, and very large, but of miserable workmanship, being executed with no other tools than axes and grub- 1802 bing hoes. These they placed in the river, in parallel Jan. positions, five feet apart. They were connected by a platform made of cane, upon which were deposited the effects of the expedition, which were piled up high above the heads of the emigrants, who now sat down in long rows in the two canoes. A few of the men went by land with the horses towards St. Stephens, to make preparations for the arrival of the main party. This rude and singular craft, then quite common in savage regions, had proceeded but two miles down the rapid, crooked and swollen stream, when it struck with great force against a log, which extended half across the channel, and immediately disappeared. The cane ligament which bound the Siamese canoes burst asunder, and every soul was washed deep under the waves. Those who rose again were presently seen struggling with the torrent, amid the wreck, now tossed about in the fury of the waters. Murrel rose, but in his arms was the lifeless body of a daughter. His wife also came to the surface, with a babe at her breast, both, happily, alive. Malone and others, swimming ashore, became active in assisting many of the party in reaching

limbs of trees by extending to them grapevines and canes. At length, all who survived huddled upon a small piece of land, surrounded by water.

It was now night. The north wind swept over the gloomy swamp. The ducks, in their rapid flight, whizzed through the air. The wolves howled upon the prairies. The owls screamed and hooted upon the lofty trees. The mighty timber crashed as the angry currents passed by. Such were the unwelcome sounds that fell upon the ears of this miserable party. No succor came. No encouraging voice saluted them. Benumbed with cold, they hovered together to keep alive, shivering and knocking their agitated limbs against each other, while their wet apparel froze fast upon them. Being without fire, they had no way to produce one. It was two miles back to the old camp, and the route lay over thick cane, water and small islands. A resolute young negro man volunteered to find it. He plunged into the low grounds, and, strangely, made his way to the camp. In the meantime, the helpless pioneers, despairing of his return, bewailed their condition with deep moans and bitter lamentations. Beneath the shadows of one of the darkest nights ever known, they mournfully counted over the missing and the drowned. Two long hours passed away, when the cheerful halloo of the negro was heard afar off. It was answered by a united and sympathetic shout. All eyes were turned in the direction from which the sound came, and in the darkness was seen an indistinct light, which shone over the tops of the distant canes like a far-off Aurora Borealis. It was fire, and the noble negro had brought it from the old camp. At length he came, with a cracking, crashing noise, familiar only to the ears of those who have walked through the dense cane swamps of Alabama.

Fires were kindled with dry cane, and around them sat the sufferers until the morning sun dispelled the horrid night. It was now ascertained that one white child and twenty-one negroes were entombed beneath the tide of the angry Tombigby. The

survivors groped their way to the Cotton Gin, without provisions, without hats, without tools, without firearms, without money, and with no clothes except those which drooped upon their limbs. They were friendless and alone in a savage country, far from their point of destination, and still further from their native land.

Who saved these people from starvation, and enabled them to reach Washington county, Alabama, after a journey of one hundred and twenty days from North Carolina? Not the Indians, for one of them stole a negro from the brave Malone, for the return of whom he had to give his watch. Those animals who cling to their unfortunate masters to the last moment, and are never once guilty of the crime of ingratitude, who hunted rabbits, opossums and raccoons for their famished owners. They saved the lives of these people.

Several years previous to this period two brothers from New England came to the Boat Yard, upon Lake Tensaw. William Pierce pursued the business of weaving, a profitable employment in those days. His brother John established the first American school in Alabama. There the high-blood descendants of Lachlan McGillivray, the Taits, Weatherfords and Durants, the aristocratic Linders, the wealthy Mims's, and the children of many others, first learned to read. The pupils were strangely mixed in blood, and their color was of every hue. It was not long before these Yankee brothers engaged in mercantile pursuits. They established a cotton gin at the Boat Yard, the first in that part of the country. Six months before this Abram Mordecai, an Indian trader, procuring the consent of the Creek Chiefs and the approbation of Col. Hawkins, had established a cotton gin at Weatherford's race track, on the first eastern bluff below the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa. It was built by Lyons & Barnett, of Georgia, who brought their tools, gin saws and other materials from that State on pack-horses. The same enterprising mechan-

1799

1802 Oct.

ics also built the one for the Pierces, and another at McIntosh Bluff, upon the Tombigby.

Abram Mordecai was a queer fellow. He traded extensively with the Indians, exchanging his goods for pink root, hickory-nut oil and peltries of all kinds. These he carried to New
1802 Orleans and Mobile in boats, and to Pensacola and Augusta on pack-horses. The hickory-nut oil was a luxury with French and Spanish epicures. It was manufactured by the Indians in a simple manner—by boiling the cracked nuts in water, and skimming off the oil as it floated on the surface. Mordecai bought cotton of the Indians in small quantities, ginned it, and carried it to Augusta on pack-horses, in bags much smaller than those of the present day. He was a dark-eyed Jew, and amorous in his disposition. Tourculla, (Captain Isaacs,) the Chief of the Coosawdas, hearing of his intrigues with a married squaw, approached his house with twelve warriors, knocked him down, thrashed him with poles until he lay insensible, cut off his ear, and left him to the care of his wife. They also broke up his boat, and burned down his gin-house. A pretty squaw was the cause of the destruction of the first cotton gin in Alabama.*

General Bowles, quitting the island where Ellicott found him, boldly advanced into the Creek nation, disturbed the mild and beneficial influence which Hawkins had began to engender, declared his eternal hostility to Spain and the United States, and became an object of dread to all quiet minds, and a terror to all interests against which he acted. Among other out-
1803 rages, he headed a party of Indians, advanced upon St. Marks, captured the fort, and plundered the store of Panton, Leslie & Co. Hawkins united with the Spanish authorities in a scheme to rid the country of a common enemy. A large secret reward was offered for his capture. A great feast

* Conversations with Lachlan Durant, James Moore, Abram Mordecai, and many other old traders.

was given by the Indians at the town of Tuskegee, where the old French Fort Toulouse stood, to which Bowles and the Miccasoochy Chiefs were invited. They attended, and during the feast the unsuspecting freebooter was suddenly seized by concealed Indians, who sprang upon him, securely pinioned him and placed him in a canoe full of armed warriors. They then rapidly rowed down the river. Hawkins and John Forbes, of Pensacola, were in the town, but were concealed, until Sam McNac, a half-breed, had caused Bowles to be made a prisoner. Arriving at a point in the present Dallas county, the canoe was tied up, the prisoner conducted upon the bank, and a guard set over him. In the night the guard fell asleep, when Bowles gnawed his ropes apart, crept down the bank, got into the canoe, quietly paddled across the river, entered a thick cane swamp, and fled. At the break of day, the astonished Indians arose in great con- 1803
fusion, but fortunately saw the canoe on the opposite side, which Bowles had foolishly neglected to shove off. Swimming over to that point, they got upon his track, and by the middle of the day once more made him a prisoner. He was conveyed to Mobile, and from thence to Havana, where, after a few years, he died in the dungeons of Moro Castle.*

While the inhabitants of the eastern section were disturbed by Bowles, a notorious robber, named Mason, was a terror to the people of the western part of the Mississippi Territory. During the occupancy of the country by the Spaniards, the lair of this remorseless human tiger was in a cave upon the Ohio, where he secreted his banditti, and the booty which he had acquired in a long and bloody havoc upon the public. He had now stationed himself upon the highway between New Orleans and Natchez, with his two sons and their desperate associates. The Western people boated their produce down the Mississippi, sold it in New Orleans, purchased horses, and returned

* Conversations with old traders, who were present when Bowles was captured. See also Indian Affairs, vol. 1.

by this route to Natchez, and from thence to Nashville, laden with goods and money. This, therefore, offered the most extensive theatre for the operations of Mason and his banditti. Hence his sanguinary outrages were perpetrated one day in the Chickasaw nation and the next upon Pearl river. At length the people in all parts of the country were aroused by his inhuman murders, and every hand was raised against him. Governor Claiborne declared him an outlaw, and offered a large reward for his head. The proclamation was widely distributed, and fell into the hands of Mason; and while he was reading it with a smile of scorn and contempt, a blow from behind felled him to the earth. His sons were out upon an expedition, and he was alone with
1803 two of his men, who, tempted by the reward, now cut off his head and bore it to Washington to Governor Claiborne. Fortunately, on account of a temporary lack of funds in the treasury, the reward was not paid. In the meantime, hundreds flocked to the governor's quarters to see the head of Mason, and it was recognized by many who had seen him. Among others went two young men, whose respectable father Mason and his gang had waylaid and robbed while they were with him. They immediately recognized his two associates, who brought in the head. These men were thrown into prison, condemned and hung, and the reward was thus saved to the territory, while Mason was also out of the way.*

Down to this period, no Protestant preacher had ever raised his voice to remind the Tombigby and Tensaw settlers of their duty to the Most High. Hundreds, born and bred in the wilderness, and now adult men and women, had never even
1803 seen a preacher. The mysterious and eccentric Lorenzo
April Dow, one day suddenly appeared at the Boat Yard. He came from Georgia, across the Creek nation, encountering its dangers, almost alone. He proclaimed the truths of the

* Monette, vol. 2, pp. 351-353. Conversations with aged persons in Washington county, Alabama.

gospel here, to a large audience, crossed over the Alabama, and preached two sermons to the "Bigby settlers," and went from thence to the Natchez settlements, where he also exhorted the people to "turn from the error of their ways." He then vtsited the Cumberland region and Kentucky, and came back to the Tombigby, filling his appointments to the very day. Again plunging into the Creek nation, this holy man of God once more appeared among the people of Georgia.* 1804 Dec. 27

As early as the summer of 1799, the Rev. Tobias Gibson, a Methodist missionary from South Carolina, visited the Natchez settlements, by way of the Cumberland and Ohio—organized religious societies in Washington and its vicinity, and then departed from the wilderness. In the fall of 1800, he again appeared, now as a missionary from the Tennessee Conference, and formed societies from Bayou Pierre to the Spanish line, numbering, collectively, two hundred church members. After performing the most arduous labor in the cause of our Divine Master, for three years, in this rude and savage land, he died. The Rev. Mr. Brown, another Methodist missionary, came from Tennessee in 1802, and brought with him to the Natchez country, a mind stored with a knowledge of science, and a heart fervent with piety. He labored in Natchez until 1807. Montgomery and Hall, two reverend gentlemen of the Presbyterian order, also preached in Natchez for several years. The Baptists, too, sent a "laborer into the vineyard," in the person of the Rev. David Cooper, who arrived in 1802. Dr. Cloud, of the Episcopal Church, was also sent to "proclaim the glad tidings." The efforts of these various sects were highly salutary, serving to soften and refine the people, and to banish much sin and vice from the worst region that ministers ever entered.†

Congress established regulations respecting the English,

* Lorenzo Dow's complete works," pp. 76–101.
† Monette, vol. 2, pp. 354–357.

Spanish and Georgia grants. Many of the inhabitants
1803 claimed extensive tracts of land under them. A land
Mar. 3 office was established at the town of Washington, and a board of commissioners formed, composed of Thomas Rodney and Robert Williams, who proceeded to consider all claims arising under these grants, in a district extend-
July 9 ing from Pearl river to the Mississippi. They continued in office until the 3d July, 1807, having recorded two thousand and ninety claims. Their acts were sanctioned by the President. Another board of commissioners, consisting of Joseph Chambers, Epham Kirby and Robert Carter Nicholas,
1804 was formed at St. Stephens, upon the Tombigby, whose
Feb. 2 district extended from Pearl river eastward. They adjourned on the 21st December, 1805, having admitted to record two hundred and seventy six claims, which the President likewise ratified. The inhabitants living upon public lands about the time of Ellicott's survey, were afterwards allowed by the government a section of land; and those who came just before the board of commissioners was established, received a quarter section. Isaac Briggs was surveyor-general. The Ter-
Mar. 27 ritorial government was made to extend to the southern boundary of the State of Tennessee; but the extinguishment of the Indian title had been obtained to no portion, except a strip seventy miles long, above and below Natchez, and extending back twenty miles, and the small district upon the Tombigby. The balance of the territory was occupied by the Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws and Choctaws.

Col. James Caller, of North Carolina, was one of the first representatives to the Legislative Council, from the county of Washington, Alabama. The first County Court of this county was held at McIntosh Bluff, where John Caller, Cornelius Rain and John Johnson, presided with great frontier dignity. These justices had no code before them, and coming from different States, decided cases according to the laws of their native land,

so that the most amusing differences of opinion often prevailed. This was the case all over the territory; but the Justices from Georgia holding the laws of South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, and the whole of New England in great contempt, contended that the practice in the State from which they came, was alone correct. With their usual success, they generally managed to carry their points.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Governor Troup, or the McIntosh Family—Incidents in the Mississippi Territory.

At the close of our last chapter it was stated that the first American court held in Alabama was at McIntosh Bluff, which is situated upon the western bank of the Tombigby, between its confluence with the Alabama and the town of St. Stephens. Connected with this bluff, there is, to us, a pleasing historical reminiscence. Alabama has the honor of being the birthplace of George M. Troup, late Governor of Georgia, and who is one of the most vigorous and expressive political and epistolary writers of the age. His grandfather, Captain John McIntosh, the Chief of the McIntosh clan, was long attached to the army of West Florida, and his valuable services were rewarded by the King of England, with the grant of McIntosh Bluff, and extensive tracts of land upon the Mississippi. He had a son, who was also a British officer, and a daughter, a native of Georgia. The latter, while on a visit to England, married an officer of the royal army, named Troup. She sailed from England to Mobile, and, arriving at the latter place, entered a barge, and went up the Tombigby river to the residence of her father at McIntosh Bluff, where, in the wilds of Alabama, Governor Troup was born in September, 1780. She had an uncle, named Roderick McIntosh, or "Old Rory," as he was familiarly called, a most extraordinary character, a kind of Don Quixote, old Arab Chief, Scottish and Irish Chieftain, the Saladin and Cœur de Leon of chivalry. He was long an officer of his Majesty's army in Georgia and East Florida. Thus the

father, brother, uncle and husband of this lady, the mother of George M. Troup, were all British officers before the commencement of the revolution. Being removed from the scenes of that revolution, none of them may be said to have taken sides against it, except "Old Rory," who during the war was frequently in Georgia and East Florida, and, although far advanced in years, was at all times ready to storm any whig fortress that might present itself. Before he came to America he had been the champion of his native glen in Scotland, and was strongly attached to the Stuart family. In 1777 he was over sixty-five years of age. He was tall; his form was admirably proportioned for strength and activity. His complexion was ruddy, and his hair was white, frizzled and bushy. In walking, or rather striding, his step ordinarily embraced the space of four feet. He was not rich, but lived in ease and comfort, when not engaged in the actual service of the King. He cared nothing for money. During the Spanish occupation of East Florida he sold a drove of cattle in St. Augustine, and receiving payment in specie, placed it in a bag on his horse and rode towards home. On the route the canvas gave way, and many of the dollars fell upon the path. He secured those which were left and pursued his journey, giving himself no concern about those upon the ground. Some years afterwards, being in want of money, he recollected his loss, went to the place, picked up as many dollars as he wanted and returned home. He was fond of dogs. He once laid a considerable bet that he could hide a doubloon, at three miles distance, and that his setter, which he had taught to take his back track, would find it. *Luath* presently went off on his trail, was gone some time, and returned panting, with his tongue out, but came without the doubloon. "*Treason!*" vociferated "Rory," and he walked rapidly to the place where he had hidden the money. He turned over the log, and found that Luath had torn up the earth in search of it. A man was seen some distance off engaged in the splitting of rails. Without ceremony "Rory" drew his dirk, advanced upon him,

and swore he would put him to death if he did not give up the doubloon. The man, very much alarmed, immediately handed him the coin, observing that, having seen McIntosh put something under the log, he had gone to the place and found the gold. "Rory," tossing him back the money, said, "Take it, vile caitiff; it was not the pelf, but the honor of my dog, I cared for."

In 1778 a portion of the garrison of St. Augustine, under General Provost, marched by land to join a force from New York to attack Savannah, then in the occupation of the whigs. "Rory" was a captain of light infantry upon this expedition. On the march they passed near a small whig fort, commanded by Captain, afterwards Colonel John McIntosh. Early one morning, when "Rory" had made rather free with the morning glass, he insisted on sallying out to summon the fort to surrender. His friends were unable to restrain him, and he presently advanced, with claymore in hand, followed by his faithful negro, Jim. Approaching the gate of the fort, he said, in an audible and commanding tone, "Surrender, you miscreants! How dare you presume to resist his majesty's arms!" Captain McIntosh knew him, and, forbidding any of his men to fire, threw open the gate, and said, "Walk in, cousin, and take possession." "No," said Rory, with great indignation, "I will not trust myself with such vermin, but I order you to surrender." A rifle was fired at him, the ball of which passed through his face. He fell, but immediately recovered. He retreated backwards, flourishing his sword. His servant, seeing his face covered with blood, and hearing the shot falling around him, implored his master to face about and run for his life. He replied, "Run yourself, poor slave, but I am of a race that never runs." In this manner, he backed safely into the lines, flourishing his sword in defiance, and keeping his face to the enemy.

Upon a certain occasion, "Rory" rode from St. Augustine to Savannah, and applied to his friend, Couper, for money to defray his expenses from that place to Charleston. Couper saw

that something of an extraordinary character agitated him, and with difficulty learned the cause of his excitement. "That reptile in Charleston, Gadsden, has insulted my country, and I will put him to death." "What has he done?" said Couper. "Why," said Rory, "on being asked how he meant to fill up his wharf, in Charleston, he replied, 'By importing Scotchmen, who were fit for nothing better.'" With great difficulty the friends of Rory prevailed on him to return home.

It would be an endless task to enumerate all the anecdotes in our possession in relation to this remarkable Highlander, the grand-uncle of Governor Troup. He was often in the Creek nation, and was the father of Colonel William McIntosh, a half-breed Muscogee, of high character, whom the Upper Creeks killed for his friendship to the Georgians. "Rory" always dressed in the Highland costume. He was perfectly fearless in spirit, while his broadsword, wielded by one of the most powerful arms, caused streams of human blood to flow in many desperate engagements. Although engaged in the rebellion of '45, King George was nevertheless much attached to him, and "Rory" was ready to die for that monarch at any moment.

There was another branch of the McIntosh family—all, however, close connections of Governor Troup, by consanguinity—who were conspicuous whigs in the revolution, citizens of Georgia, and men who occupied high ranks in the army. One of these was General Lachlan McIntosh, who came out to Georgia with Oglethorpe, when a little boy, and the other, Colonel John McIntosh, who also fought for liberty throughout the war. In later times, Colonel John S. McIntosh, one of the same family, became a distinguished American officer, was in the wars of 1813 and 1814, and recently, in the Mexican war, was wounded at Resaca de la Palma, and afterwards at Molino del Rey, and died in the city of Mexico. The McIntosh family was composed of people of marked character, all whom were born to command. The blood always exhibited itself,

even when mixed with that of the Indian. After the revolution, the father of Governor Troup established himself in Georgia, became an American citizen, and was much esteemed and respected to the day of his death. His body is interred at Belleville, McIntosh county, and that of his wife in the family vault of General Lachlan McIntosh at Savannah.*

1801 Mar. 21

Napoleon Bonaparte had turned his eagle eye to the rich province of Louisiana, and it was ceded by Spain to France. He contemplated its occupation, with a large army, and probably entertained designs of conquest against portions of the United States; but, becoming deeply involved in wars with the whole of Europe, he reluctantly

1803 April 30

relinquished these intentions, and ceded Louisiana to the United States for sixty millions of francs. Governor Claiborne, with a large number of emigrants, who had already flocked to Natchez from all parts of the Union for the purpose of occupying Louisiana, sailed down the Missis-

Dec. 20

sippi, with Wilkinson and his forces, and took formal possession of the city of New Orleans, in behalf of the United States. He had been appointed the Governor of the Louisiana Territory. He left the people of the Mississippi Territory duly impressed with a deep sense of obligation for his valuable public services. Cato West, the Territorial Secretary, discharged the executive duties until his successor arrived.

1804 Mar. 27

The distance of Natchez from the Tombigby was so great that Congress authorized the President to appoint an additional Superior Court Judge for the benefit of the people settled upon that river. The Hon. Harry Toulmin was selected. He was born at Taunton, in England, the 7th April, 1766, and descended from a learned and respectable family. He became a pastor of the Unitarian church, at Chowbert, in Lancashire, in 1788, where he occupied a prominent position, officiating before a congregation of a thousand hearers.

* MS. notes in my possession.

Becoming an object of suspicion to the government, it determined to silence not only his efforts, but those of every other person who indulged in an independent expression of opinion. Frequently threatened with personal injury, and often surrounded by mobs, who extended their violence to his private residence, as well as his church, Mr. Toulmin determined to seek a land where all religious opinions are tolerated. Landing at Norfolk, Virginia, he proceeded to Winchester, where he had the misfortune to lose two of his children. The year following, he became the President of Transylvania University, of Lexington, the duties of which he discharged for four years. He was then Secretary of State of Kentucky for the long period of eight years, and wrote most of the public documents of that day. Having pursued the study of law and attained great proficiency in it, he compiled a code of laws for Kentucky in the most satisfactory manner. A fine writer, an excellent scholar, an amiable man, and a delightful fireside companion, Judge Toulmin won upon the hearts of his friends and engaged the confidence of the public. He came to Alabama by way of New Orleans, settled at a cantonment near Fort Stoddart, and afterwards removed to the court house, which he called Wakefield, in memory of Goldsmith's good vicar. His first court was held in the fall of 1804, he having been diligently engaged for several months previous in arranging the judicial department of Washington county. There was no newspaper here, and Thomas Malone, the clerk, advertised libels against boats for smuggling in a New Orleans paper, published by Bradford & Anderson.

Fort Stoddart was now a prominent post. Captain Shaumberg retired from the command, which was assumed by Captain Schuyler, of New York, who had the command of eighty men. Lieutenant Reuben Chamberlain, now of Mobile, arrived at this station in June, as paymaster. Edmund Pendleton Gaines was then a lieutenant under Captain

1804 Fall

Schuyler. Here the Court of Admiralty was held, for it was a port of entry.*

Robert Williams, of North Carolina, appointed to succeed Governor Claiborne, arrived at the town of Washington, Mississippi, and partook of a public dinner, at which the Hon-
1805 orable Thomas Rodney presided. His staff consisted of
Jan. 26 William Scott, William B. Shields, William Woolridge and John C. Carmichael, the first with the rank of colonel and the others with that of major.

Congress having constituted the country upon the Tombigby a revenue district, known as the "District of Mobile," the most vigilant and annoying system of searches commenced. The people, with just cause, considered it an unnecessary restriction upon a weak and defenceless territory. Not only did Spain exact heavy duties at the port of Mobile upon American merchandise destined for the American settlements above, but the Federal Government, which ought rather to have fostered and protected her wilderness children, also exacted duties from them at Fort Stoddart. These arbitrary revenue laws of Spain and the United States were applied with equal severity also to whatever the persecuted settlers of Alabama chose to *export*, so that a Tombigby planter, sending his produce to New Orleans by way of Mobile, and exchanging it there for goods and supplies, paid, by the time he reached home, an *ad valorem* duty of twenty-five per cent. Vessels were required to pass under the guns of Fort Charlotte, and to submit to insult and search. The Spaniards valued the goods themselves, and imposed a duty of
1805 twelve and a half per cent. The Federal Government remonstrated with Spain, in an extensive correspondence, but, we think, with a very ill grace, while restrictions were imposed by herself upon her own people at the port of Fort Stoddart.

* I have consulted some biographical notices of the life and character of Judge Toulmin—Conversations with Major Reuben Chamberlain, of Mobile, and Thomas Malone.

When the line of demarcation was established by Ellicott and the Spanish commissioners, those inhabitants, chiefly Spaniards, old British subjects and tories—living in the Natchez district, retired below the line, within Spanish jurisdiction, as the reader has already seen. Notwithstanding that General Wilkinson then entered into a convention with the Governor of Louisiana, for the mutual surrender of deserters, and both sides adopted wise measures to prevent border disturbances, yet much prejudice and ill-feeling continued to exist between the American settlers and Spaniards. No serious outbreaks, however, occurred until after Louisiana was surrendered to the United States. A controversy then arose, in relation to a strip of country lying between the line of 31° on the north, the Bayou Iberville on the south, the Mississippi on the west, and Pearl river on the east. This had been organized by the Spaniards, into a district, called the "Government of Baton Rouge," and placed under the control of Don Carlos de Grandpre. It comprised the posts of Baton Rouge, Manchac, Thompson's Creek, and Bayou Sara. A controversy also arose in relation to the country bounded by the Perdido on the east, Pearl river on the west, the line of 31° on the north, and the Gulf of Mexico on the south, which was the Spanish "Mobile district." The United States contended that these two districts should have been surrendered at the same time that the island of New Orleans and the country west of the Mississippi were given up; that Bonaparte, in his treaty with Spain, acquired the whole of the Louisiana which belonged to France before 1762; that, when subsequently he ceded Louisiana to the United States, he ceded all which he had acquired from Spain, and, of course, the Baton Rouge and Mobile districts were included, for they once belonged to French Louisiana. Spain met these arguments by assuming the positions, that, just before the close of the American revolution, she became herself engaged in a war with England; that she took from Great Britain, by conquest, the Baton Rouge district, and that of Mobile, which

was then a part of West Florida; that, in 1783, Great Britain confirmed these to her by treaty; that, since then, she (Spain) had always considered these districts as a part of Spanish West Florida; that Bonaparte only ceded to the United States Louisiana, not embracing, of course, the Baton Rouge and Mobile districts.

The people of the Mississippi Territory, believing that the American government was right in the controversy, were impatient to occupy the rich lands in the Baton Rouge district, and were loud and open in their denunciations of the Spaniards. Border troubles commenced. Lieutenant John Glasscock, a

1805 subject of Spain, placed himself at the head of twelve

Aug. 12 Spanish light-horse, crossed over the line two miles into the Mississippi territory, seized William Flannagin and his wife, and forcibly carried them fifteen miles, into Spanish territory. Here, finding that they were not the persons whom the authorities wanted, he turned them loose, to make their way back on foot, having retained their horse. This first open violation of American rights was followed by one more serious. Many citizens of the Union had settled already in the Baton Rouge district, while others lived near the line, ready to enter it when a suitable opportunity offered. Among the most conspicuous of the latter class were Nathan, Reuben and Samuel Kemper, sons of a Baptist preacher, who emigrated from Loudon, Virginia, to Ohio. They came to the Mississippi Territory in 1803, and established themselves at and near Pinckneyville, within a few miles of the Spanish line. Men of strong frontier sense, with a pleasing appearance and fine address, the Kempers were well suited to the times and were dreaded by the Spaniards. They had acquired lands in the Baton Rouge district, under Spanish grants, which they knew would enrich them could the country once be occupied by Americans. Beginning to exert their influence, with an end to the expulsion of the Spaniards, Governor Grandpre determined to seize

and imprison them. He despatched a company of kidnappers to the house of Nathan Kemper. They arrived 1805
there at 12 o'clock at night. They were Lewis Ritchie, Sept. 3
Minor Butler, Abraham Horton, James Horton, Dr. Bomer, Henry Flowers, Jr., and —— McDermot, who were in disguise, and were citizens of the Mississippi Territory, but accomplices in the schemes of Grandpre. Seven negroes were also in company with them. The party were armed with guns and clubs, and provided with ropes. They forced the door, entered the room in which Reuben Kemper was sleeping, dragged him from his bed, beat him with clubs, and then tied him. Some of them at the same time dragged Nathan Kemper from the bed, in which he was sleeping with his wife, who received some blows from their clubs in the scuffle, one of the kidnappers crying out, "If she utters another word I will kill her!"

Nathan was also severely beaten and well secured with cords. The brothers begged to know what they had done. A voice answered, "You have ruined the Spanish country!" The party gagged them by placing large sassafras roots in their mouths. Then tying a line around their necks they were made to run before the horses of the kidnappers, and were conducted to the Spanish line. At the same time a branch of this party had entered the tavern of Samuel Kemper at Pinckneyville, the proprietor of which they seized, beat with clubs, gagged and pinioned. In running along by the side of a horseman, this prisoner, unable to keep up, fell to the earth, and was cruelly 1805
dragged an hundred yards by a rope around his neck. Sept. 3
He, too, was conducted to the Spanish line, where all three of the unhappy brothers were delivered to Captain Solomon Alston, who conveyed them with a guard to the Tunica Landing, where they were placed in a boat, also guarded, which was ordered to transport them to Baton Rouge. In the meantime a Dr. Towles, who had been visiting a patient, hearing of the outrage early in the morning, galloped his horse to Point Coupee,

informed Lieutenant Wilson, the commandant at that place, who, with a file of soldiers, rescued the Kempers and captured the Spanish guard. They were all sent to the town of Washington, and the affair was legally investigated by Judge Rodney, and the parties were discharged. It, however, created much excitement, and Governor Williams formed a strong patrol, composed of two companies, at the head of which was Colonel John Ellis. After some sharp correspondence between the governor and Colonel Grandpre, the people became quiet, and border troubles ceased for a while. However, this shameful treatment of American citizens produced some excitement in Washington city, and John Randolph, of the committee of foreign relations, reported a bill for the raising an army to repel and punish Spanish aggressors. But the friends of Jefferson's administration refused to adopt it.*

Nothing but an Indian trail led from the Oconee to the Alabama river at Lake Tensaw. The houses of accommodation were few, kept by Indians and half-breeds, and were of the most indifferent kind. None of the rivers were provided with
1805 ferry-boats, nor were the creeks bridged. The Federal
Nov. 14 Government, desiring to open a better avenue to the new country, obtained from a delegation of thirty Creek Chiefs and warriors, then at Washington city, the right of using a horse-path through their country, along which the Chiefs agreed to establish ferries and bridges, and to open good houses
Oct. 7 of accommodation. The Cherokees, at Tellico Blockhouse, granted the right for a mail route from Knoxville to New Orleans by way of the Tombigby. The United States also acquired more territory from the Chickasaws, who
July 23 ceded about three hundred and fifty thousand acres, lying in the bend of the Tennessee, a very small portion of which, in the shape of a triangle, fell into Alabama and was

* American State Papers, Boston edition, vol. 5, pp. 103-124. Also historical MS. notes in the possession of E. T. Wood, of Mobile.

afterwards formed into the county of Madison. At Mount Dexter, the Choctaws ceded to the government Nov. 16 five millions of acres, commencing at the Cut-Off, at a point half way between the Alabama and Tombigby, running north to the Choctaw corner, west to Fulluctabuna Old Fields, thence across the Tombigby to the Mississippi settlements, thence south to Ellicott's line, and east along that line back to the Cut-Off.*

Thus the whole southern portion of the present State of Mississippi was thrown open to the Americans. The new purchase was soon formed into three counties—Marion, Wayne and Greene. A population from Georgia and Tennessee poured into the magnificent forest north of the Tennessee, about "Hunt's Spring," which had been obtained from the Chickasaws, as just mentioned. The population of the Mississippi Territory had much increased, Natchez had become a large town, where boats going down and up the great river landed and traded, while the crews engaged in fights, drunkenness, gambling, and all kinds of debaucheries. It was the greatest thoroughfare in the whole forest world, and was decidedly a most abandoned place.

The subject of education was not neglected, and Jefferson College had been established at Ellicott's Spring, in the vicinity of the town of Washington. Many improvements, in the way of houses, farms and new towns, gave the territory an air of civilization.

* Indian Affairs and Land Laws.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The Arrest of Aaron Burr in Alabama.

Aaron Burr—a descendant of learned ancestry, a native of New Jersey, a graduate of Princeton, a whig colonel of the Revolution, a lawyer of ability, a leading member of the New York Legislature, a State's Attorney-General, a Senator of the United States, a Vice-President of the Union—at length found

1804 July 11 himself nominated by the republican party of New York as a candidate for the office of Governor of that State. Among his most formidable enemies was Alexander Hamilton, whom he not long after killed in a duel. The tide of public opinion set strongly against him in consequence of this unfortunate affair, and he was swept into exile

1805 Mar. 4 upon the seacoast of Carolina. He, however, returned to Washington, and presided over the Senate until the expiration of his term of office as Vice-President.

A warrant for the killing of Hamilton, in the hands of the officers of justice, prevented Burr from returning to New York. He had likewise become unpopular with the friends of Jefferson, with whom he had been a close competitor for the Presidency. Of course he had no friends among the prominent federalists, against whom he had always acted. These things combined to make him long for brighter prospects in the Southwest. In 1805 he traveled through Kentucky and Tennessee, enjoying the society of Clay and Jackson, besides that of many other distinguished persons. From January until August of the following year his hours were passed in Washington and Philadelphia,

consumed in revolving schemes, the consummation of which he believed would elevate him above his fallen condition.

Burr had purchased a portion of the lands granted by the King of Spain to Baron Bastrop, which lay between the Sabine and Natchitoches. His designs appear to have been the colonization of these lands, the expulsion of the Spaniards, the conquest of Texas, and, ultimately, of Mexico. To effect these things it was necessary to raise a large armed force in the West. He believed, also, that a war would soon ensue between the United States and Spain, and he expected, in that event, to co-operate with General Wilkinson, who had charge of the Western and Southern army. Upon his death-bed Burr denied that he had any intention of dismembering the Union, and, as he had then arrived at the age of eighty, and outlived both his descendants and his reputation, it would seem that there was no inducement to conceal any act of his life.

Burr again made his appearance in the western country, where his plausibility captivated the people, who made active preparations to carry out his designs. Boats were constructed and stored with provisions and concealed arms. General Wilkinson was suspected of having countenanced his enterprise. Rumors had reached President Jefferson that Burr was raising troops for the purpose of dismembering the Union. He caused him to be arrested at Lexington, where Clay appeared in his defence. Burr was discharged, for the want of sufficient evidence to convict him. Then, descending the Cumberland river, and the Mississippi, with thirteen boats and sixty men, he was met, some miles above Natchez, by Colonel F. L. Claiborne, whom the Governor of the Mississippi Territory, influenced by the proclamations of Jefferson, had despatched, at the head of a detachment of two hundred and seventy-five men, for the purpose of arresting him. Burr surrendered his boats and men, and proceeded, with Claiborne, to the town of

1806 Summer

1806 Dec. 6

1807 Jan.

Washington, once more a prisoner of the United States. The people, generally, sympathized with him, and thought him much wronged. He was honored with balls and parties in Adams county. He found no difficulty in giving bonds, in the sum of ten thousand dollars, for his appearance at court. When it convened he appeared, with his counsel, and demanded a release from his bonds, as the Attorney-General stated that he was satisfied his offenses did not come within the jurisdiction of Mississippi, and insisted on his being sent to a competent tribunal. The motion of the Attorney-General was sustained, and Burr's application for a discharge was overruled by the Judges. The next morning the prisoner did not make his appearance in the court room, and it was soon ascertained that he had fled. A troop of cavalry was despatched in pursuit of him, while the governor distributed proclamations over the country, which promised a reward of two thousand dollars for his apprehension. His destination was unknown.

* * * * * * *

During a cold night in February, two young men—Nicholas Perkins, a lawyer, and Thomas Malone, clerk of the court—were sitting in their cabin, in the village of Wakefield, Washington county, Alabama. Before them was a backgammon board, and they were absorbed in the playing of that game. The hour was ten o'clock. The distant tramp of horses arrested their attention. Two travellers presently rode up to the door, one of whom inquired for the tavern. It was pointed out to him, and then he asked the road to Colonel Hinson's. Perkins informed him that the route lay over difficult paths, the place was seven

1807 miles distant, and a dangerous creek intervened. The

Feb. 18 fire, being replenished with pine, now threw a light in the face of the traveller who propounded these questions. His countenance appeared to Perkins exceedingly interesting. His eyes sparkled like diamonds, while he sat upon his splendid horse, caparisoned with a fine saddle and new holsters. His dress

was that of a plain farmer, but beneath his coarse pantaloons protruded a pair of exquisitely shaped boots. His striking features, with the strange mixture of his apparel, aroused the suspicions of Perkins, and, no sooner had the two travelers ridden from the door, than he said to Malone, with the most earnest gesticulation, "That is Aaron Burr. I have read a description of him in the proclamation. I cannot be mistaken. Let us follow him to Hinson's, and take measures for his arrest." Malone declined to accompany him, remonstrating, at the same time, upon the folly of pursuing a traveler, at such a late hour of the night, and upon the basis of the merest conjecture. Perkins now rushed to the cabin of Theodore Brightwell, the sheriff, and awoke him. Presently these men were seen riding off with a rapid pace. The night was bitter cold, and the pine trees of the forest sadly moaned. 1807 Feb. 18

The travelers strangely made their way to the residence of Hinson, where they arrived about half past eleven o'clock. The moon had just risen, and enabled the lady of the house, whose husband was absent, to see that they were travelers, by their saddle-bags and tin cups, as she timidly peeped through a small window. She made no answer to their "halloo," but quietly closed the window. The strangers alighted and went into the kitchen, where a cheerful fire was yet burning. Perkins and the sheriff soon came in sight of the house. The former, recollecting that he had already been seen at Wakefield, thought it politic to remain in the woods, until Brightwell could go in the house, make the necessary discoveries, and return to him. Mrs. Hinson was a relative of the sheriff, and, recognizing his voice, felt relieved by his appearance from the fears she had felt in consequence of the strangers having come at such a late hour of the night. Brightwell repaired to the kitchen and discovered one of these men sitting by the fire, with his head down, while a handkerchief partially concealed his face. His companion had gone to the stable to assist a negro in taking care of the horses. It

was not long before they went into the main building, where the hostess had hastily prepared supper. While the elder traveler was eating, he engaged her in a sprightly conversation, in which he often thanked her for her kindness. At the same time he cast the keenest glances at the sheriff, who stood before the fire, evidently with the endeavor to read his thoughts and intentions. After he had finished his supper he arose from the table, bowed to the lady, walked back to the kitchen and took his seat by the fire. Mrs. Hinson then turned to his companion, and said, "Have I not, sir, the honor of entertaining Colonel Burr, the gentleman who has just walked out?" He gave her no answer, but rose from the table, much embarrassed, and also repaired to the kitchen. Her question had been prompted by Brightwell. In the morning, after breakfast, the elder traveler sought an interview with the lady, took occasion again to thank her for the hospitable attentions, regretted the absence of her husband, inquired the route to Pensacola, and rode off with his companion.

1807 Feb. 18

1807 Feb. 19

Perkins remained at his post in the woods, shivering with cold, and wondering why Brightwell did not return to him. His patience at length became exhausted, and, believing the person he was pursuing to be really Burr, he mounted his horse, and rode rapidly to the house of Joseph Bates, Sr., at Nannahubba Bluff. Procuring from that gentleman a negro and a canoe, he paddled down the river, and arrived at Fort Stoddart at the breaking of day. Rushing into the fort, and acquainting Captain Edward P. Gaines with his suspicions, the latter made instant preparations to take the road. After a hasty breakfast, about the rising of the sun, Gaines, placing himself at the head of a file of mounted soldiers, rode off with Perkins. About nine o'clock that morning they met the two mysterious travelers, on the descent of a hill, near a wolf pen, at the distance of two miles from

1807 Feb. 19

the residence of Hinson. The following conversation immediately ensued:

GAINES—I presume, sir, I have the honor of addressing Colonel Burr.

STRANGER—I am a traveler in the country, and do not recognize your right to ask such a question.

GAINES—I arrest you at the instance of the Federal Government.

STRANGER—By what authority do you arrest a traveler upon the highway, on his own private business?

GAINES—I am an officer of the army. I hold in my hands the proclamations of the President and the Governor, directing your arrest.

STRANGER—You are a young man, and may not be aware of the responsibilities which result from arresting travelers.

GAINES—I am aware of the responsibilities, but I know my duty.

The stranger now became exceedingly animated, and with much eloquence and force denounced these proclamatins as documents which had emanated in malevolent feeling, without any just foundation, and endeavored again to frighten the young officer from discharging his duty, by ingeniously animadverting upon the great liabilities which he was about to assume. But Gaines sternly replied, "My mind is made up. You must accompany me to Fort Stoddart, where you shall be treated with all the respect due the ex-Vice-President of the United States, so long as you make no attempt to escape from me." The stranger for a moment gazed at him with earnestness, apparently surprised at the unusual firmness which the young officer exhibited. He then assented, by a gentle motion of his head, wheeled his horse around, and took the road to the fort, riding by the side of the captain. His traveling companion rode back toward Wakefield with Brightwell, the sheriff,

1807
Feb. 19

who was in company with the two travelers when they were met by Gaines.*

The party reached the fort in the evening, and Colonel Burr, being conducted to his room, took his dinner alone. Late in the night, he heard a groan in an adjoining room. He arose from a table, at which he was reading, opened the door, entered the room, and approached the bedside of Geo. S. Gaines, the brother of the commandant, who was sick. He was kind to the sufferer, felt of his pulse, said he had traveled much and knew something of medicine, and offered his services. They now entered into an agreeable conversation. Burr asked the Choctaw factor many questions about the Indians and their commerce. The next day he appeared at the dinner table, and was introduced to the wife of the commandant, who was the daughter of Judge Harry Toulmin. In the evening, he played chess with that accomplished lady, and, during his confinement at the fort, was often her competitor in that intricate game. Every night he sought the company of the invalid, who became exceedingly attached to him, and who felt deep regret on account of the downfall of so interesting and so distinguished a character. Often and often did the good heart of George S. Gaines grieve over the adversities and trials of this remarkable man, as they discoursed together. In all their conversations, maintained every night, the impenetrable Burr never once alluded to the designs which he had failed to carry out, to his present arrest, or to his future plans.

1807 Feb. 19

In the meantime, Captain Gaines had been untiring in his

* It remains a mystery to this day why Brightwell did not keep his promise with Perkins, and I can only account for it by supposing that he became fascinated with Colonel Burr, was sorry that he had sought to arrest him, and was now conducting him to Mrs. Carson's ferry, upon the Tombigby, on the route to Pensacola. Burr had seen Colonel Hinson at Natchez, who had invited him to his house should he ever pass that way. When he escaped from Natchez he was secreted, from time to time, at the houses of his friends, and he was hastening to Hinson's, with whom he had intended to pass a week. But when he found him absent, and himself discovered by Brightwell, who probably informed him of the intentions of Perkins, he determined to fly to Pensacola, and there take a ship for Europe. He intended to enlist wealthy and influential persons, both in England and France, in the scheme of making the conquest of the North American Spanish possessions, now that he had so signally failed to accomplish it in the United States.

exertions to fit out an expedition for the conveyance of his distinguished prisoner to the federal city. At length he placed Burr in a boat, along with a file of soldiers, and he was rowed up the Alabama river and then into Lake Tensaw. Passing some houses on the banks, several ladies wept upon seeing the ex-Vice-President a prisoner, and one of them named a son for him. Everywhere in the Southwest the ladies were attached to the man, and suffered their feelings to become enlisted in behalf of his unfortunate enterprises. It is a prominent and noble trait in the female character to admire a man of daring and generous impulses, and to pity and defend him in his adversities!*

1807 About the period of March 5

Arriving at the Boat Yard, Burr disembarked and was delivered to the guard which was so long to be with him in dangers and fatigues. It consisted of Colonel Nicholas Perkins, of Tennessee, who had, as we have seen, been the cause of his arrest, Thomas Malone, formerly a clerk in the land office at Raleigh, North Carolina, but who, at this period, was a clerk of the court of Washington county, Alabama, Henry B. Slade, of North Carolina, John Mills, a native of Alabama, John Henry, of Tennessee, two brothers, named McCormack, of Kentucky, and two federal soldiers. With the exception of the two soldiers, Perkins had chosen these men on account of the confidence which he reposed in their honor, energy and fidelity. He had been placed over them by Captain Gaines, who entertained a high opinion of his bravery and capacity. Perkins took his men aside and obtained from them the most solemn pledge that they would not suffer the prisoner to influence them in any manner in his behalf; to avoid which, they promised to converse as little as possible with him upon the whole route to Washington. The character of Burr for making strong impressions in his favor upon the human mind was well known to Perkins.

1807 About the period of March 6

* Burr was not only popular with the ladies, but the most prominent men in the Southwest favored his enterprise, as they had long been anxious for the expulsion of the Spaniards.

When the prisoner fled from the Natchez settlements he assumed a disguised dress. He was still attired in it. It consisted of coarse pantaloons, made of homespun of a copperas dye, and a roundabout of inferior drab cloth, while his hat was a flapping, wide-brimmed beaver, which had in times past been white, but now presented a variety of dingy colors. When the guard was ready to depart he mounted the same elegant horse which he rode when arrested. He bestrode him most gracefully, flashed his large dark eyes upon the many bystanders, audibly bade them farewell, and departed.* Perkins and his men were well provided with large pistols, which they carried in holsters, while the two soldiers had muskets. They left the Boat Yard, a quarter of a mile from which the terrible massacre of Fort Mims afterwards occurred, and, pursuing the Indian path, encamped the first night in the lower part of the present county of Monroe. The only tent taken along was pitched for Burr, and under it he lay the first night by large fires, which threw a glare over the dismal woods. All night his ears were saluted with the fierce and disagreeable howling of wolves. In the wilds of Alabama, in a small tent, reposed this remarkable man, surrounded by a guard, and without a solitary friend or congenial spirit. He was a prisoner of the United States, for whose liberties he had fought; and an exile from New York, whose statutes and institutions bore the impress of his mind. Death had deprived him of his accomplished wife, his only child was on the distant coast of Carolina, his professional pursuits were abandoned, his fortune swept from him, the magnificent scheme of the conquest of Mexico defeated, and he was harassed from one end of the Union to the other. All these things were sufficient to weigh down an ordinary being and hurry him to the grave. Burr, however, was no common man. In the morning he rose with a cheerful face, and fell into traveling order, along with the taciturn and watchful persons who had charge of him.

* Many persons who saw Burr in Alabama have told me that his eyes were peculiarly brilliant, and, to use the comparison of Malone, "they looked like stars."

Although guarded with vigilance, he was treated with respect and kindness, and his few wants were gratified. The trail, like all Indian highways, was narrow, which required the guard to march in single file, with Burr in the middle of the line. The route lay about eight miles south of the 1807 present city of Montgomery, then an Indian town called Econchate.* Passing by the residence of "Old Milly," who, as we have seen, lived upon the creek in Montgomery county, which still bears her name, Perkins employed her husband, a mulatto named Evans, to conduct the guard across Line Creek, Cubahatchee and Calabee, all of which they were forced to swim. It was a perilous and fatiguing march, and for days the rain descended in chilling torrents upon these unsheltered horsemen, collecting in deep and rapid rivulets at every point. Hundreds of Indians, too, thronged the trail, and the party might have been killed in one moment. But the fearless Perkins bore on his distinguished prisoner, amid angry elements and human foes. In the journey through Alabama the guard always slept in the woods, near swamps of reed, upon which the belled and hobbled horses fed during the night. After breakfast, it was their custom again to mount their horses and march on, with a silence which was sometimes broken by a remark about the weather, the creeks or the Indians. Burr sat firmly in the saddle, was always on the alert, and was a most excellent rider. Although drenched for hours with cold and 1807 clammy rain, and at night extended upon a thin pallet, March on the bare ground, after having accomplished a ride of forty miles each day, yet, in the whole distance to Richmond, this remarkable man was never heard to complain that he was sick, or even fatigued. At the Chattahoochie was a crossing place, owned by an Indian named Marshall, where the effects of the expedition were carried over the river in canoes, by the sides of which the horses swam. In this manner they passed the Flint

* Econchate means Red Ground.

and Ockmulgee. Arriving at Fort Wilkinson, on the Oconee, Perkins entered the first ferry-boat which he had seen upon the whole route, and, a few miles beyond the river, was sheltered by the first roof—a house of entertainment, kept by one Bevin.

While breakfast was in a state of preparation, and the guard were quietly sitting before a large fire, the publican began a series of questions; and learning that the party were from the "Bigby settlement," he immediately fell upon the fruitful theme of "Aaron Burr, the traitor." He asked if he had not been arrested—if he was not a very bad man—and if every one was not afraid of him. Perkins and the rest of the guard, much annoyed and embarrassed, hung down their heads, and made no reply. Burr, who was sitting in a corner near the fire, majestically raised his head, and flashing his fiery eye upon Bevin, said:

1807 March

"I am Aaron Burr; what is it you want with me?"

Struck with the keenness of his look, the solemnity of his voice, and the dignity of his manner, Bevin stood aghast, and trembled like a leaf. He asked not another question of the guard, but quietly moved about the house, offering the most obsequious attentions.

When Perkins reached the confines of South Carolina, he watched the prisoner more closely than ever, for in this State lived Colonel Joseph Alston—a man of talents and influence, afterwards governor—who had married the only daughter, and, indeed, the only child of Burr. Afraid that the prisoner would be rescued at some point in this State, he exhorted his men to renewed vigilance. Before entering the town, in which is situated the Court House of Chester District, South Carolina, he made a halt, and placed two men in front of Burr, two behind, and two on either side of him. In this manner they passed near a tavern, at the Court House, where many persons were standing in front of the portico, while music and dancing were heard in the house. Seeing the collec-

tion of men so near him, Burr threw himself from his horse, and exclaimed in a loud voice, "I AM AARON BURR, UNDER MILITARY ARREST, AND CLAIM THE PROTECTION OF THE CIVIL AUTHORITIES." Perkins, with several of the guard, immediately dismounted, and the former ordered the prisoner to remount. Burr, in a most defiant manner, said, "I WILL NOT!" Being unwilling to shoot him, Perkins threw down his pistols, both of which he held in his hands, and seizing Burr around the waist with the grasp of a tiger, threw him into his saddle. Thomas Malone caught the reins of the prison's horse, slipped them over his head, and led the animal rapidly on, while others whipped him up from behind. The astonished citizens saw a party enter their village with a prisoner, heard him appeal to them for protection in the most audible and imploring manner, saw armed men immediately surround him and thrust him again into his saddle, and then the whole party vanish from their presence, before they could recover from their confusion. The least timidity or hesitation on the part of Perkins would have lost him his prisoner, for the latter was still popular in South Carolina. 1807 Mar.

Far in the outskirts of the town the party halted. Burr was in a high state of excitement, and burst into a flood of tears. The kind-hearted Malone also wept, at seeing the low condition to which this conspicuous man was now reduced. The bold attempt to escape, and the irresolution of the people to whom he appealed, suddenly unmanned him. Perkins held a short consultation with some of his men, and sending Burr on the route in charge of the guard, with Malone in command, he went back to the village, and purchasing a gig overtook the party before night. Burr was placed in this vehicle and driven by Malone, escorted by the guard. Without further incident they arrived at Fredericksburg, where despatches from Jefferson caused them to take Burr to Richmond. 1807 Mar. 30

The ladies of the latter place vied with each other in contribut-

ing to the comforts of the distinguished ex-Vice-President, sending him fruit, wine, and a variety of fine apparel. Perkins and his men repaired to Washington, reported to the President, and returned to Alabama by the distant route of Tennessee.

Aaron Burr was arraigned for treason, and was tried and acquitted. He was then arraigned for misdemeanor, and was tried and acquitted. Thus ended the most expensive and extraordinary trial known to the country. A part of the time that he was in Richmond the Federal Government caused him to be confined in the upper story of the penitentiary, where he was permitted to enjoy the company of his daughter.

Sailing to Europe, Burr was at first treated with great distinction in England. The winter of 1809 found him in Edinburgh. Residing some time in Sweden and Germany, he at length arrived in France, where Bonaparte, influenced by letters from America, conceived a prejudice against him so immovable that he refused him passports to leave the country. At length the Duke de Bassano procured him the necessary documents, when he sailed for America, and arrived at New York on the 8th of June, 1812. Here he engaged again in the lucrative practice of the law, living in dignified obscurity, if such a position could be assigned to a man of his notoriety. He died at Staten Island, on the 11th of September, 1836, at the advanced age of eighty. His body, attended by his relations and friends, was taken to Princeton, New Jersey, and interred among the graves of his ancesters.

With the private character of Burr, we conceive we have nothing to do, except to add that we believe him to have been a most profligate and licentious man. When the world put him down—when he received nothing but abuse and ingratitude from those who once sycophantically surrounded him, and whom he had helped to offices of honor and profit—when he was shunned by his old companions in arms, not invited into the society of the refined, but was pointed at, in walking Broadway, as the

murderer and the *traitor*—he became disheartened and soured; and, being without those religious feelings which sustain the most unfortunate, he threw off every restraint, and gave a loose rein to sentiments always unprincipled, and to passions always strong.*

One of the gravest facts proved against Burr, at his trial at Richmond, upon the evidence of General Wilkinson, was that the prisoner, in a letter written to him in cipher, "avowed his design of seizing upon Baton Rouge, as a preliminary measure, and, afterwards, extending his conquests into the Spanish provinces." Admitting this to be true, it did not prove that he intended to dismember the Union. Our readers have already seen that the Federal Government, and the people of the Southwest, desired the expulsion of the Spaniards from the Baton Rouge district, which was a part of the purchase from Napoleon, when he sold us Louisiana; and hereafter, it will be seen that these Spaniards were driven from the Baton Rouge district only *three* years after Burr's trial, when the governor of it, Colonel Grandpre, was killed. In the citizens of the Southwest, who accomplished this end, it was not held to be *treason*—but Burr, for merely contemplating it, was tried for that crime. It was not considered *treason*, when President Jackson allowed hundreds of people of the Southwest to be shipped from Mobile and New Orleans, with arms in their hands, who presently landed upon the coast of Texas, and took that country from the Spaniards—but, for similar designs, Aaron Burr was hunted down, thrown into prison, and tried for *treason*. The impartial reader must arrive at the conclusion that the faults of Burr, in a political and public

* In relation to Burr's arrest in Alabama, and his journey through the wilderness, I conversed with Mr. Thomas Malone, one of his guard; with Mrs. Hinson, now Mrs. Sturdevant, at whose house Burr passed the night when he was discovered; with Mr. George S. Gaines, who was at Fort Stoddart when he was brought there; and with Mrs. Howse, who saw him when they were conducting him up Lake Tensaw. I also corresponded with Major-General Gaines, and have his testimony. All these witnesses are reputable, and as respectable as any persons in Alabama.

On the subject of Burr's early life, and of his operations in the Western country, I consulted Memoirs of Aaron Burr, by M. L. Davis; the various American State Papers; Clarke's Proofs of the Corruption of Wilkinson; Memoirs of Wilkinson, by himself; Familiar Letters upon Public Characters, and many other works.

capacity, were not such as ought really to have placed that odium upon him which still attaches to his name. One of the great secrets of his political misfortunes lay in the prejudices and malevolence of politicians and fanatics. Somebody heard General Washington say that "Burr was a dangerous man;" thereupon the world set him down as a "dangerous man." He killed Hamilton in a duel, because Hamilton abused him; thereupon the world said he was a "murderer." He was a formidable rival of Jefferson in the contest for the Presidency; thereupon a majority of the republican party said he was a political scoundrel. He had always opposed the federal party; for that reason the federal party hated him with exceeding bitterness. A blundering, extravagant man, named Herman Blannerhassett, sought Burr while he was in the West, eagerly enlisted in his schemes, and invited him to his house; thereupon William Wirt said, in his prosecuting speech, that Burr "was the serpent who entered the garden of Eden."

We do not wish to be considered as the defender of Aaron Burr. We do not admire his character, or that of many of his distinguished contemporaries who assailed him. But, as a historian, we are expected to write the truth, even if that truth is unpalatable to the prejudices of the age.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

St. Stephens—Huntsville—Indian Commerce—Kemper Expeditions.

The military movements of Burr increased the population and wealth of the Mississippi Territory, for hundreds of his followers became permanent citizens. About this time the cultivation of indigo was much abandoned for that of cotton, and some salutary laws were enacted in relation to the toll for ginning the latter staple. The cotton receipts obtained from the owner of a gin were also made a legal tender, and passed as domestic bills of exchange. St. Stephens was laid off into town lots.

A road was cut out from thence to the city of Natchez. 1807

Notwithstanding the revenue exactions upon the settlers, which now subjected them, by means of the Spanish custom-house at Mobile and the American at Fort Stoddart, to a duty of from forty-two to forty-seven per cent. *ad valorem* for articles essential to family comfort, while at the same time their fellow-citizens about Natchez were entirely free from such exactions, paying only four dollars per barrel for Kentucky flour, when the Tombigby planter paid sixteen—yet they remained loyal to the Federal Government; and both whigs and tories participated in an animated public meeting at Wakefield, pledging their support to the United States to avenge the wanton attack of the British upon the American ship Chesapeake, in a string of eloquent and patriotic resolutions, drafted by James McGoffin. Dec. 7 1807 Sept. 8

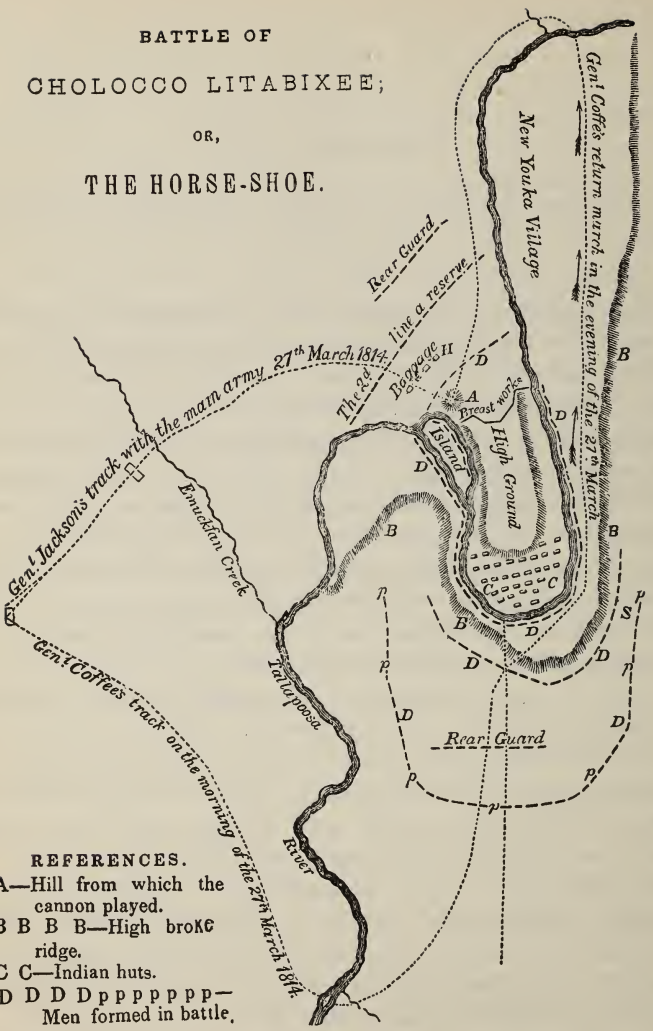
The little town of Huntsville, north of the Tennessee, continued to receive around it many wealthy emigrants from several

BATTLE OF

CHOLOCCO LITABIXEE;

OR,

THE HORSE-SHOE.



REFERENCES.

A—Hill from which the cannon played.

B B B B—High broKC ridge.

C C—Indian huts.

D D D Dppppppp—Men formed in battle.

of the Atlantic and Western States. Governor Williams issued a proclamation, forming a county, of which this became the courthouse. The new county of Madison, where it joined the Tennessee line, was about twenty-five miles wide, and approached the Tennessee river in the shape of a triangle, not exceeding three miles wide at Ditto's Landing. It embraced all the territory that fell within Alabama, to which the Indian title was extinguished by the treaty with the Chickasaws in 1805. 1808 Dec. 13

The Mississippi Territory continued to improve. The forests began to be extensively felled; houses were reared as if by magic; the preacher was zealous in the discharge of his divine mission; the "schoolmaster was abroad;" the medical and legal professions flourished; the merchants drove a good business; the mechanics received constant employment and high wages—while the farmer worked for them all, and received his due reward. These remarks apply more particularly to the section upon the Mississippi. A stock bank, with a capital of five hundred thousand dollars, was established at Natchez. 1809 Dec. 23

The factory of the United States, located at St. Stephens, continued to be managed with advantage, so far as the friendship of the Choctaws depended, which was the chief aim of the government. When quite a young man, Mr. George S. Gaines, a native of Virginia, and then a resident of Gallatin, Tennessee, received the appointment of assistant factor, and arrived at St. Stephens in the spring of 1805. The parsonage of the old Spanish church was used as a skin-house, and the old block-house served the purpose of the government store. In 1807 Gaines was made principal factor. He received a good salary, as also did the assistant clerk, the skinsman and the interpreter. To this establishment the Indians—principally Choctaws—and sometimes the American settlers, brought bear's oil, honey in kegs, beeswax, bacon, groundnuts, tobacco in kegs, and all kinds of skins and peltries. To pay for which, the Federal Government usually

kept a stock of coarse Indian merchandise, besides all kinds of iron tools, ploughs, arms and ammunition. In the summer the furs and hides, often overhauled by the skinsman for the purpose of keeping out the worms, were assorted. In the fall they were packed up in bales and shipped to the Indian Agent at Philadelphia. Mr. Gaines at first came often in collision with the revenue authorities of Mobile, who exacted duties—delayed his vessels—and, upon one occasion, came near putting him in the calaboose of that place for venturing to remonstrate. The Federal Government, to avoid the payment of these duties, and to prevent delays, instructed the factor to obtain the consent of the Chickasaws for a road from Colbert's Ferry to St. Stephens. The government resolved to send supplies down the Ohio and up the Tennessee, to the former point. The faithful and enterprising Gaines was unable to procure the privilege of a road, but was allowed the use of a horse path. Upon the backs of horses he was accustomed to transport goods, hardware, and even lead, from Colbert's Ferry to Peachland's, upon the Tombigby. There, boats being constructed, the mer-
1810 chandise was floated down to St. Stephens. It is singular that our ministers, in forming the treaty with Spain in 1795, by which we acquired all of West Florida above the line of 31°, and the right of free navigation of the Mississippi, neglected to insert an article for the free navigation of the bays and rivers of Mobile and Pearl.*

The Spaniards continued to occupy the Baton Rouge district and that of Mobile, and the daring Kempers, who had received such cruel treatment at their hands, together with many other persons, impatient at the irresolution of the Federal Government, resolved to expel them. They were assisted by the people of Bayou Sara, and others below Ellicott's line. Organ-
August izing at St. Francisville, the patriots, as they styled themselves, marched upon Baton Rouge—took it by

* Conversations with Mr. George S. Gaines.

surprise, after a small skirmish, in which Governor Grandpre was killed. The town and other posts fell into their hands, and the Spaniards retired to Pensacola. As the Americans at this period, and for a long time previous, were fruitful in plans to form governments independent of the Union, so the patriots, many of whom were old Spanish subjects, now resolved to have one of their own. A convention assembled, which adopted a declaration of independence, very similar in tone and sentiment to that drawn up by Jefferson. They declared 1810
their right and intention to form treaties, and to estab- Sept. 26
lish commerce with foreign nations. Afterwards, how-
ever, this new republic was annexed to Louisiana with Oct. 27
the approbation of the inhabitants.

The Kempers, apart from mercenary motives for engaging in this rebellion, desired to gratify a feeling of revenge. Reuben and Samuel captured Kneeland, one of the kidnappers, and inflicted upon his naked back one hundred lashes, then one hundred more for their brother Nathan, who was absent, cut off his ears with a dull knife and permitted him to retire. These trophies of resentment were long preserved in spirits of wine, and hung up in one of the Kemper's parlor. Reuben caught another of these wretches named Horton, and chastised him as long as the latter could receive it, and live. Barker, seized by the Kempers at the court house at Fort Adams, under the nose of the Judge, was dragged forth, and flayed till they were content. Captain Alston, who received the Kempers at the line, with a Spanish guard and conducted them to Bayou Tunica, died of the dropsy contracted in lying in an open boat at anchor every night to avoid the attacks of the injured brothers.*

However, before the new republic was annexed to Louisiana the convention despatched its colonel, Reuben Kemper, to the Tombigby river to enlist an army for the purpose of expelling

* MS. notes in the possession of Mr. E. T. Wood, of Mobile. Monette, vol. 2, pp. 486–490. American State Papers, Boston edition, vol. 7, pp. 482–484–479.

the Spaniards from the Mobile district. The hatred of all these people for the Spaniards facilitated the movements of Kemper, who operated in conjunction with Colonel James Caller, a man of wealth and considerable frontier influence, at whose house he lodged. Troops were secretly raised. Flat-boats, with provisions, were despatched down the Tensaw river to Smith's plantation. Major Kennedy and Colonel Kemper crossed over to the Boat Yard, where they were joined by Dr. Thomas G. Holmes and other fearless and ardent spirits, together with a company of horse under Captain Bernard. Arriving at the White House, one mile above the present Blakeley, Kemper despatched young Cyrus Sibley with a letter to Governor Folch, who had just taken command of Mobile, demanding the surrender of that place. A party under Dr. Holmes was also despatched to scour the surrounding country for arms, ammunition and provisions, which the inhabitants generally secreted and withheld, because, being Spanish subjects, they were not dissatisfied with that government, which exacted no onerous duties of them. The command dropped down to the old fields of Minette Bay, opposite Mobile, where they appropriated to themselves without scruple forage and provisions, the property of Charles Conway, Sr. Captain Goss arrived with a keel-boat laden with whiskey, corn, flour and bacon, which had been sent by the Baton Rouge Convention down the Mississippi through the lakes. The whiskey put the whole expedition in good spirits. Glowing speeches were made by Kennedy, who pointed them to the ancient Mobile, which, he said, they would shortly capture. But cold, rainy weather, which the troops were forced to encounter without tents or covering of any kind, now sat in. This circumstance, together with a personal difficulty which arose between Dr. Holmes and Dr. Pollard, in which the former was compelled, in self defence, to severely wound the latter with a pistol, influenced Kemper to conduct the campaign on the other side of the bay. With a portion of the party, Major

1810 Nov.

Hargrove proceeded in the boat to Saw-mill creek, on the west side of Mobile river, twelve miles above the town. With an abundance of whiskey and several fiddlers, a frolic was there kept up, which was intended to last until Kemper and the horse company could go round by the Cut-Off and join them. An evil old man in the neighborhood, who often drank with them, went one night to Mobile and assured Governor Folch how easily they might be captured. The latter sent Parades, with two hundred regulars and citizens in boats, up the river late one evening, who entered Saw-mill creek, ascended it to the American camp, and while the poor fellows were dancing and shouting, at 11 o'clock at night, fired upon them. Many of them fled in all directions. Four were killed and others were wounded. 1810
Major Hargrove rallied a few of his men and fought, but Nov.
was overpowered. He and nine more were loaded with irons, carried to Mobile, thrown into the calaboose, and from thence conveyed to Havana and immured in the dungeons of Moro Castle. Cyrus Sibley, afterwards recognized as the bearer of the despatch to Folch from Kemper, was seized, and also sent to Moro Castle. These men remained Spanish prisoners in the Castle for FIVE YEARS.* This affair broke up the "Kemp-
per expedition," which was further embarassed by op- 1811
position from the Federal authorities about Fort Stod- Nov.
dart. Subsequently, Wilkinson despatched Colonel Cushing, with some troops, to Mobile, for the protection of the Spaniards from the designs of the patriots. They encamped three weeks at the Orange Grove. Cushing Dec.
then marched up to Fort Stoddart, and built a cantonment at Mount Vernon.†

* MS. notes in the possession of Mr. E. T. Wood, of Mobile. Also, conversations with Dr. Thomas G. Holmes, of Baldwin county, Alabama.

† Conversations with Major Reuben Chamberlain, of Mobile, who came with Colonel Cushing.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Tecumseh—Civil War Among the Creeks.

The United States and Great Britain were upon the verge of war. British agents, in Canada and Florida, sought to procure the co-operation of the whole southwestern Indian force. The Creeks, more powerful in numbers than the others, were particularly urged to join the English. Colonel Hawkins had managed them, with much wisdom and policy, for several years, but they always remained dissatisfied, and were particularly so now, in consequence of a portion of their Chiefs having
1811 granted a public road through the heart of their country, which had been cut out by Lieutenant Luckett and a party of soldiers. This thoroughfare, called the "Federal Road," and which run from Mims' Ferry, upon the Alabama, to the Chattahoochie, was filled, from one end to the other, with emigrants for the western part of the territory. The Creeks, with their usual sagacity, foresaw that they should soon be hemmed in by the Georgians on one side, and the Tombigby people on the other, and many of them contemplated the expulsion of the latter, at some day not very distant. The Spaniards also hated the emigrants, who had continued to drive them, inch by inch, from the soil which they claimed. With both them and the Indians the British agents began to operate, to make secret allies of the one and open ones of the other. But the most powerful British incendiary was Tecumseh. His father and mother, of the Shawnee family, were born and bred at Souvanogee,* upon the Tallapoosa, in Alabama.

* Old Augusta, now the property of Henry Lucas, on the railroad, where there are some mounds.

With several children, they removed to the forest of Ohio, where Tecumseh was born, in 1768. He had five brothers, who were all celebrated for the human blood which they spilt and for their indomitable courage. His only sister, Tecumapease, a woman of great sense and strong character, he devotedly loved, and was much influenced by her. In 1787 he visited the Cherokees and Creeks, with whom he remained two years, engaging in their hunts, festivals and frontier wars. Returning to the Ohio, he fought a battle with a party of whites, near Big Rock, and another, with the Kentuckians, on the Little Miami, and still another, at Paint Rock, in 1793. He then engaged in the attack upon Fort Recovery, in 1794, and participated in the battle of Maumee Rapids in the same year. From that period until that in which we propose to connect him with Alabama history, Tecumseh was engaged in British intrigues, in hunts and in skirmishes. Wherever he appeared, devastation and havoc ensued. He possessed a fine form, a commanding appearance, and had the endurance common to all Indians, together with a high degree of sagacity. He entertained the most relentless hatred of the Americans.

After many conferences with the British, at Detroit, Tecumseh left that country with a party of thirty warriors mounted upon horses, and shaped his course to the south. Passing through the Chickasaw and Choctaw country, he was unsuccessful in arraying these tribes against the Americans. He went down to Florida, and met with complete success with the Seminoles. In the month of October he came up to the Alabama, crossed that river at Autauga, where he, for the first time, appealed to the Creeks, in a long speech. Continuing to Coosawda, he had by this time, collected many followers, who went with him to the Hickory Ground. Having from their boyhood heard of his feats in the buffalo chase, the bloody wars which he had conducted, and of his fierce and transcendent eloquence, the war-

Spring of 1812

Oct.

riors flocked to see him. He went to Tookabatcha, where Colonel Hawkins was then holding his grand council with the Indians. This ancient capital never looked so gay and populous. An autumnal sun glittered upon the yellow faces of five thousand natives, besides whites and negroes, who mingled with them. At the conclusion of the agent's first day's address, Tecumseh, at the head of his Ohio party, marched into the square. They were entirely naked, except their flaps and ornaments. Their faces were painted black, and their heads adorned with eagle plumes, while buffalo tails dragged from behind, suspended by bands which went around their waists. Buffalo tails were also attached to their arms, and made to stand out, by means of bands. Their appearance was hideous, and their bearing pompous and ceremonious. They marched round and round in the square; then, approaching the Chiefs, they cordially shook them with the whole length of the arm, and exchanged tobacco, a common ceremony with the Indians, denoting friendship, as we have already seen. Captain Isaacs, Chief of Coosawda, was the only one who refused to exchange tobacco. His head, adorned with its usual costume—a pair of buffalo horns—was shaken in contempt of Tecumseh, who, he said, was a bad man, and no greater than he was.

Every day Tecumseh appeared in the square to deliver his "talk," and all ears were anxious to hear it; but late in the evening he would rise and say, "The sun has gone too far to-day—I will make my talk to-morrow." At length Hawkins terminated his business and departed for the Agency upon the Flint. That night a grand council was held in the great round-house. Tecumseh, presenting his graceful and majestic form above the heads of hundreds, made known his mission in a long speech, full of fire and vengeance. He exhorted them to return to their primitive customs; to throw aside the plough and the loom, and to abandon an agricultural life, which was unbecoming Indian warriors. He told them that after the whites had possessed the

greater part of their country, turned its beautiful forests into large fields and stained their clear rivers with the washings of the soil, they would then subject them to African servitude. He exhorted them to assimilate in no way with the grasping, unprincipled race; to use none of their arms and wear none of their clothes, but dress in the skins of beasts, which the Great Spirit had given his red children for food and raiment, and to use the war-club, the scalping-knife and the bow. He concluded by announcing that the British, their former friends, had sent him from the Big Lakes to procure their services in expelling the Americans from all Indian soil; that the King of England was ready handsomely to reward all who would fight for his cause.

A prophet, who composed one of the party of Tecumseh, next spoke. He said that he frequently communed with the Great Spirit, who had sent Tecumseh to their country upon this mission, the character of which that great Chief had described. He declared that those who would join the war party should be shielded from all harm— none would be killed in battle; that the Great Spirit would surround them with quagmires, which would swallow up the Americans as they approached; that they would finally expel every Georgian from the soil as far as the Savannah; that they would see the arms of Tecumseh stretched out in the heavens at a certain time, and then they would know when to begin the war.* 1812 Oct.

A short time before daylight the council adjourned, and more than half the audience had already resolved to go to war against the Americans. Tecumseh visited all the important Creek towns, enlisting all whom he could on the side of England. He had much to overcome, in the obstinacy of many of the prominent Chiefs, who had become attached to the Federal Government, which had lavished upon them munificent presents. Yet he was, in a great measure, successful. He made

* The British officers in Canada had told him when a comet would appear, and that he might use that as a sign to delude the Southern Indians.

use of gifted and cunning Indians, to carry out his plans, after he should have left the country. One of these was Josiah Francis, the son of a Creek woman, by a trader of Scotch and Irish descent, named David Francis.* The Shawnee prophet, it was said, inspired him. He placed him in a cabin by himself, around which he danced and howled for ten days. He said that Francis was then blind, but that he would again see, and would then know all things which were to happen in future. When the ten days expired the prophet led him forth, and attended him all day, for Francis stepped high and irregular, like a blind man. Towards night the vision of Francis suddenly came to him, and after that he was the greatest prophet in the whole Creek nation, and was empowered to make many subordinate prophets. Tecumseh having made numerous proselytes, once more visited the Big Warrior at Tookabatcha, whom he was particularly desirous to enlist in his schemes, but whom he had hitherto entreated to no effect, although his house was his headquarters. The Big Warrior still remained true to the United States, more from fear of the consequences of a war than any love he entertained for the Americans. Tecumseh, after talking with him for some time to no purpose pointed his finger in his face and emphatically said: "Tustinuggee Thlucco, your blood is white. You have taken my red sticks and my talk, but you do not mean to fight. I know the reason. You do not believe the Great Spirit has sent me. You shall believe it. I will leave directly, and go straight to Detroit. When I get there I will stamp my foot upon the ground and shake down every house in Tookabatcha." The Big
1812 Warrior said nothing, but puffed his pipe and enveloped
Nov. himself in clouds of smoke. Afterwards he thought much upon this remarkable speech.

The common Indians believed every word of Tecumseh's

* This David Francis lived for many years in the Autauga town, where he had a trading establishment. He was also a silversmith, and made buckles, ornaments and spurs of silver for the Indians. Josiah, his son, also learned the trade. David Francis was a great uncle to Dr. Francis, an intelligent and highly respectable gentleman of Benton county, Alabama.

last speech, which was intended solely to intimidate the Big Warrior, and they began to count up the time it would take the Shawnee Chief to reach Detroit, when he would stamp his foot, as he had declared. One day a mighty rumbling was heard in the earth; the houses of Tookabatcha reeled and tottered, and reeled again. The people ran out, vociferating, "Tecumseh has got to Detroit! We feel the shake of his foot!" 1812 Dec.

Josiah Francis made many prophets, and, among others, High-Head Jim, of Auttose. The Indians began to dance "the war-dance of the lakes," which Tecumseh had taught them. In the meantime, that Chief had reached Canada, having carried with him the Little Warrior, of the Creek nation, with thirty of his warriors. The British agents sent back by them letters to their agents in Florida, with orders to allow the Creeks extensive supplies of arms and ammunition. The Little Warrior, in returning, by way of the mouth of the Ohio, attacked seven families, living near each other, and murdered them in the most cruel manner. They dragged Mrs. Crawley from the bodies of her bleeding children, and brought her, a prisoner, to the Tuscaloosa Falls. Being made acquainted with these outrages by General Robertson, the Chickasaw agent, Hawkins, demanded the punishment of the guilty warriors. A council, at Tookabatcha, secretly despatched a party of warriors, headed by McIntosh, of Coweta, who marched to the Hickory Ground, where they separated into smaller parties. One of these went to the Red Warrior's Bluff, upon the Tallapoosa, now Grey's Ferry, and there surrounded a house, and began to shoot at five of the Little Warrior's party. They defended themselves with bravery, all the time dancing the dance of the lakes. Finally, they were all killed and burnt up. 1813 Feb. Apr. 16

* This was an earthquake well known to the old settlers. In relation to the visit of Tecumseh to Alabama, I have consulted General Ferdinand L Claiborne's MS. Papers and Drake's Life of Tecumseh; I have also conversed with Lachlan Durant, Mrs. Sophia McComb, Peter Randon, James Moore and others who were at Tookabatcha when Tecumseh arrived there.

A party, headed by Captain Isaacs, pursued the Little Warrior into a swamp, above Wetumpka, and killed him. Others were killed at Hoithlewaule. Although the Chiefs, friendly to the United States, acted with so much justice upon this occasion, it did not prevent the commission of other murders, more immediately at home. An old Chief, named Mormouth, killed Thomas Merideth, an emigrant, at Catoma Creek, and wounded others.*

Having engaged in a war with England, the Federal Government, fearing to leave the port of Mobile longer in the hands of the Spaniards, who were the secret allies of Great Britain, resolved to occupy the whole of the district lying between Pearl and the Perdido rivers, and below the line of 31°, which we had claimed since the treaty with Bonaparte, who ceded to us Louisiana, of which this was a part, as was contended. Accordingly, General Wilkinson, with six hundred men, of the third and seventh regiments, sailing from New Orleans in transport vessels, commanded by Commodore Shaw, provided with scaling ladders, and every necessary equipment, landed opposite the Pavilion, on the bay of Mobile. He marched up to the town, and took a position in the rear of Fort Charlotte. After some correspondence, the Spanish commandant, Captain Cayetano Perez, capitulated, surrendered the fort, and all the cannon and military stores, the latter of which Wilkinson agreed the United States should pay for. The Spanish garrison retired to Pensacola, and the stars and stripes were hoisted upon the ramparts of Fort Charlotte, which was built of brick, with casements for five hundred men and with four bastions. It was quite an acquisition to the United States at the present time. General Wilkinson sent nine pieces of artillery to Mobile Point, which were there placed in battery. He then marched to the Perdido, and on its western bank, on the main road to Pensacola, began the construction of a strong stockade under the superintendence of

1813 Apr. 13

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 843-845.

Colonel John Bowyer, which was afterwards abandoned. Marching back to Mobile, he despatched Captain Chamberlain with soldiers to Mobile Point, who began and in two years completed Fort Bowyer.* Thus the long period had arrived *when no Spanish government was found to exist upon a foot of the soil of Alabama or Mississippi.*

The effects of Tecumseh's visit began to be realized in every corner of the Creek confederacy. Even at the Falls of Tuscaloosa, where a Creek town had for several years been established, the inhabitants were extremely belligerent. The Chief, Ocheoce Emarthla, with a few warriors, dropped down the Warrior river in canoes, paid Mr. Gaines a visit, and were insulting in their bearing and importunate in their demands for goods upon a credit. They disclosed to Tandy Walker, an honest white man, formerly a government blacksmith, their intention shortly to attack the settlers and seize upon the factory. In an eastward direction the Alabamas were furious advocates of American extermination. The Indian executions, to which allusion has just been made, connected with the occasional shocks of the earthquake, filled the Indian world with excitement and fanaticism.

Peter McQueen, a half-breed of Tallase, the venerable Hobothle Micco, and other prominent men, who had inclined to the talks of Tecumseh, now assumed decided attitudes. The hostile spirit increased fearfully, and the whole nation was soon agitated with quarrels, fights, murders and robberies, and everything foreboded a direful civil war. The prophets practised their incantations in towns, fields, and in the woods, wherever they found Indians to influence. Alarmed at this unusual state of things, the Chiefs friendly to the United States frequently despatched runners to Hawkins, who urged them in return to adhere to the cause of the Federal Government, and to take all means to avert a civil war. The agent seems to have been

1813 May

* Memoirs of Wilkinson, vol. 1, pp. 507-520. Conversations with Major Reuben Chamberlain.

strangely benighted, slowly allowing his mind to be brought to the conviction that anything serious would grow out of these difficulties. The Big Warrior, on the contrary, was much alarmed. He endeavored to assemble the Chiefs of the neighboring towns, but a majority refused to appear, and continued to give countenance to the prophets. He despatched a runner to the Alabamas with this talk: "You are but a few Alabama people. You say that the Great Spirit visits you frequently; that he comes in the sun, and speaks to you; that the sun comes down just above your heads. Now we want to see and hear what you have seen and heard. Let us have the same proof, then we will believe. You have nothing to fear—the people who did the killing upon the Ohio are put to death, and the law is satisfied." The messenger was seized, killed and scalped at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, where a portion of the war party were engaged in "the dance of the lakes." They then paddled down to Coosawda, pursued Captain Isaacs into the cane, across the river, and, being unable to find him, returned, burnt up his houses, destroyed his stock and murdered two of his chief warriors.* The Indians also commenced hostilities upon the Americans. Between Burnt Corn and the Escambia, Greggs, an American mail-

1813 June rider, was seized, most severely beaten, and left upon the Federal Road, after being robbed of his mail bags and horse. Without anything to eat, save the berries in the woods, the lacerated youth, after wandering ten days through the forests, reached Montgomery Hill. The mail was carried to Pensacola and rifled of its contents in a Spanish trading house.† Gen. Wilkinson, with his lady, had reached

June 25 Sam McNac's, near the Catoma, with an escort, which had attended him from Mims' Ferry. He wrote back to Judge Toulmin, informing him of the dangers attendant upon a trip through the Creek nation, but that he was resolved to go

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, p. 846.
† Conversations with Mr. George S. Gaines, of Mobile, and Dr. Thomas G. Holmes, of Baldwin county.

on to Georgia. In a short time McNac, who for some time lived upon the Federal Road, for the purpose of accommodating travellers, was driven off, some of his negroes stolen, while his cattle were driven to Pensacola for sale. Other half-breeds, suspected of friendship for the Americans, were treated in the same manner. Remaining concealed for some time upon his island in the Alabama, McNac ventured to visit his place upon the road. Here he suddenly encountered High-Head Jim, one of the prophets of Auttose, who, after shaking him by the hands, began to tremble all over, and to jerk in every part of his frame, convulsing the calves of the legs, and, from the severe agitation, getting entirely out of breath. This practice had been introduced by the prophet Josiah Francis, the brother-in-law of McNac, who said he was so instructed by the Great Spirit. Wishing to make terms for the moment, McNac pretended that he was sorry for his former friendship for the whites, and avowed his determination to join the hostiles. High-Head Jim, led away by this artifice, disclosed to him all their plans; that they were soon to kill the Big Warrior, Captain Isaacs, William McIntosh, the Mad Dragon's Son, the Little Prince, Spoke Kange, and Tallase Fixico, all prominent Chiefs of the nation; that, after the death of these traitors, the Creeks were to unite, in a common cause, against the Americans; those upon the Coosa, Tallapoosa and Black Warrior were to attack the settlements upon the Tensaw and Tombigby; those near the Cherokees, with the assistance of the latter, were to attack the Tennesseans; the Georgians were to fall by the fierce sallies of the Lower Creeks and Seminoles; while the Choctaws were to exterminate the Mississippi population. 1813 June

The most extravagant delusions prevailed upon the Coosa, at this period. Nearly all these people moved out of their towns, into the woods, dancing and preparing for war. Letecau, a prophet of eighteen years of age, a native of the town of Abaucooche, went with eighteen subordinate prophets, to the old Coosa

town, from whence they sent out runners, inviting all the unbelievers to come and witness their magical powers. A large assembly of both sexes congregated upon the banks of the river, and surrounded the prophets. Letecau, with his wand, drew a circle in front, and he and his subordinates began "the dance of the lakes." After powerful exertions for some time, the war-whoop was given by Letecau, who fell, with his men, upon three Chiefs, whom they killed. The other friendly Chiefs sprang into the river, made their escape to their towns, and assembling their warriors returned and killed Letecau and his prophets. They proceeded to Little Ocfuske, where Tecumseh's talk had been taken, and there put a number of his deluded followers to death.

The hostiles destroyed the stock of the friendly Indians, at the Hillabee towns, several of whom they killed. They carried off seventy negroes belonging to Robert Graison, and committed many other depredations. The town of Kialigee was burned down, and several of the inhabitants shot. These things overwhelmed the Big Warrior with fear, and he entreated Hawkins to relieve him with the federal troops. He had collected a large supply of corn at Tookabatcha, where he built a fort. Hawkins prevailed upon two hundred warriors of Coweta and Cussetta, to march to Tookabatcha, where they soon arrived, and, after some annoyance from the attacks of a few of the war party, succeeded in carrying off the Big Warrior, and those who adhered to him, in safety over to the Chattahoochie.*

1813 June

* Upon the civil war among the Creeks, see Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 849-851.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Battle of Burnt Corn—Arrival of General Claiborne's Army.

Peter McQueen, at the head of the Tallase warriors; High-Head Jim, with the Autaugas; and Josiah Francis, with the Alabamas, numbering in all three hundred and fifty, departed for Pensacola with many pack-horses. On their way they beat and drove off all the Indians who would not take the war talk. The brutal McQueen beat an unoffending white trader within an inch of his life, and carried the wife of Curnells, the government interpreter, a prisoner to Pensacola. The village of Hatchechubba was reduced to ashes. 1813 July 10

The inhabitants of the Tombigby and the Tensaw had constantly petitioned the governor for an army to repel the Creeks, whose attacks they hourly expected. But General Flournoy, who had succeeded Wilkinson in command, refused to send any of the regular or volunteer troops. The British fleet was seen off the coast, from which supplies, arms, ammunition and Indian emissaries were sent to Pensacola and other Spanish ports in Florida. Everything foreboded the extermination of the Americans in Alabama, who were the most isolated and defenceless people imaginable. Determined, however, to protect themselves to the best of their means and abilities, they first sent spies to Pensacola to watch the movements of the Indians there under McQueen, who returned with the report that the British agents were distributing to them ample munitions of war. Colonel James Caller ordered out the militia, some of whom soon rallied

to his standard in the character of minute volunteers. He marched across the Tombigby, passed through the town of Jackson, and by the new fort upon the eastern line of Clarke, and from thence to Sisemore's Ferry, upon the Alabama, where, on the western bank, he bivouacked for the night. The object of the expedition was to attack the Indians as they were returning from Pensacola. The next morning Caller began the crossing of the river to the east side, which was effected by swimming the horses by the side of the canoes. It occupied much

1813 July 26 of the early part of the day. When all were over the march was resumed in a southeastern direction to the cow-pens of David Tait, where a halt was made. Here Caller was reinforced by a company from Tensaw Lake and Little River, under the command of Dixon Bailey, a half-breed Creek, a native of the town of Auttose, who had been educated at Philadelphia under the provisions of the treaty of New York of 1790. Bailey was a man of fine appearance, unimpeachable integrity, and a strong mind. His courage and energy were not surpassed by those of any other man. The whole expedition under Caller now consisted of one hundred and eighty men, in small companies. Two of these were from St. Stephens, one of which was commanded by Captain Bailey Heard, and the other by Captain Benjamin Smoot and Lieutenant Patrick May. A company, from the county of Washington, was commanded by Captain David Cartwright. In passing through Clarke county, Caller had been re-inforced by a company under Captain Samuel Dale and Lieutenant Girard W. Creagh. Some men had also joined him, commanded by William McGrew, Robert Caller, and William Bradberry. The troops of the little party were mounted upon good frontier horses, and provided with rifles and shot-guns, of various sizes and descriptions. Leaving the cow-pens, Caller marched until he reached the wolf-trail, where he bivouacked for the last night. The main route to Pensacola was now before them.

In the morning, the command was re-organized, by the election of Zachariah Philips, McFarlin, Wood, and Jourdan, to the rank of major, and William McGrew, lieutenant-colonel. This unusual number of field officers was made to satisfy military aspirations. While on the march, the spy company returned rapidly, about 11 o'clock in the forenoon, and reported that McQueen's party were encamped a few miles in advance, and were engaged in cooking and eating. A consultation of officers terminated in the decision to attack the Indians by surprise. The command was thrown into three divisions—Captain Smoot in front of the right, Captain Bailey in front of the centre, and Captain Dale in front of the left. The Indians occupied a peninsula of low pine barren, formed by the windings of Burnt Corn Creek. Some gently rising heights overlooked this tongue of land, down which Caller charged upon them. Although taken by surprise, the Indians repelled the assault for a few minutes, and then gave way, retreating to the creek. A portion of the Americans bravely pursued them to the water, while others remained behind, engaged in the less laudable enterprise of capturing the Indian pack-horses. Caller acted with bravery, but, unfortunately, ordered a retreat to the high lands, where he intended to take a strong position. Seeing those in advance retreating from the swamp, about one hundred of the command, who had been occupied, as we have stated, in securing Indian effects, now precipitately fled, in great confusion and terror, but, in the midst of their dismay, *held on to the plunder*, driving the horses before them. Colonel Caller, Captain Bailey, and other officers, endeavored to rally them in vain. The Indians rushed forth from the swamp, with exulting yells, and attacked about eighty Americans, who remained at the foot of the hill. A severe fight ensued, and the whites, now commanded by Captains Dale, Bailey and Smoot, fought with laudable courage, exposed to a galling fire, in open woods, while McQueen and his warriors were protected

1813 July 27

1813 July 27

by thick reeds. The latter, however, discharged their pieces very unskillfully. Captain Dale received a large ball in the breast, which, glancing around a rib, came out at his back. He continued to fight as long as the battle lasted. At length, abandoned by two-thirds of the command, while the enemy had the advantage of position, the Americans resolved to retreat, which they did in great disorder. Many had lost their horses, for they had dismounted when the attack was made, and now ran in all directions to secure them or get up behind others. Many actually ran off on foot. After all these had left the field three young men were found still fighting by themselves on one side of the peninsula, and keeping at bay some savages who were concealed in the cane. They were Lieutenant Patrick May, of North Carolina, now of Greene county, Alabama, a descendant of a brave revolutionary family; a private named Ambrose Miles and Lieutenant Girard W. Creagh, of South Carolina. A warrior presented his tall form. May and the savage discharged their guns at each other. The Indian fell dead in the cane; his fire, however, had shattered the lieutenant's piece near the lock. Resolving also to retreat, these intrepid young men made a rush for their horses, when Creagh, brought to the ground by the effects of a wound which he received in the hip, cried out, "Save me, lieutenant, or I am gone!" May instantly raised him up, bore him off on his back and placed him in the saddle, while Miles held the bridle reins. A rapid retreat saved their lives. Reaching the top of the hill they saw Lieutenant Bradberry, a young lawyer of North Carolina, bleeding with his wounds, and endeavoring to rally some of his men. The Indians,

1813 July 27 reaching the body of poor Ballad, took off his scalp in full view, which so incensed his friend Glass that he advanced and fired the last gun upon them.

The retreat was continued all night in the most irregular manner, and the trail was lined, from one end to the other, with small squads, and sometimes one man by himself. The wounded

traveled slowly, and often stopped to rest. It was afterwards ascertained that only two Americans were killed and fifteen wounded. Such was the battle of Burnt Corn, the first that was fought in the long and bloody Creek war. The Indians retraced their steps to Pensacola for more military supplies. Their number of killed is unknown. Caller's command never got together again, but mustered themselves out of service, returning to their homes by various routes, after many amusing adventures. Colonel Caller and Major Wood became lost, and wandered on foot in the forest, causing great uneasiness to their friends. When General Claiborne arrived in the country he wrote to Bailey, Tait and McNac, respectable half-breeds, urging them to hunt for these unfortunate men. They were afterwards found, starved almost to death and bereft of their senses. They had been missing fifteen days.*

General Ferdinand Leigh Claiborne, the brother of the ex-Governor of the Mississippi Territory, was born in Sussex county, Virginia, of a family distinguished in that commonwealth from the time of Charles I. On the 21st November, 1793, in his twentieth year, he was appointed an ensign in Wayne's army on the Northwestern frontier. He was in the great battle in which that able commander soon after defeated the Indians, and for his good conduct, was promoted to a lieutenancy. At the close of the war he was stationed at Richmond and Norfolk, in the recruiting service, and subsequently was ordered to Pittsburg, Forts Washington, Greenville and Detroit, where he remained with the rank of captain and acting adjutant-general until 1805, when he resigned and removed to Natchez. He was soon afterwards a member of the Territorial legislature, and presided over its deliberations. We have already seen how active he was in arresting Aaron Burr, upon the Mississippi river, at the head of infantry and cavalry. On the 8th March,

* Conversations with Dr. Thomas G. Holmes, of Baldwin county, Alabama, the late Colonel Girard W. Creagh, of Clarke, and General Patrick May, of Greene, who were in the Burnt Corn expedition.

1813, Colonel Claiborne was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers, and was ordered by General Wilkinson to take command of the post of Baton Rouge. In the latter part of July he was ordered by General Flournoy to march with his whole command to Fort Stoddart, and instructed to direct his principal attention to "*the defence of Mobile.*"

1813 July 30

On the 30th July, General Claiborne reached Mount Vernon near the Mobile river with the rear guard of his army, consisting of seven hundred men, whom he had chiefly sustained by supplies raised by mortgages upon his own estate.* The quartermaster at Baton Rouge had only provided him with the small sum of two hundred dollars. He obtained, from the most reliable characters upon the eastern frontier, accurate information in regard to the threatened invasion of the Indians, an account of the unfortunate result of the Burnt Corn expedition, and a written opinion of Judge Toulmin, respecting the critical condition of the country generally. It was found that alarm pervaded the populace. Rumors of the advance of the Indians were rife, and were believed. In Clarke county—in the fork of the rivers—a chain of rude defences had hastily been constructed by the citizens, and were filled to overflowing with white people and negroes. One of these was at Gullett's Bluff, upon the Tombigby, another at Easley's station, and the others at the residences of Sinquefield, Glass, White and Lavier. They were all called forts. Two block-houses were also in a state of completion, at St. Stephens.

1813 Aug. 10

The first step taken by Claiborne was the distribution of his troops, so as to afford the greatest protection to the inhabitants. He despatched Colonel Carson, with two hundred men, to the Fork, who arrived at Fort Glass without accident. A few hundred yards from that rude

* Upon the conclusion of the Creek war General Claiborne returned to Soldier's Retreat, his home, near Natchez, shattered in constitution, from the exposure and hardships of the campaigns and died suddenly at the close of 1815. The vouchers for the liberal expenditures which he made were lost and his *property was sold*.

structure he began the construction of Fort Madison. He sent Captain Scott to St. Stephens with a company, which immediately occupied the old Spanish block-house. He employed Major Hinds, with the mounted dragoons, in scouring the country, while he distributed some of the militia of Washington county for the defence of the stockade. Captain Dent was despatched to Oaktupa, where he assumed the command of a fort with two block-houses within a mile of the Choctaw line.* 1813 Aug. 22

* MS. papers of General F. L. Claiborne.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Terrible Massacre at Fort Mims.

In the meantime, the wealthy half-bloods about Little river had dropped down the Alabama, in their boats, and had secreted themselves in the swamp about Lake Tensaw. Uniting with the whites, they soon began the construction of a fort around the residence of Samuel Mims, a wealthy Indian countryman, to whom we have often alluded, and who, originally, was one of the pack-horsemen of the Honorable George Galphin.

Being about to relate a horrible affair, in which people of all ages and both sexes were subjected to savage butchery, a particular description of the place where it occurred is deemed necessary. Mims lived within four hundred yards of the Boat Yard, upon Lake Tensaw, a mile east of the Alabama river, and two miles below the Cut-Off. His house was a large frame building of one story, with spacious shed-rooms. Around it pickets were driven, between which fence rails were placed. Five hundred port-holes were made, three and a half feet only from the ground. The stockading enclosed an acre of ground, in a square form, and was entered by two ponderous but rude gates, one on the east and the other on the west. Within the enclosure, besides the main building, were various out-houses, rows of bee-gums, together with cabins and board shelters, recently erected by the settlers, wherever a vacant spot appeared. At the southwest corner a block-house was begun, but never finished. This defence was situated on a very slight elevation. A large potato field lay adjoining on the south, in which were a row of negro houses. Woods intervened between the picketing and the lake,

while in a northern direction cane swamps, which grew denser as they approached the river, were hard by. On the east the flat lands continued for several miles, interspersed with cane marshes and some ravines. It was altogether a most ill-chosen place for a fort, as it ultimately proved.*

No sooner was Fort Mims partially finished than the citizens poured in, with their provisions and effects. Colonel Carson, who had reached Mount Vernon in advance of Claiborne, sent over Lieutenant Osborne, with sixteen men. Afterwards Claiborne despatched one hundred and seventy-five more volunteers to Fort Mims under the command of Major Daniel Beasley, with Captains Jack, Batchelor and Middleton. He found seventy militia upon duty, commanded, for the present, by Dunn and Plummer, two inexperienced officers. Permitting them to elect their officers, the brave Dixon Bailey was unanimously chosen for the post of captain, and —— Crawford for ensign. The next day General Claiborne, arriving at Fort Mims and inspecting the works, addressed a general order of instruction to Beasley, charging him "to strengthen the picketing, build two more block-houses, respect the enemy, to send out scouts frequently, and allow the suffering people provisions, whether whites or friendly Indians." Returning to his headquarters, at Mount Vernon, he, for the moment, directed his attention to other portions of the frontiers.† In the meantime, Major Beasley had extended the picketing on the east side sixty feet deep, forming a separate apartment for the accommodation of the officers and their baggage. He greatly weakened his command by sending small detachments to Forts Madison, Easley, Pierce, and Joshua Kennedy's saw-mill, where citizens had collected, and asked for assistance.‡ At this mill the government had a large contract for lumber to put Fort Charlotte, of Mobile,

1813 July 28

Aug. 6

Aug. 7

* Conversations with Dr. Thomas G. Holmes, of Baldwin.
† Claiborne's MS. papers. ‡ Conversations with Dr. Thomas G. Holmes.

in repair, and build a fort at Mobile Point, and it was deemed necessary to strengthen it with troops to prevent the Indians from burning it down.*

The whole population of Fort Mims, consisting of whites, Indians, soldiers, officers and negroes, now amounted to five hundred and fifty-three souls. Crowded together in an Alabama swamp, in the month of August, much sickness prevailed.† In the meantime, Crawford was dismissed from the post of

1813 ensign for having deserted from the regular army, and

Aug. 14 Peter Randon, a half-breed, was appointed in his place. Beasley kept up a correspondence with Claiborne, several times acquainting him with alarms, which turned out to be false.‡

The Creeks, whom we left returning to Pensacola from the battle ground of Burnt Corn, were again liberally supplied with arms and ammunition. Making their way back to the Tallapoosa without molestation, active preparations were made by them for immediate war. Warriors from the towns of Hoithlewale, Fooshatche, Cooloome, Ecunhutke, Souvanoga, Mooklausa, Alabama, Oakchoieooche, Pockuschatche, Ochebofa, Puckuntallahasse, Wewocoe and Woccocoie marched in a southern direction, while others, from Tallase, Auttose and Ocfuske, formed a front of observation towards Coweta to conceal the movement.§

Associated with McQueen and Francis was William Weatherford, the son of Charles Weatherford, a Georgian, who had lived almost a life-time in the Creek nation. His mother, Sehoy, was the half-sister of General McGillivray, and a native of Hickory Ground. William was uneducated, but was a man of great native intellect, fine form and commanding person. His bearing was gentlemanly and dignified, and was coupled with an intelli-

* Claiborne's MS. papers.
† Conversations with Dr. Thomas G. Holmes. ‡ Claiborne's MS. papers.
§ Indian Affairs, vol. 1, p 858. The Spaniards and the British agents charged McQueen's party to "fight the Americans. If they prove too hard for you, send your women and children to Pensacola, and we will send them to Havana; and if you should be compelled to fly yourselves, and the Americans should prove too hard for both of us, there are vessels enough to take us all off together."—Ibid.

gent expression, which led strangers to suppose that they were in the presence of no ordinary man. His eyes were large, dark, brilliant and flashing. He was one of "nature's noblemen"—a man of strict honor and unsurpassed courage. He was now with the large Indian army, conducting them down to attack the Tensaw settlers, among whom were his brother and several sisters, and also his half-brother, David Tait.* How unhappily were these people divided! His sister, Hannah McNac, with all her sons, belonged to the war party, while the husband was a true friend of the Americans, and had fled to them for protection. Weatherford led his army to the plantation of Zachariah McGirth, a little below the present Claiborne, where, capturing several negroes, among whom was an intelligent fellow named Joe, from whom they learned the condition of Fort Mims, and the proper time to attack it, he halted for several days to deliberate. One of the negroes escaped, and conveyed intelligence to the fort of the approach of the Indians. Major Beasley had continued to send out scouts daily, who were unable to discover traces of the enemy. The inmates had become inactive, free from alarm, and abandoned themselves to fun and frolic. The negro runner from McGirth's plantation now aroused them for a time, and Fort Mims was further strengthened. But the Indians not appearing the negro was pronounced to be a liar, and the activity of the garrison again abated. At length two young negro men were sent out to mind some beef cattle that grazed upon the luxuriant grass within a few miles of the fort. Suddenly they came rushing through the gate out of breath, and reported that they had counted twenty-four painted warriors. Captain Middleton, with a detachment of horse, was immediately despatched with the negroes to the place, but being unable to discover the least sign of the enemy, returned about

1813 Aug. 20

1813 Aug. 29

* David Tait was the son of Colonel Tait, a British officer, who was stationed at the Hickory Ground, upon the Coosa, in 1778, as we have seen.

sunset, when one of the negroes, belonging to John Randon, was tied up and severely flogged for alarming the garrison, with what Major Beasley deemed a sheer fabrication. Fletcher, the owner of the other, refused to permit him to be punished, because he believed his statement, which so incensed the major that he ordered him, with his large family, to depart from the fort by 10 o'clock the next day. The next morning Randon's negro Aug. 30 was again sent out to attend the cattle, but seeing a large body of Indians fled to Fort Pierce, being afraid to communicate the intelligence to those who had whipped him. In the meantime Fletcher's negro, by the reluctant consent of his master, was tied up and the lash about to be applied to his back; the officers were preparing to dine; the soldiers were reposing on the ground; some of the settlers were playing cards; the girls and young men were dancing, while a hundred thoughtless and happy children sported from door to door, and from tent to tent.

At that awful moment one thousand Creek warriors, extended flat upon the ground in a thick ravine, four hundred yards from the eastern gate, thirsted for American blood. No eyes saw them but those of the chirping and innocent birds in the limbs above them. The mid-day sun sometimes flashed through the thick foilage, and glanced upon their yellow skins, but quickly withdrew, as if afraid longer to contemplate the murderous horde. There lay the prophets, covered with feathers, with black faces, resembling those monsters which partake of both beast and bird. Beside them lay curious medicine bags and rods of magic. The whole ravine was covered with painted and naked savages, completely armed.

The hour of 12 o'clock arrived, and the drum beat the officers and the soldiers of the garrison to dinner. Then, by one 1813 simultaneous bound, the ravine was relieved of its sav- Aug. 30 age burden, and soon the field resounded with the rapid tread of the bloody warriors. The sand had washed against the eastern gate, which now lay open. Major Beasley

rushed, sword in hand, and essayed in vain to shut it. The Indians felled him to the earth with their clubs and tomahawks, and rushing over his body into the additional part of the fort, left him a chance to crawl behind the gate, where he shortly after expired. To the last he called upon the men to make a resolute resistance. The eastern part of the picketing was soon full of Indians, headed by five prophets, whom the Americans immediately shot down, while engaged in dancing and incantations. This greatly abated the ardor of the enemy, many of whom retreated through the gate for the moment. They had been assured that American bullets would split upon the sacred persons of the prophets, and pass off harmless. The unhappy inmates of Fort Mims now made all efforts to defend the place, but their attempts were confused and ineffective. The assailants, from the old line of picketing, in the additional part of the fort, and from the outside stockading, commenced a general fire upon the Americans. Soldiers, negroes, women and children fell. Captain Middleton, in charge of the eastern section, was soon despatched, together with all his men. Captain Jack, on the south wing, with a company of riflemen, defended his position with great bravery. Lieutenant Randon fought from the guard-house, on the west, while Captain Dixon Bailey repulsed the enemy, to the best of his ability, on the northern line of pickets, against which much the largest number of Indians operated. The number of savages was so great that they apparently covered the whole field, and they now rent 1813
the air with their exulting shouts. Many of the younger Aug. 30
prophets surrounded the main building, which was full of women and children, and danced around it, distorting their faces, and sending up the most unearthly screams. The pickets and houses afforded the Americans some protection, where the young men, the aged, and even the boys, fought with desperation. Captain Bailey was the man to whom the eyes of all the settlers were turned at this critical moment. He maintained his

position, and was the only officer who gained the port-holes before they were occupied by the enemy. His repeated discharges made lanes through the savage ranks. Fresh numbers renewed their efforts against him, and often an Indian and an American would plant their guns across the same port-hole to shoot at each other. Bailey encouraged the whole population in the fort to fight, assuring them that Indians seldom fought long at one time, and, by holding out for a little while longer, many would be saved. Failing in his entreaties to prevail upon several to rush through the enemy to Fort Pierce, only two miles distant, there procure reinforcements, and attack the assailants in the rear, he resolved to go himself, and began to climb over the pickets for that purpose; but his neighbors, who loved him dearly, pulled him back.

About three o'clock, the Indians, becoming tired of the contest, plundered the additional part of the fort, and began to carry off the effects to the house of Mrs. O'Neil, which lay three hundred yards distant, on the road to the ferry. Weatherford overtook them, on a fine black horse, and brought them back to the scene of action, after having impressed them by an ani-
1813 mated address. About this time, Dr. Osborne, the sur-
Aug. 30 geon, was shot through the body, and carried into Patrick's loom-house, where he expired in great agony. The women now animated the men to defend them, by assisting in loading the guns and bringing water from the well. The most prominent among these was Mrs. Daniel Bailey, who, provoked at the cowardice of Sergeant Mathews, severely punctured him with a bayonet as he lay trembling against the wall. Many instances of unrivalled courage could be enumerated, if our space permitted it. One of Jack's soldiers retreated to the half-finished block-house, after his commander and all his brothers-in-arms had fallen, and from that point, discharged his gun at intervals, until he had killed over a dozen warriors. James and Daniel Bailey, the brothers of the

gallant Captain, with other men, ascended to the roof of Mims' dwelling, knocked off some shingles for port-holes, where they continued to shoot the lusty warriors on the outside of the picketing. But the superior force of the assailants enabled them constantly to bring fresh warriors into the action. They now set fire to the main building, and many of the out-houses. The shrieks of the women and children went up to high heaven.

To Patrick's loom-house had been attached some extra picketing, forming what was improperly termed a bastion. Hither Captain Bailey, and those of his command who survived, entered and continued to pour upon the savages a most deadly fire. Many citizens attempted to reach that spot, now the only one of the least security. The venerable David Mims, attempting to pass to the bastion, received a large ball in the neck; the blood gushed out; he exclaimed: "Oh, God, I am a dead man!" and fell upon his face. A cruel warrior cut around his head, and waved his hoary scalp exultingly in the air. Some poor Spaniards, who had deserted from the Pensaccla garrison, kneeled around the well and crossed themselves, and, while interceding with the MOST HIGH, were despatched with tomahawks. "TO THE BASTION! TO THE BASTION!" was now the fearful cry of the survivors. Soon it was full to overflowing. The weak, wounded and feeble, were pressed to death and trodden under foot. The spot presented the appearance of one immense mass of human beings, herded together too close to defend themselves, and, like beeves in the slaughter-pen of the butcher, a prey to those who fired upon them. The large building had fallen, carrying with it the scorched bodies of the Baileys and others on the roof, and the large number of women and children in the lower story. The flames began to reach the people in the bastion. Dr. Thomas G. Holmes, an assistant surgeon in the garrison, seized an axe, cut some pickets in two, but did not take them down, suffering them to remain until a suitable opportunity offered to escape. The

1813
Aug. 30

brave Dixon Bailey now cried aloud that ALL WAS LOST, that his family were to be butchered, and begged all to make their escape, if possible. His negro man, Tom, (still living, at Sisemore's plantation) took up his favorite son, who was thirteen years of age, but feeble with the fever, and bore him through the pickets, which Holmes now threw down, and gained the woods in safety. But, strange to say, the infatuated negro presently brought back the poor boy to a squad of hostiles, who dashed out his brains with war-clubs. Little Ralph cried out, "Father, father, save me!" Of his HEAVENLY FATHER the poor little heathen had probably never heard.

In front of the northern line of picketing was a fence, fifty yards distant, in every lock of which many warriors had placed themselves, to cut off all retreat; besides which, others stationed themselves at various points to shoot those who should run. Dr. Holmes, Captain Bailey, and a negro woman named Hester, the property of Benjamin Steadham, were the first to escape through the aperture. Holmes, receiving in his flight several balls through his clothes, but no wounds, strangely made his way over the fence, gained the swamp, and concealed himself in a clay hole, formed by the prostration of an immense tree. Bailey reached the swamp, but, being badly wounded, died by the side of a cypress stump. Hester received a severe wound in the breast, but reached a canoe in the lake, paddled to Fort Stoddart that night, and was the first to give intelligence to General Claiborne of the horrible affair.

1813
Aug. 30

Returning again to the fatal spot, every house was seen to be in flames. The bastion was broken down, the helpless inmates were butchered in the quickest manner, and blood and brains bespattered the whole earth. The children were seized by the legs and killed by beating their heads against the stockading. The women were scalped, and those who were pregnant were opened, while they were alive, and the embryo infants let out of the

womb. Weatherford had some time previous left the horrid scene. He had implored the warriors to spare the women and children, and reproached them for their barbarity; but his own life was threatened for interposing, many clubs were raised over his head, and he was forced to retire. In after years he never thought of that bloody occasion without the most painful emotions. He had raised the storm, but he could not control it.

The British agents at Pensacola had offered a reward of five dollars for every American scalp. The Indians jerked the skin from the whole head, and, collecting all the effects which the fire had not consumed, retired to the east, 1813 one mile from the ruins, to spend the night, where Aug. 30 they smoked their pipes and trimmed and dried their scalps. The battle had lasted from twelve to five o'clock.

Of the large number in the fort, all were killed or burned up except a few half-bloods, who were made prisoners; some negroes, reserved for slaves; and the following persons, who made their escape and lived: Dr. Thomas G. Holmes; Hester, a negro woman: Socca, a friendly Indian; Peter Randon, lieutenant of Citizens' company; Josiah Fletcher; Sergeant Mathews, the coward; Martin Rigdon; Samuel Smith, a half-breed; —— Mourrice, Joseph Perry, Mississippi volunteers; Jesse Steadham; Edward Steadham; John Hoven; —— Jones; and Lieutenant W. R. Chambliss, of the Mississippi volunteers.

Dr. Holmes lay concealed in the clay hole until nine o'clock at night. The Gin-House at the Boat Yard had been fired, and the conflagration threw a light over the surrounding country in addition to that still afforded by the ruins of Fort Mims. Hence, he was forced to resume his position, until twelve o'clock, when the flames died away. Remembering that he had never learned to swim, he abandoned the idea which he first entertained, of crossing the Alabama and making his way to Mount Vernon. He therefore bent his course towards the high lands. He frequently came upon small Indian fires, around which the

bloody warriors lay in profound sleep. Bewildered and shocked in every direction in which he turned by unwelcome and fearful sights like these, he at length, after a great deal of winding and turning, fell back into the river swamp, hid in a clump of thick canes, and there subsisted upon water, mutton reed and roots. All this time he was in the immediate neighborhood of the scene of the tragical events we have described, and heard distinctly the Indians killing the stock of the citizens. When silence ensued, after the fifth day, he made his way to the Race-Track, and from thence to Pine-Log Creek, where he spent the night. Reaching Buford's Island the next day, and seeing the tracks of people and horses, he determined to fall in with them, although they should prove to be hostile Indians, so desperate had he become from starvation. At the Tensaw Lake, Holmes found the horses tied, and, rejoicing to find that they belonged to his friends, fired off his gun. John Buford and his party, supposing the discharge proceeded from the war party, fled up into a bayou in a boat, where they remained two days. The disappointed Holmes went to the abandoned house of Buford, where he fortunately obtained some poultry, which he devoured without cooking. Three days afterwards he was discovered by Captain Buford and conveyed to Mount Vernon, where the other fourteen who escaped had arrived and reported him among the slain.

Martin Rigdon, Samuel Smith, Joseph Perry, —— Mourrice and Jesse Steadham escaped through the picketing together. The latter was shot through the thigh early in the action, and Mourrice in the shoulder. Leaping the fence in front of the bastion, over the heads of the squatting Indians, they reached the swamp, where they remained three days, when, finding an old canoe below the Boat Yard, they made their escape to Mount Vernon. Edward Steadham, who was wounded in the hand while flying from the bastion, entered the swamp, swam the Alabama above the Cut-Off, and arrived at Mount Vernon four days after the massacre. All the others who escaped so miracu-

lously made their way with success through the Indian ranks, and had many similar adventures, reaching the American headquarters at the most imminent peril. Lieutenant Chambliss had received two severe wounds in the fort, and in running across the field received another. Reaching the woods, he crept into a log-heap. At night a party of warriors set fire to it, for the purpose of smoking their pipes, and when the heat was becoming intolerable, and he would soon have been forced to discover himself, they fortunately were called off to another camp-fire. He left that place immediately, wandered about, and for a long time was supposed to be dead. He made his way, however, to Mount Vernon, and from thence went to Soldiers' Retreat, the residence of General Claiborne, near Natchez, where Dr. John Coxe, an eminent surgeon, extracted two arrow-heads and a ball from his body.*

The day after the fall of Fort Mims the Indians began to bury their dead, by laying their bodies between the potatoe-rows and drawing dirt and vines over them; but, from the great number of the dead, it was abandoned. Many were also wounded, who were put in canoes and conveyed up the river. Others wounded started home on foot, and died at Burnt Corn Spring. Most of those who were unhurt remained in the neighborhood to kill and plunder, while another party went to Pensacola with the scalps suspended upon poles.†

Zachariah McGirth was the son of James McGirth, who was, as we have seen, an unprincipled but brave man, and a captain of a company of tories during the revolutionary war, called the "Florida Rangers," forming a part of a battalion commanded by his brother, Colonel Daniel McGirth. When the war terminated Captain James McGirth fled to the Creek nation, with his chil-

* Claiborne's MS. papers.

† I am indebted to Dr. Thomas G. Holmes, of Baldwin county, Alabama, for the prominent facts in the foregoing narrative of the fall of Fort Mims. He made notes of the horrible affair a few years after the massacre took place, while the facts were fresh in his memory. I also conversed with Jesse Steadham, of Baldwin, and Lieutenant Peter Randon, the latter of whom I found in New Orleans, who also escaped.

dren, among whom was Zachariah. The latter married a half-breed Creek woman, named Vicey Curnells, had become wealthy, and was now an inmate of Fort Mims with his wife and eight children. About ten o'clock on the day of the massacre McGirth entered a boat with two of his negroes, and went out of Lake Tensaw into the Alabama, with the view of ascending
1813 that river to his plantation, which was situated below
Aug. 30 Claiborne, for some provisions. Reaching the Cut-Off he heard a heavy discharge of guns at Fort Mims. With pain and anxiety he continued to listen to the firing, and running his boat a mile down the river, in a small bayou, resolved to remain there, being firmly impressed with the belief that the Indians had attacked the fort. Late in the evening the firing ceased, and presently he saw clouds of black smoke rise above the forest trees, which was succeeded by flames. The unhappy McGirth now well knew that all was lost, and that in all probability his family had perished in the flames. Being a bold man, like his father, he resolved to go through the swamp with his negroes to the fatal spot. When he came within a quarter of a mile of the fort he placed the negroes in a concealed place, and approached alone. All was gloomy and horrible. Dogs in great numbers ran all over the woods, terrified beyond measure. Seeing that the savages had left the ruins, he returned for his negroes, and a little after twilight cautiously advanced. McGirth stood aghast at the horrible spectacle. Bodies lay in piles, in the sleep of death, bleeding, scalped, mutilated. His eyes everywhere fell upon forms half burned up, but still cracking and frying
1813 upon the glowing coals. In vain did he and his faithful
Aug. 30 slaves seek for the bodies of his family. Pile after pile was turned over, but no discovery could be made, for the features of but few could be recognized. He turned his back upon the bloody place, crossed the swamp to his boat, and paddled down the Alabama to Mount Vernon with a sad and heavy heart.

McGirth, now alone in the world, became a desperate man, ready to brave the greatest dangers for the sake of revenge. During the Creek war he was often employed in riding expresses from the Tombigby to Georgia, when no one else could be found daring enough to go through the heart of the enemy's country. After a long service amid such dangers, a friend accosted him one day in Mobile, and told him some people desired to see him at the wharf. Repairing there, he saw—a common sight in those days—some wretched Indians, who had been captured. He was asked if he knew them. Hesitating, his wife and seven children advanced and embraced him. A torrent of joy and profound astonishment overwhelmed him. He trembled like a leaf, and was, for some minutes, speechless.

Many years before the dreadful massacre at Fort Mims, a little hungry Indian boy, named Sanota—an orphan, houseless and friendless—stopped at the house of Vicey McGirth. She fed and clothed him, and he grew to athletic manhood. He joined the war party, and formed one of the expedition against Fort Mims. Like the other warriors, he was engaged in hewing and hacking the females to pieces, towards the close of the massacre, when he suddenly came upon Mrs. McGirth and his foster-sisters. Pity and gratitude taking possession of his heart, he thrust them in a corner, and nobly made his broad savage breast a rampart for their protection. The next day he carried them off upon horses, towards the Coosa, under the pretence that he had reserved them from death for his slaves. Arriving at his home, he sheltered them, hunted for them, and protected them from Indian brutality. One day he told his adopted mother that he was going to fight Jackson, at the Horse-Shoe, and that, if he should be killed, she must endeavor to reach her friends below. Sure enough, the noble Sanota soon lay among the slain at Cholocco Litebixee. Mrs. McGirth, now being without a protector, and in a hostile region, started off on foot, with her children, for Fort Claiborne. After much suffering, they reached

their deserted farm, below Claiborne, where Major Blue, at the head of a company of horse, discovered these miserable objects, and carried them to Mobile, where the interview just related took place with the astonished husband, who imagined that he had some months before surveyed their half-burnt bodies upon the field of Fort Mims. His son was the only member of his family who had perished upon that bloody occasion.*

General Claiborne despatched Major Joseph P. Kennedy, with a strong detachment, to Fort Mims, from his headquarters at Mount Vernon, for the purpose of interring the dead.

1813 Sept. 9 Upon arriving there, Kennedy found the air darkened with buzzards, and hundreds of dogs, which had run wild, gnawing upon the human carcasses. The troops, with heavy hearts, succeeded in interring many bodies in two large pits, which they dug. "Indians, negroes, white men, women and children, lay in one promiscuous ruin. All were scalped, and the females, of every age, were butchered in a manner which neither decency nor language will permit me to describe. The main building was burned to ashes, which were filled with bones. The plains and the woods around were covered with dead bodies. All the houses were consumed by fire, except the block-house, and a part of the pickets. The soldiers and officers, with one voice, called on Divine Providence to revenge the death of our murdered friends."†

In drawing our account of this sanguinary affair to a conclusion, it is proper to observe that General Claiborne was in no way to blame for the unfortunate result. He corresponded with Beasley, heard from him almost every day, and in his despatches constantly urged him to be prepared to meet the enemy. Claiborne, from every quarter, received distressing messages imploring assistance, and we have already seen how judiciously he dis-

* Conversations with Colonel Robert James, of Clarke county, Alabama, who often heard McGirth relate these particulars. McGirth, in 1834, made the same statements to me.

† Major Kennedy's MS. report to General Claiborne.

tributed his forces, as far as it lay in his power, for their protection, contrary to the instructions of Flournoy, who endeavored to confine his operations chiefly to the defence of Mobile and the country below Ellicott's line. Just before the attack upon Fort Mims, he headed a large detachment of 1813 horse, and rushed to the defence of the people at Easley's Aug. 24 station, upon the Tombigby near the Choctaw line, whom he was induced to believe a large party of Choctaws and Creeks intended shortly to attack. They, however, did not appear, and, leaving a strong guard for the defence of that fort, he hastened back to Mount Vernon, and arrived there at twelve o'clock at night, after a march of seventy miles that day. He was there shocked to learn the fate of the garrison of Fort Mims. Supposing that he had already returned to Mount Vernon, Beasley addressed him a letter *two hours only before the Indians entered the gate*, declaring his ability to maintain the post against any number of the enemy.* The major was as brave a man as ever lived, but neither he nor his officers, attached to the Mississippi division, believed that the enemy were at hand; so often had reports reached them, which they pronounced untrue, because they were not immediately realized, as in the case of the negro who was whipped, and of the other who was killed by the Indians while tied up, ready to receive the lash.†

* Beasley's letter, found among Claiborne's MS. papers.

† The people at Fort Pierce, when the attack was made at Fort Mims, made their way, under Lieutenant Montgomery to Mobile, where they safely arrived.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Daring of Heaton—Bloody Scenes—Gaines and the Choctaws.

While the larger body of Creeks were destroying the people at Fort Mims, Francis, the prophet, at the head of a hundred warriors, was spreading his depredations in the fork of the Alabama and Tombigby. Abner James and Ransom Kemball, with their large families, being inmates of Fort Sinquefield, and becoming dissatisfied at remaining among so many people, repaired to the house of Kemball, situated two miles from the fort. Here they were living when Francis suddenly surrounded the house, about three o'clock in the evening. Abner James, his
1813 son Thomas, then fourteen years of age, and his daugh-
Sept. 1 ter Mary escaped, and fled to the fort. Isam Kemball, then sixteen years of age, also safely reached Sinquefield, and is now the clerk of the Circuit Court of Clarke county. All the others were despatched with war-clubs and scalped. After killing the stock and robbing the house the Indians retired to the swamps. In the early part of the night a slight rain commenced, which, it is believed, revived Sarah Merrill, the married daughter of James, whom the Indians had supposed to be dead. She felt among the bodies, which lay thick around her, and found her little boy, twelve months old, who also fortunately was alive. Some warm milk from her breast revived him more and more. Taking him in her arms, she with difficulty got upon her feet, and slowly walked towards the fort. Arriving within a half mile of that place, her bleeding wounds, weakening her at every step, forced her to place the babe by the side of a log, while she went on and

communicated his hiding place to the anxious garrison. Some generous men boldly sallied out, found the boy, and brought him to the fort. They are both now alive. The young woman was severely beaten with large clubs, and the scalp of the entire top of her head was taken off. The savages slung the little fellow against the side of the house, and cut around his head, but his hair being too short they did not pull off his scalp.

Hearing of the murders, Colonel Carson despatched from Fort Montgomery Lieutenant Bailey with seven dragoons, and three men employed as spies, to bury the dead and ascertain if the Indians were numerous. Twelve bodies were conveyed to Fort Sinquefield in an ox-cart, and thrown into a pit dug fifty yards from the gate. About the time that the funeral ceremonies were closing, and while nearly the whole garrison were engaged therein, Francis suddenly rushed with a hundred warriors down a hill towards them. The men snatched up the children, and every one of them reached the gate in time, except about ten women at the spring, who were engaged in washing. The Indians, failing to cut off the retreat of the main party, perceived with delight the helpless condition of these females, and rushed in that direction to secure them. Just at that moment Isaac Heaton, who had been out cow-hunting, riding up, with his long whip and large pack of dogs, gave a tremendous crack, and, encouraging his canine army, charged upon the Indians. Such was the 1813 fury of the dogs, that the Creeks were forced to halt Sept. 3 and fight them, which enabled Heaton to cover the retreat of the women until they arrived safely in the fort. His horse fell under him from the wound of an Indian gun, but rose again, and followed into the fort his heroic master, who had received no other injury than the riddling of his coat with rifle-balls. Only one poor woman—a Mrs. Philips, who was in an advanced state of pregnancy—was overtaken and scalped.

Heaton deserves to be remembered for this achievement—

an eminent exemplification of bravery and presence of mind. The Indians now attacked the little stockade, but a brave resistance repelled them, with the loss of eleven warriors. Then, securing the dragoon horses, which had been tethered outside the walls, the savages rapidly retired. The Americans, having lost only one of their number, besides the unfortunate Mrs. Phillips, the next day evacuated Sinquefield's fort, and marched to Fort Madison for better security, where the inmates of Forts Glass and Lavier had also flocked, swelling the population to over one thousand souls, including the command of Colonel Carson of two hundred and twenty men.

Sept. 4

Occasionally the farmers were accustomed to leave Fort Madison for a few hours to procure from their fields provisions for immediate use. A man named Fisher, with three of his sons, set out for that purpose, and, arriving at the farm, one of the boys was shot in the back while shelling some peas in the yard. Instantly rising up, he made his escape to the woods. His father, then in the cane, running out to learn the cause of the firing, was also severely wounded in the back, but likewise made his way to the forest. The other two sons, being in a different part of the field, fled to the fort, and reported the death of their brother and father. The next day, however, they came in, bleeding from their wounds, and happily recovered.*

1813
Sept. 6

These things, following so closely upon the fall of Fort Mims, filled the whole population of the eastern section of the Mississippi Territory with the greatest panic imaginable, and every soul went into some kind of defensive work. Fort Hawn, at Gullett's Bluff, contained a mixed population of three hundred and ninety-one souls, including sixty men under Captain James Powell of the eighth regiment of Mississippi militia. At Mount Vernon were two forts literally packed with people. Rankin's fort con-

* Conversations with the late Colonel Girard W. Creagh, of Clarke county; Colonel Jere Austill, of Mobile, and others. See also Claiborne's MS. papers.

tained five hundred and thirty persons—of whom only eighty-seven were capable of bearing arms, in consequence of the sickness which everywhere prevailed in these filthy stockades. Fort Charlotte, of Mobile, was also daily receiving families. To this place Judge Toulmin and a number of his neighbors had repaired. Perhaps greater inquietude existed at St. Stephens than at any other point, if, indeed, any line of distinction can be drawn. Claiborne all the time was harassed by distressing messages, which hourly reached him, and his generous heart was racked day and night in revolving plans to assist them all; but he was unable to do more than he had already accomplished, on account of the smallness of his army and the restrictions put upon him by the commander-in-chief.

The enemy continued to spread their depredations, distributing themselves in all directions, burning the abandoned houses, driving off the cattle, and herding the hogs in the corn-fields to fatten, that their flesh might be in good order for their feastings. Colonel Carson's condition was unknown to Claiborne, and from the continued reports which he received, that a combined attack was soon to be made upon Fort Madison, the general transmitted him an order to abandon his post and march to St. Stephens, which was deemed a more important point to defend.
The order was *discretionary*, however, but Carson and 1813
his officers viewed it as rather *peremptory*. He started Sept. 8
with all his force to St. Stephens, accompanied by five hundred settlers, of all ages and sexes. This created great consternation in the Fork, and Claiborne was unjustly denounced for having abandoned the whole population of Clarke county. But if Carson had chosen to remain it would have fully accorded with the views of the general. The movement was unnecessary, and served to embolden the savages. When the evacution took place, eighty citizens enrolled themselves under Captain Evan Austill and Captain Sam Dale (the latter still suffering from the desperate wound which he received at Burnt Corn), all of whom

determined to stay within Fort Madison to protect a number of citizens who preferred to remain. A despatch from Claiborne, dated the 8th of September, urging Carson "not to abandon the fort, unless it was clear that he could not maintain it," arrived too late, as that officer was already in the neighborhood of St. Stephens.*

The British were hovering along the coast to give their red friends countenance and aid. A British war schooner had anchored at Pensacola with a large supply of munitions of war. Afterwards, Mexco Gonzales Manique, the Governor of Pensacola, addressed a letter to Weatherford and the Chiefs, congratulating them on their late victory at Fort Mims, assuring them of his constant aid, but dissuading them from setting fire to Mobile, as that place properly belonged to the King of Spain, which his majesty would shortly re-occupy.†

1813 Sept. 29

While all was doubt and uncertainty as to the position which the Choctaws would assume at this critical juncture, Pushmatahaw, the most enlightened and influential Chief of that nation, rode to St. Stephens and proposed to Mr. George S. Gaines to enlist several companies of his warriors in the American cause. Gratified at the proposition, the latter hastened with the Chief to Mobile, and had an interview with General Flournoy in Fort Charlotte, who strangely declined to receive the Choctaws as United States soldiers. With deep mortification Gaines and the Chief returned to St. Stephens, and while the citizens, who had surrounded them when they rode up, were cursing Flournoy for his folly, a horse was seen at a distance, bearing a rider with great speed. Flournoy had reconsidered the matter, and had sent a messenger authorizing Gaines to go into the Choctaw nation to raise troops. The people gave a

* Claiborne's MS. papers.

† This letter was found in Weatherford's house, at the Holy Ground, several months afterwards, and is yet among the MS. papers of General Claiborne. All these papers furnish the most indubitable evidence of the coalition between the Spaniards and English to exterminate the population of the Mississippi Territory.

shout, and all hearts were made glad. Every one had feared that the Choctaws would join the Creeks, and now, through the influence of Pushmatahaw, it was believed they would actually assist the Americans. In company with Col. Flood McGrew and the Chief, Gaines departed immediately for the Choctaw country, with no other provisions than some jerked beef. Colonel John McKee, agent of the Chickasaws, met them at Peachland's, where they held a consultation, while Pushmatahaw went home to assemble his people in council. They were living under three distinct governments; the eastern district was governed by Pushmatahaw, the western by Puckshenubbee, and the northwestern by Mushelatubba. In a few days Gaines reached the council-ground, where over five thousand Choctaws were encamped. Pushmatahaw harangued them in a long speech, full of eloquence and ingenuity, in which he said, among many other things: "You know Tecumseh. He is a bad man. He came through our nation, but did not turn our heads. He went among the Muscogees and got many of them to join him. You know the Tensaw people. They were our friends. They played ball with us. They sheltered and fed us, whenever we went to Pensacola. Where are they now? Their bodies rot at Sam Mims' place. The people at St. Stephens are our friends. The Muscogees intend to kill them too. They want soldiers to defend them." (He here drew out his sword, and flourishing it, added:) "You can all do as you please. You are all freemen. I dictate to none of you. But I shall join the St. Stephens people. If you have a mind to follow me, I will lead you to glory and to victory!" A warrior rose up, slapped his hand upon his breast, and said: "I am a man! I am a man! I will follow you!" All of them now slapped their breasts, a general shout went up, and Gaines was filled with joy at the result.

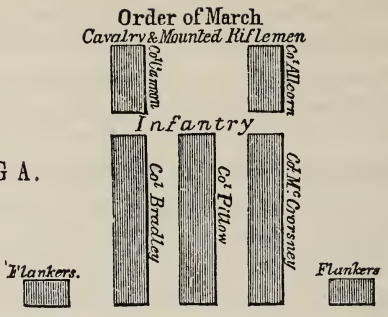
In the meantime Colonel McKee was equally successful with the Chickasaws, being greatly aided in his efforts by the influence of John Peachland. McKee, at the head of a large

PLAN

OF THE

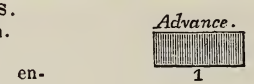
BATTLE OF

TALLADEGA.

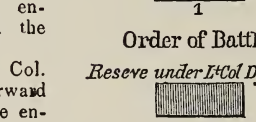


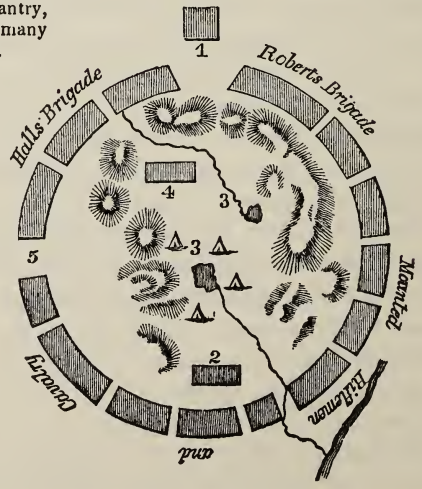
REFERENCES.

1 Jackson's position.
2 Friendly Indians.
3 Hostile Indians encamped around the Spring.
4 Advance under Col. Carroll, sent forward to bring on the engagement.
5 Gap between the Cavalry and Infantry, through which many Indians escaped.



Order of Battle.





force of Chickasaws, marched to the Tuskaloosa Falls, to attack the Creek town at that place, but found it reduced to ashes. The inhabitants had fled. Returning to Peachland's, at the mouth of the Octibaha, the force separated, one party going to their homes and the other to St. Stephens, to join General Claiborne, who had laudably exerted himself to procure the aid of these powerful tribes.* 1813 Oct.

* Conversations with Mr. George S. Gaines. See Claiborne's MS. papers.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Battles of Tallasehatche, Talladega and Auttose.

The arrival of an express at Nashville, with letters from Mr. George S. Gaines to General Jackson and the governor, conveying the distressing intelligence of the massacre at Fort Mims, and imploring their assistance, created great excitement, and the Tennesseans volunteered their services to avenge the outrage. General Jackson, at the head of a large force, passed through Huntsville, crossed 1813 the Tennessee at Ditto's Landing, and joined Colonel Oct. 11 Coffee, who had been despatched in advance, and who had encamped opposite the upper end of an island on the south side of the river, three miles above the landing. Remaining here a short time, the army advanced higher up, to Thompson's Creek, to meet supplies, which had been ordered down from East Tennessee. In the meantime, Colonel Coffee marched, with six hundred horse, to Black Warrior's town, upon the river of that name, a hundred miles distant, which he destroyed by fire, having found it abandoned. Collecting about three hundred bushels of corn, he rejoined the main army at Thompson's Creek, without having seen an Indian. Establishing a defensive depot at this place, called Fort Deposite, Jackson, with great difficulty, cut his way over the mountains to Wills' 1813 Creek, where, being out of bread, he encamped several Oct. 28 days, to allow his foraging parties to collect provisions. The contractors had entirely failed to meet their engagements, and his army had for some days been in a perishing condition.

Jackson despatched Colonel Dyer, with two hundred cav-

alry, to attack the village of Littefutchee, situated at the head of Canoe Creek, twenty miles distant. They arrived there at four o'clock in the morning, burned down the town, Oct. 29 and returned with twenty-nine prisoners, consisting of men, women and children. Another detachment, sent out to bring in beeves and corn, returned with two negroes and four Indians, of the war party. These prisoners, together with two others brought in by Old Chinnobe and his son, were sent to Huntsville.

The Creeks having assembled at the town of Tallasehatche, thirteen miles from the camp, the commander-in-chief despatched Coffee, now promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, with one thousand men, with one-half of whom he was directed to attack the enemy, and with the other half to scour the country near the Ten Islands, for the purpose of covering his operations. Richard Brown, with a company of Creeks and Cherokees, wearing on their heads distinguishing badges of white feathers and deer's tails, accompanied the expedition. Fording the Coosa at the Fish Dam, four miles above the islands, Coffee advanced to Tallasehatche, surrounded it at the rising of the sun, and was fiercely met by the savages with whoops and the sounding of drums—the prophets being in advance. Attacking the decoy companies they were soon surrounded by the troops, who charged them with great slaughter. After a short but terrible action, eighty-four women and children were made prisoners, while the bodies of one hundred and eighty-six warriors were counted upon the field, where unavoid- 1813 ably some women also perished. Many other bodies lay Nov. 3 concealed in the weeds. Five Americans were killed and eighteen wounded. Late in the evening of the same day Coffee re-crossed the Coosa and reached headquarters. Not a solitary warrior begged for his life, and it is believed none escaped to the woods. These prisoners were also sent to Huntsville. General Jackson, now forcing his way over the Coosa mountain, arrived

at the Ten Islands, where he began to erect a second depot for supplies, which was protected by strong picketing and block-houses, and which received the name of Fort Strother.

In Lashley's fort in the Talladega town many friendly Creeks had taken refuge. The war party, in strong force, had surrounded them so effectually that not a solitary warrior could escape from the fort unseen to convey to the American camp intelligence of their critical condition. One night a prominent Indian, who belonged to the Hickory Ground town, resolved to escape to the lines of Jackson by Indian stratagem. He threw over him the skin of a large hog, with the head and legs attached, and placing himself in a stooping position, went out of the fort and crawled about before the camps of the hostiles, grunting and apparently rooting, until he slowly got beyond the reach of their arrows. Then, discarding his swinish mantle, he fled with the speed of lightning to Jackson, who resolved immediately to relieve these people.

1813 Nov. 8 The commander-in-chief, leaving a small guard to protect his camp and sick, put his troops in motion at the hour of midnight, and forded the Coosa, here six hundred yards wide, with a rocky, uneven bottom. Each horseman carried behind him a footman until the whole army was over. Late that evening he encamped within six

Nov. 9 miles of Talladega. At four o'clock next morning Jackson surrounded the enemy, making a wide circuit, with twelve hundred infantry and eight hundred cavalry. The hostiles, to the number of one thousand and eighty, were concealed in a thick shrubbery that covered the margin of a small rivulet, and at eight o'clock they received a heavy fire from the advance guard under Colonel Carroll. Screaming and yelling most horribly, the enemy rushed forth in the direction of General Roberts' brigade, a few companies of which gave way at the first fire. Jackson directed Colonel Bradley to fill the chasm with his regiment, which had not advanced in a line with the others; but that officer failing to obey the order, Colonel Dyer's reserve

dismounted, and met the approaching enemy with great firmness. The retreating militia, mortified at seeing their places so promptly filled recovered their former position, and displayed much bravery. The action now became general along the whole line, while the Indians, who had at first fought courageously, were now seen flying in all directions. But owing to the halt of Bradley's regiment, and the cavalry under Alcorn having taken too wide a circuit, many escaped to the mountains. A general charge was made, and the wood for miles was covered with dead savages. Their loss was very great, and could not be ascertained. However, two hundred and ninety-nine bodies were counted on the main field. Fifteen Americans were killed and eighty-five wounded. The latter were conveyed to Fort Strother in litters made of raw hides. The fort contained one hundred and sixty friendly warriors, 1813 with their wives and children, who were all to have Nov. 9 been butchered the very morning that Jackson attacked their assailants. Never was a party of poor devils more rejoiced at being relieved. General Pillow, of the infantry; Colonel Lauderdale, of the cavalry; Major Boyd, of the mounted riflemen; and Lieutenant Barton were wounded—the last named mortally. Colonel Bradley was arrested for disobedience of orders, but was released without a trial. Jack- Nov. 11 son buried his dead and marched back to Fort Strother as rapidly as possible, for he was out of provisions. Arriving there, he was mortified to find none at that point for him.*

About the time that the Middle and West Tennessee volunteers flocked to the standard of Jackson, a large body of volunteers from East Tennessee rendezvoused to march to the seat of war under Major-General John Cocke. Shortly after-

* A portion of the Talladega battlefield is now (1851) embraced within the limits of the beautiful and flourishing American town of that name, which contains a population of near two thousand, and is situated in a delightful valley, with magnificent mountain scenery in view.

1813 wards, General White, commanding a detachment of
Nov. 5 one thousand men belonging to Cocke's force, advanced to Turkey Town. From this place he reported to Jackson that he would the next day march in the direction of headquarters, and should, in the meantime, be glad to receive his orders. The latter ordered him to march to Fort Strother,
Nov. 7 and protect that place during his absence to Talladega, where, he informed him, he intended immediately to march to the relief of the garrison of Lashley's fort. While White was on the march to Fort Strother to comply with this requisition, he received a despatch from General Cocke ordering him to alter his route, and form a junction with him at the mouth of the Chattooga. This order he obeyed, preferring to comply with the commands of Cocke rather than those of Jackson, although the latter was generally considered the commander-in-chief of all the troops from Tennessee. Jackson was shocked at receiving an account of the retrograde march of White, and that, too, at a late hour of night, previous to the battle of Talladega; and it determined him to attack the Indians forthwith, and rush back to Fort Strother, now left with a very feeble protection.

However, before General White had reached Turkey Town, his advance-guard, consisting of four hundred Cherokees and a few whites under Colonel Gideon Morgan and John Lowrey, advanced upon the town of Tallasehatche on the evening of the 3d November, and found that it had that morning been destroyed by Coffee. Collecting twenty of the wounded Indians, they returned with them to Turkey Town.

The mischiefs of a want of concert between the East and West Tennessee troops—growing out of a jealousy of the former and a strong desire to share some of the glory which the latter had already acquired in the few battles they had fought—were in a very few days made quite apparent. Through Robert Graison, an aged Scotchman, the Hillabees (a portion of whom fought

Jackson at Talladega) made offers of peace, to which the general immediately and willingly acceded. At that very time, and when Graison had hastened back with the favorable reply of Jackson, General White surrounded the Hillabee town early in the morning and effected a complete surprise, killing sixty warriors and taking two hundred and fifty pris- 1813 oners. The Hillabees, it is asserted, made not the Nov. 18 slightest resistance. At all events, not a drop of Tennessee blood was spilt. The other Hillabee towns, viewing this as flagrant treachery on the part of *Jackson*, became the most relentless enemies of the Americans, and afterwards fought them with fiendish desperation. The destruction of this town was in pursuance of the orders of General Cocke. White, in marching down, had already destroyed Little Ocfuske and Genalga, both of which had been abandoned by the inhab- Nov. 13 itants, with the exception of five warriors, who were captured at the former.

General Cocke, having given up the ambition of achieving separate victories, was now prepared to co-operate with Jackson, and for that purpose joined him at Fort Stro- 1813 ther with fourteen hundred men. He was sent by the Dec. 12 commander-in-chief back to East Tennessee with a portion of his command, whose term of service had nearly expired, with orders to raise fifteen hundred men and rejoin him in the Creek nation.

Georgia, no less patriotic than Tennessee, soon came to the relief of her brethren of the Mississippi Territory. Brigadier-General John Floyd crossed the Ockmulgee, Flint and Chattahoochie, and advanced near the Tallapoosa with Nov. 29 an army of nine hundred and fifty militia and four hundred friendly Indians, piloted by Abram Mordecai, the Jew trader of whom we have so often had occasion to speak. Before sunrise, on a cold frosty morning, Floyd attacked the Creeks, who were assembled in great force at the town of Auttose, which was

situated on the east bank of the Tallapoosa, at the mouth of the Calebee Creek. Booth's battalion, which composed the right column, marched from the centre; Watson's composed the left, and marched from its right. Upon the flanks were the rifle companies of Adams and Merriweather, the latter commanded by Lieutenant Hendon. The artillery, under Captain Thomas, advanced in the road in front of the right column. General Floyd intended to surround the town by throwing the right wing on Calebee Creek, at the mouth of which he was informed the town stood, and resting the left on the river bank below it; but the dawn of day exhibited, to his surprise, a second town, about five hundreds yards below. It was now necessary to change the plan of attack, by advancing three companies of infantry to the lower town, accompanied by Merriweather's rifles, and two troops of light dragoons commanded by Captains Irwin and Steele. The remainder of the army marched upon the upper town, and soon the battle became general. The Indians at first advanced, and fought with great resolution, but the fire from the artillery, with the charge of the bayonets, drove them into the out-houses and thickets, in rear of the town. Many concealed themselves in caves cut in the bluff of the river, here thickly covered with cane. The admirable plans of General Floyd for the extermination of the foe were not properly executed, owing to the failure of the friendly Indians to cross the Tallapoosa to the west side, and there cut off all retreat. The difficulty of the ford and the coolness of the morning deterred them, as they stated; but fear, in all probability, was the prime cause. They now irregularly fell back to the rear of the army. However, the Cowetas, under McIntosh, and the Tookabatchas, under the Mad Dragon's Son, fell into the ranks, and fought with great bravery. The hour of nine o'clock witnessed the abandonment of the ground by the enemy, and the conflagration of the houses. From the number of bodies scattered over the field, together with those burnt in the houses and

1813 Nov. 29

slain on the bluff, it is believed that two hundred must have perished, among whom were the Kings of Tallase and Auttose. The number of buildings burned, some of which were of fine Indian architecture and filled with valuable articles, amounted to about four hundred. The Americans had eleven men killed and fifty-four wounded. The friendly Indians had several killed and wounded. Important services were rendered by Adjutant-General Newnan, the aids Majors Crawford and Pace, and the surgeons Williamson and Clopton. Major Freeman, at the head of Irwin's cavalry and part of Steele's, made bold charges upon the Indians, completely routing them. The companies led on by Captains Thomas, Adams, Barton, Myrick, Little, King, Broadnax, Cleveland, Cunningham, Lee and Lieutenant Hendon, fought with gallantry. Brigadier-General Shackleford performed efficient services in successfully bringing the troops into action, and Adjutants Montgomery and Broadnax exhibited activity and courage. The battalion of Major Booth was properly brought into action, and that of Major Watson fought with commendable spirit. The cavalry under Irwin, Patterson and Steele, charged with success when opportunities were afforded. Great heroism was displayed by Quartermaster Terrill, who, though badly wounded, escaped after his horse was shot under him. The horse of Lieutenant Strong was shot under him, and he made a narrow escape. In seven days the troops had marched one hundred and twenty miles, and fought this battle. Being now sixty miles from the depot of provisions, and the rations of the troops being nearly exhausted, Floyd, after the dead had been interred and the wounded properly attended, began the retrograde march to Fort Mitchell, upon the Chattahoochie. On ascending Heydon's Hill, a mile east of the battle-ground, many of the Creeks rallied and fiercely attacked his rear, but after a few rounds they were dispersed.*

1813 Nov. 29

* Upon the campaigns of the Tennesseans, under Jackson and Cocke, and the Georgians, under Floyd, I have consulted the various works and public documents upon the late war, such as the lives of Jackson by Kendall, Cobbett, Eaton and Waldo; Russell's "History of the War," Breckenridge's History of the Late War, and the various American State Papers.

CHAPTER XL.

Remarkable Canoe Fight—Battle of Holy Ground—March to Cahaba Old Towns.

Returning again to the seat of war, in the fork of the Tombigby and Alabama, it will be seen that Colonel William McGrew advanced in pursuit of a party of the enemy, with
1813 twenty-five mounted militia. Coming upon them at Tal-
Oct. 4 lahatta, or Barshi Creek, a spirited action ensued. Colonel McGrew was killed, together with three of his company.—the two Griffins and Edmund Miles—which put the remainder of the Americans to flight.

General Flournoy, who had restricted the operations of Claiborne to those of a defensive character, now ordered the latter to advance with his army, for the purpose of defending the
Oct. 12 citizens while employed in gathering their crops; to drive the enemy from the frontiers, to follow them up to their contiguous towns, and to "kill, burn and destroy all their negroes, horses, cattle, and other property that cannot conveniently be brought to the depots." General Flournoy, admitted, in the same order, that such usage was contrary to that of civilized nations, but stated that the conduct of Great Britain and the acts of her Indian allies fully justified it. On the same day that these instructions were received, Claiborne, at the head of Major Hind's Mississippi dragoons, a part of the twelve month's volunteers, and some companies of militia, marched from St. Stephens, crossed the Tombigby, and proceeded, by an indirect route, to the northern boundary, where Colonel McGrew had

fallen. He found the body of that officer, and those 1813
of the privates, and interred them with military honors. Oct. 16
On the march small bodies of the enemy hovered around,
but could not be brought into action. A picket of infantry was attacked from an ambuscade, and three of them wounded; but before Major Hinds, who was a little in the rear, could come up the assailants leaped down a precipice, and escaped the pursuit of Captain Foster's detachment. Remaining two days at Fort Easley, upon Baker's Bluff, Claiborne scoured the whole country with detachments. In these expeditions he had five of his men severely wounded, among whom was Capt. William Bradberry, who had acted so bravely at Burnt Corn. He was carried back to St. Stephens, and there died in great agony. Failing to bring the Indians to action, being convinced that they were in very inconsiderable force, and becoming destitute of subsistence, Claiborne marched to "Pine Levels," in the neighborhood of some good farms, a mile east of the Tombigby. From this
point he sent spies to the Alabama. He also sent a des- Oct. 20
patch to Flournoy, requesting him to suffer all the disposable force to march immediately to the Creek country.*

The Indians were everywhere committing depredations, in small parties, and occasionally some of the settlers were killed. Tandy Walker, Benjamin Foster and Evans, a colored man, had been despatched by the citizens of Fort Madison across the Alabama, in an eastern direction, as spies. Approaching the late battle ground at Burnt Corn they came upon a small camp of the enemy, upon whom they fired from a concealed position. The Indians fled with great precipitancy, while the spies seized some horses, plundered the camp, and retreated to Sisemore's Ferry. Here, late at night, while reposing in the cane, guns
were fired upon them, and Evans was instantly killed. 1813
Walker escaped with a wound in the side and a broken Nov. 5
arm, but the next day crossed the Alabama upon a cane

* Claiborne's MS. papers.

raft and reached Fort Madison, where Foster, having already arrived, had reported his death.*

Captain Samuel Dale, having now sufficiently recovered from his wounds, obtained the consent of Colonel Carson, who had returned to Fort Madison, to drive these small parties of the enemy from the frontiers. Dale was joined by a detachment of thirty of Captain Jones' Mississippi volunteers, under Lieutenant Montgomery, and forty Clarke county militia. Girard W. Creagh, the same who was attached to his company at Burnt Corn, was his lieutenant upon this occasion. This expedition marched in a northern direction, visiting the abandoned plantations, and frequently discovering old traces of Indians.

Nov. 11 Dale returned to the fort, and the next day marched southeastwardly towards Brazier's Landing, now French's, where an Indian negro, named Cæsar, who was in company, had two canoes concealed in the cane. In these they crossed the Alabama at the close of the day, and bivouacked on the eastern bank. They were thinly clad, and the frost was severe. When the sun first made its appearance over

1813 the tall canes, Captain Dale put his command in mo-
Nov. 12 tion and marched up the eastern bank, after having placed the canoes in charge of Jeremiah Austill, with six men, with orders to keep the boats parallel with those who marched on foot. Arriving opposite the farm of the late Dixon Bailey, who had heroically fallen at Fort Mims, as we have seen, Dale entered the boats, went over to the place, and discovered fresh signs of the mysterious foe, with whose habits he was so well acquainted. No sooner had he returned to his command on the eastern side than Austill discovered a canoe, occupied by Indians, descending the river, whom he immediately approached. They tacked about, paddled up the river, and disappeared in the thick cane, near the mouth of Randon's Creek. A few minutes only elapsed before a heavy firing ensued, up the creek, where

* Conversations with old settlers.

the expedition had encountered some savages on horseback—Captain Dale's rifle, which unhorsed one of these Indians, having given the alarm. The yell was raised, and they made an attempt to charge; but the hot fire of the Americans compelled them to make a precipitate retreat, with one of their number killed and several severely wounded.

In the meantime, Austill had reached Randon's plantation, with the canoes, a quarter of an hour in advance of the main party.* When they came up Dale ordered them to cross to the western side, as it was found impracticable to continue the route on the eastern, on account of the cane and thick vines. While the company of Captain Jones or Lieutenant Montgomery was being ferried over, Captain Dale, Jere Austill, Lieutenant Creagh, James Smith, John Elliott, a half-breed, Brady and six others occupied a position in a small field, between a sand bluff and the river, where, kindling a fire, they began to boil some beef and roast a few potatoes for their morning repast. When all the command had passed the river except these men, and immediately after the negro, Cæsar, had returned, with the smaller canoe, the men from the western side gave the alarm that the Indians were rapidly descending upon those who occupied the little field. They sprang up from their hasty meal, retreated to the river side, and were partially screened from the enemy's fire by a small bank. While in this perilous situation, hemmed in by the Indians and the river, their attention was directed to a large flat-bottomed canoe, containing eleven warriors. Naked, and painted in a variety of fantastic colors, while a panther-skin encircled the head of the Chief, and extended down his back, these Indians presented a picturesque and imposing appearance. For some reason, those in the rear now retired, leaving Dale and his little party free to attack those in the canoe. The red voyagers, apparently unapprised of their danger, glided gently down the river, sitting erect, with

1813
Nov. 12

* Randon was a wealthy Indian countryman, who was massacred at Fort Mims.

their guns before them. Dale and his party immediately opened a fire upon them, which they promptly returned. Several rounds were afterwards exchanged, resulting, however, in but little injury, as the Indians now lay flat in the canoe, exposing nothing but their heads. At length, two of the latter, cautiously getting into the water, swam for the shore, above the field, holding their guns dry above their heads. They swam near the land, above the mouth of a stream, over whose muddy bottom Austill and Smith crossed with difficulty to pursue them. When near the Indians, the buckskin leggins of Austill, suspended by a band around his waist, fell about his feet from the weight of water in them, causing him to slip and be precipitated down the bluff. At that moment, a ball from Smith's unerring rifle perforated the head of one of the Indians, who immediately turned over upon his back and then sunk. The other gained the bank and ascended it, keeping Smith off with his gun, which he pretended was charged. Austill, who had now gained the top of the bluff, pursued the Indian up the stream, when a gun was fired, the contents of which passed just over his head. Imagining himself among the enemy, and hesitating for a moment, the savage escaped. The fire proved to be from Lieutenant Creagh's gun, who, in the thick cane, supposed Austill to be the warrior, in whose pursuit he was likewise engaged. While these things were rapidly transpiring, Dale ordered the large canoe to be manned on the opposite shore, and to be brought over to capture the Indians who were still in their canoe. Eight men sprang into it, but having approached near enough to see the number of fierce warriors still alive and ready to defend themselves to desperation, this cautious party rapidly paddled back to the western side. The exasperated Dale now proposed that some of his men should follow him in the small canoe, which was immediately acquiesced in. Dale leaped down the bank into the boat, and was followed by Smith and Austill. All the others were anxious to go, but it afforded room for no more. The noble Cæsar paddled

towards the Indians' canoe, and, when within twenty yards of it, the three resolute Americans rose to give them a broadside; but only the gun of Smith fired, for the other two had unfortunately wet their priming. Cæsar was ordered to paddle up, and to place his boat side by side with that of the warriors. Approaching within ten feet, the Chief, recognizing Dale, exclaimed, "Now for it, Big Sam!"* At the same instant, he presented his gun at Austill's breast. That brave youth struck at him with an oar, which he dodged, and in return he brought down his rifle upon Austill's head, just as the canoes came together. At that moment, the powerful arms of Smith and Dale raised their long rifles, which came down with deadly force, and felled the Chief to the bottom of the canoe—his blood and brains bespattering its sides. Such was the force of the blow inflicted by Dale, that his gun was broken near the lock. Seizing the heavy barrel, still left, he did great execution with it to the end of the combat. Austill, in a moment, engaged with the second warrior, and then with a third, both of whom he despatched with his clubbed rifle. Smith, too, was equally active, having knocked down two Indians. Cæsar had by this time got the canoes close together, and held them with a mighty grasp, which enabled Dale, who was in the advance, and the others to maintain a firm footing by keeping their feet in both canoes. These brave men now mowed down the savages, amid the encouraging shouts of the men on both sides of the river, who had a full view of the deadly conflict. In the midst of this unparalleled strife, a lusty Indian struck Austill with a war-club, which felled him across the sides of the two boats, and, while prostrate, another had raised his club to dash out his brains, when Dale, by a timely blow, buried his heavy rifle barrel deep in the warrior's skull. In the meantime, Austill recovered his feet, and, in a desperate scuffle with another savage, knocked him

1813 Nov. 12

* Dale had long been a trader among the Indians, and, on account of his prowess and large frame, was familiarly called by them "Big Sam."

into the river with the club which he had wrested from him. The only word spoken during the fight was the exclamation of the Chief upon recognizing Dale, and the request of Cæsar for Dale to make use of his bayonet and musket, which he handed to him. Having laid all the warriors low, these undaunted Americans began to cast them into the bright waters of the Alabama, their native stream, now to be their grave. Every time
1813 a savage was raised up from the bottom of the canoe
Nov. 12 by the head and heels and slung into the water, the Americans upon the banks sent up shouts, loud and long, as some slight revenge for the tragedy of Fort Mims. Just as the last body found its watery grave, a ball, shot by the Indians from the eastern side, struck one of the canoes, and was followed by other discharges, but without effect. After the fight had ended, eight athletic Indians were thrown out of the canoe. It will be recollected that there were eleven in the boat when first seen, and that two of them had swum ashore, and the other one Austill had knocked out before the conflict ended.

The Indian canoe presented a sight unusually revolting—several inches deep in savage blood, thickened with clods of brains and bunches of hair. In this sanguinary bark, and the one paddled by Cæsar, the nine Americans who had been left on the eastern side were now conveyed across to the opposite bank, where the heroes received the warm congratulations of their companions, who exultingly surrounded them.

The expedition then marched up to Curnell's Ferry, two miles distant, and, seeing no more of the enemy, and
1813 being out of provisions, returned that night to Fort
Nov. 12 Madison. It is remarkable that no one received the least injury, except Austill, whose head and arms were severely bruised.*

* Conversations with Colonel Girard W. Creagh, who witnessed the canoe fight, while standing in full view upon the eastern bank of the Alabama, and Colonel Jeremiah Austill, of Mobile, one of the heroes. Among the MS. papers of General Claiborne I also found the report of Captain R. Jones, of the first regiment of Mississippi Volunteers, "canoe fight," which fixes the date of that affair.

A short biographical sketch of these heroes may not be uninteresting, after a recital of their unsurpassed "hand-to-hand" fight, in the unsteady canoes, on the deep Alabama.

Jeremiah Austill was born near the Oconee Station, in Pendleton District, South Carolina, on the 10th August, 1794. His father, Captain Evan Austill, has already been mentioned, as one of those who boldly remained to defend Fort Madison, after it had been evacuated by Colonel Carson. His mother was the only sister of Colonel David Files, who died in this State in 1820. At the time of the canoe expedition Jere Austill was nineteen years of age, and weighed one hundred and seventy-five pounds, without any surplus flesh. He was bold, active and strong, and had been raised upon the Indian frontiers, having lived some time at the Agency, in the Cherokee nation. He is still a resident of Mobile, and is regarded as a respectable gentleman. Since the canoe fight, he has filled several important offices, and represented the people of Mobile in the legislature. His countenance is open and manly, his eyes keen and piercing, of a dark brown color, his form is erect, and his step elastic. Even now, at the age of fifty-six Colonel Austill is capable of being a very troublesome adversary in a desperate encounter, although one of the most peaceable and amiable men in the country, in the ordinary pursuits of life.

James Smith was a native of Georgia, of low stature, well set, weighed one hundred and sixty-five pounds, and was twenty-five years of age at the period of the canoe fight. He was a brave, daring, frontier man, and died in East Mississippi several years ago. He was a man of great prowess, and had killed several Indians in frontier expeditions. He was admired by every one for his courage, honesty, and willingness to defend his country, at all times and under all circumstances.

Captain Samuel Dale, of Irish extraction, was born in Rockbridge county, Virginia, in 1772. In 1775, his father moved to Glade Hollow, on the Clinch river, in the county of Washington,

Virginia, and was actively engaged in the border warfare of that day. In 1784, he removed, with his family, to the vicinity of Greensborough, Georgia, where he purchased a farm, but, in a short time was compelled to take refuge in Carmichael's Station, in consequence of the inroads of the Indians. Several desperate attempts were made to burn this fort, in one of which Captain Autcry was slain. About this time Mr. Dale and his wife died, leaving eight children. Samuel, the subject of this memoir, who was the oldest, placed the children upon the farm, and joined a company of troopers, raised by Captain Fosh, to watch the movements of the Creeks, which was soon after mustered into the federal service, and quartered on the Oconee, at a place called Fort Mathews. Towards the close of 1794, this troop had several engagements with the savages, in which Dale displayed those traits which so distinguished his subsequent career—vigilance, perseverance, energy, and dauntless courage. At Ocfuske, on the Chattahoochie, he slew two Indians. Soon after, having been elected colonel, and stationed at the head of a separate command at Fort Republic on the Apalache river in Georgia, he rendered efficient services, until the troops were disbanded. Then he became a trader among the Creeks and Cherokees, purchasing his goods in Savannah and exchanging them for cattle and ponies. He also acted in the capacity of guide to many parties emigrating to the Mississippi Territory. He finally established a trading-house in copartnership with a half-breed in what is now known as Jones county, Georgia, where he remained for some time. He was at Tookabatcha when Tecumseh appeared there, and assured Colonel Hawkins that the mission of that man would result in great evil unless his efforts were immediately counteracted; but the agent did not concur with him in that opinion. His bravery has been seen at Burnt Corn, and in the canoe fight. At the time of the latter Captain Dale weighed one hundred and ninety pounds, was over six feet high, possessed a large muscular frame, without any

surplus flesh, and was in the prime of life. Although he will be mentioned hereafter, in connection with the Indian wars, we deem it proper, in further illustration of his character, to insert the following well-written obituary, published in the "Natchez Free Trader," from the pen of John H. F. Claiborne, formerly a member of Congress from Mississippi, and the son of the general of that name, whose military services are now under review:

1841 June 15

"I have not observed in your paper any notice of the death of our veteran friend, General Samuel Dale. He died at his residence, Daleville, Lauderdale county, on the 23d ult., with the fortitude of a soldier and the resignation of a Christian. On his dying bed he repeated, as I am informed, a request which he made last summer, that I should make a memoir of his life, most of the particulars of which I wrote down from his lips. I design visiting Lauderdale in a few weeks to obtain all the materials that remain. Few men have run a career so full of benevolent actions and of romantic adventure, and no man was ever better adapted to the country and the period in which he lived—that *country* the frontiers of Georgia, Florida and the (then) Mississippi Territory, embracing all the present *State* of Alabama—the *period* including nearly all that bloody interval between the close of the revolution and the termination of the last war. With the story of these times, the dreadful massacre at Fort Mims, the battle of the Holy Ground, General Jackson's Seminole campaigns, and the earlier events of the Georgia frontier, General Dale was closely connected. The most affecting of those scenes of murder and conflagration are as yet unwritten, and live only in the fading memorials of border tradition. In preparing the life of General Dale, I shall seek to put many of them on record. As a scout, a pilot to the emigrants who blazed the first path through the Creek nation, from Georgia to the Tombigby, with arms in their hands, and subsequently as a spy among the Spaniards, at Pensacola, and as a partisan officer during the most sangui-

nary epochs of the late war, present at every butchery, remarkable for "hair-breadth 'scapes," for caution and coolness in desperate emergencies, for exhibitions of gigantic personal strength and great moral courage, his story is studded over with spirit-stirring incidents, unsurpassed by anything in legend or history. His celebrated '*canoe fight*,' where, in the Alabama river, he, with Smith and Austill, fought nine warriors with clubbed rifles, killed them all, and rowed to shore, would be thought fabulous if it had not been witnessed by many soldiers standing upon the banks, who could render them no assistance. Some years before, he was attacked by two warriors, who shouted their war-whoop as he was kneeling down to drink and rushed upon him with their tomahawks. He knifed them both, and, though bleeding from five wounds, he retraced their trail nine miles, crept stealthily to their camp, brained three sleeping warriors and cut the thongs of a female prisoner who lay by their side. While in this act, however, a fourth sprang upon him from behind a log. Taken at such a disadvantage and exhausted by the loss of blood, he sank under the serpent-grasp of the savage, who, with a yell of triumph, drew his knife and in a few moments would have closed the contest. At that instant, however, the woman drove a tomahawk deep into the head of the Indian, and thus preserved the life of her deliverer.

"Shortly after the treaty of Dancing Rabbit, our deceased friend settled in what is now known as Lauderdale county; and it is worthy of remark, that at the first election, (1836, I believe) when he was chosen to the Legislature, but *ten* votes were cast. *Now* the county could probably poll 750, and in every direction its fleecy fields, its fine flour-mills, its school-houses and churches indicate a thriving, enlightened and moral population.

"One anecdote of the old general is so similar to an event in Roman history that I cannot forbear relating it. The Consul Acquilius, returning from a campaign, was allowed a triumph, but shortly afterwards was arraigned for some misdemeanor

committed during his foreign service. He called no exculpatory evidence, nor deigned to court the favor of his judges, but when about to receive sentence he tore open his vest and displayed the wounds he had received in the service of his country. A sudden emotion of pity seized the court, and unfixed the resolution which a few moments before they had taken to condemn the accused. Some time ago General Dale, being in Mobile, was held to bail as *endorser* upon a note. The debt was in the hands of a *stranger*. Accompanied by an officer, he sought the creditor, and found him in the saloon of Cullum's far-famed hotel. 'Sir,' said the general, 'I have no money to pay this debt. The principal has property — make him pay it, or let me go home and work it out.' The Shylock hesitated. '*Very well*,' said the veteran, in tones that rang indignantly through the apartment, '*Very well, sir! Look at my scars! I will march to jail down* MAIN STREET, *and all Mobile shall witness the treatment of an old soldier!*' These simple words fell like electricity upon that high-toned people. In half an hour, a dozen of the brightest names of the city were on the bond, and before morning the debt was paid, and a full discharge handed to the general. I have seen the manly tears chasing down his cheek, as the aged warrior dwelt on these recollections of the generous citizens. In person, General Dale was tall, erect, raw-boned and muscular. In many respects, physical and moral, he resembled his antagonists of the woods. He had the square forehead, the high cheek-bones, the compressed lips, and, in fact, the physiognomy of an Indian, relieved, however, by a fine, benevolent Saxon eye. Like the red man, too, his foot fell lightly upon the ground, and turned neither to the right or left; he was habitually taciturn; his face grave; he spoke slowly and in low tones, and seldom laughed. I observed of him what I have often noted as peculiar to border men of high attributes: he entertained the strongest attachment for the Indians, extolled their courage, their love of country, and many of their domestic qualities, and I have often seen the wretched remnant of the

Choctaws camped around his plantation and subsisting on his crops. In peace, they felt for him the strongest veneration—he had been the friend both of Tecumseh and Weatherford—and in war the name of '*Big Sam*' fell on the ear of the Seminole like that of Marius on the hordes of the Cimbri."

Captain Dale, with a scouting party, had effectually scoured the swamps of Bassett's Creek, and Major Hinds' horse had routed a small body of the enemy near Weatherford's Bluff, killing ten of their number, when an order from Flournoy permitted
1813 Claiborne to advance with the Southern army to the Al-
Nov. 10 abama. His instructions confined him still to defensive operations, requiring him to establish a depot at Weatherford's Bluff, and not to advance further into the Creek nation until he was joined by the Georgia and Tennessee troops. Claiborne accordingly broke up his camp at Pine Levels, marched across Clarke county with three hundred volunteers, the dragoons and some militia, flanked by detachments under Captains Kennedy and Bates and Lieutenant Osborne, and party of Choctaws, under Pushmatahaw and Mushullatubba.
1818 Arriving at the Alabama, the army encamped for the
Nov. 17 night upon the western bank, and the next day at 12 o'clock had gained the other side by means of rafts. Colonel Gilbert C. Russell, an accomplished and gallant commander in the regular army, marched the third regiment of federal troops from Mount Vernon, through Nannahubba Island, by Mims' Ferry, to the head of Little river, and thence
Nov. 28 to the encampment of Claiborne, with whom he had been instructed by General Flournoy to co-operate. In the meantime, Claiborne had made rapid progress in the construction of a strong stockade, two hundred feet square, defended by three block-houses and a half-moon battery, which commanded the river. Before the close of November it was completed, and received the name of Fort Claiborne, in honor of the commander. The town where it stood still bears his name. The general

wrote to Jackson congratulating him upon his victories, and giving him an account of the operations in the southern seat of war, and acquainting him with the fact that an abundance of corn and other provisions were to be obtained in the neighborhood of Fort Claiborne. He also wrote to Governor Blount, apprising him of the arrival of more English vessels in Pensacola, and added that he wished "to God that he was authorized to take that sink of iniquity, the depot of tories and instigators of disturbances on the southern frontier." He had a few days before despatched Major Kennedy and others to Mobile, to learn from Colonel Bowyer the particulars of the arrival of the British at Pensacola. They reported, giving satisfactory assurances that a large quantity of Indian supplies and many soldiers had arrived there; and, in addition, that the Indians were committing depredations in Baldwin county, having recently burned down Kennedy's and Byrne's mills.

1812 Dec. 5

Lieutenant-Colonel George Henry Nixon had succeeded Russell in the command at Mount Vernon. At his request, Claiborne permitted him, also, to man Fort Pierce, in the neighborhood of the disturbances.*

1812 Dec. 13

Claiborne, having determined to advance to the enemy's strong-hold, the line of march was taken up by an army consisting of Colonel Russell's third regiment, Major Cassels' battalion of horse, a battalion of militia, under Major Benjamin Smoot—Patrick May being adjutant, Dale and Heard captains, and Girard W. Creagh one of the lieutenants—the twelve months' Mississippi Volunteers, under Colonel Car-

Dec. 13

* Colonel Nixon was born in Virginia, and, living some years in South Carolina, removed from thence in 1809, to the Mississippi Territory. He was among the first to offer his services in defence of his country. During the Creek war, Colonel Nixon, at the head of a considerable force, scoured the swamps of the Perdido and other streams, and frequently killed and captured Indians. After he had accomplished all he could, he marched to the head of the Perdido, where he divided his command, sending Major William Peacock, with the troops of the 39th, to the Boat Yard, on Lake Tensaw, while he marched the remainder of his command to Fort Claiborne. He was an excellent officer, and served in the war until its final conclusion. He was a member of the convention that formed the constitution of the State of Mississippi, and was, afterwards, frequently a State Senator. He died in Perlington, Mississippi, in 1824. He was a large and fine-looking man, with fair complexion, and was very popular.

son, and one hundred and fifty Choctaws, under Pushmatahaw numbering, in the aggregate, near one thousand men. A few days before, nine captains, eight lieutenants, and five ensigns, signed a remonstrance, in respectful language, against the march to the nation, and presented it to the general. They set forth that the time of service of many would soon expire, that the weather was cold, that they were too scantily supplied with clothing and food for such a campaign, and that the route to the enemy's towns was entirely a *pathless* one; but they stated their willingness to obey, if Claiborne should resolve to proceed.

1813 Dec. Claiborne moved in a northeastern direction, until he reached the high lands south of Double Swamp, at the distance of eighty miles, where he built a depot, called Fort Deposite, situated in the present county of Butler, and where he left the wagons, cannon, baggage and the sick, with one hundred men, as a guard. Thirty miles further brought him into the immediate neighborhood of the Holy Ground, which had been reached without the aid of a single path. The pork being exhausted, the troops were in a suffering condition, for they had only drawn, when leaving Fort Deposite, three days' allowance of flour. Econachaca (Holy Ground) had recently been erected by Weatherford, the prophets having assured the Indians that here no white man could approach without instant destruction. It was strongly fortified in the Indian manner, and had for some months formed a point to which those who had been routed in battle retreated, and where a great amount of plunder had been stored. It was situated upon a bluff, on the eastern side of the Alabama river, just below the present Powell's Ferry, in the county of Lowndes. Here many of the white prisoners and friendly Indians were burned to death, by order of the prophets, and when Claiborne was almost within sight of the town with his advancing army, Mrs. Sophia Durant

and many other friendly half-breeds were mustered in the square and surrounded by lightwood fires, designed to consume them.

The troops advanced toward the town in three columns, the centre commanded by Colonel Russell, at the head of which was Claiborne himself, Lester's guards and Wells' dragoons acting as a corps of reserve. 1813 Dec. 23

At noon Carson's right column came in view of the town, and was vigorously attacked by the enemy, who had chosen their field of action. The town was nearly surrounded with swamps and deep ravines, so that the enemy, who afterwards retreated, could not be successfully pursued. Major Cassels, who had been directed to form his battalion of horse on the river bank, west of the town, failing to effect such a movement, fell back on the head of Carson's regiment, who, however, advanced and took his position. The third regiment, coming up in gallant style, did its duty. Major Smoot assumed his position in a proper manner, and all would have been right if Cassels' cavalry had not failed to obey orders, thereby permitting hundreds of the enemy to escape along the Alabama river, by the western border of the town. The Indians, headed by Weatherford, for a short time fought with considerable fury, but afterwards fled with great rapidity. The short engagement resulted in the death of thirty Indians and negroes, whose bodies were afterwards counted upon the field. Many must have been severely wounded. Lucket, an American ensign, was killed, and twenty men were wounded.

Several hours before the battle began the Indian women and children had been conveyed across the river, and were securely lodged in the thick forests of the region now familiarly known as the Dutch Bend of Autauga county. Here the retreating warriors, some of whom came over in boats, while others swam, joined them. Weatherford, seeing that his forces had deserted him, now pushed hard for his own safety. Coursing with great rapidity along the banks of the Alabama, below the town, on a gray steed of unsurpassed 1813 Dec. 23

strength and fleetness—which he had purchased a short time before the commencement of hostilities of Benjamin Baldwin, late of Macon county—came at length to the termination of a kind of ravine, where there was a perdendicular bluff ten or fifteen feet above the surface of the river. Over this, with a mighty bound, the horse pitched with the gallant Chief, and both went out of sight beneath the waves. Presently they rose again, the rider having hold of the mane with one hand and his rifle firmly grasped in the other. Regaining his saddle the noble animal swam with him to the Autauga side.*

Claiborne reduced the town of the Holy Ground to ashes. He then despatched the cavalry to Ward's place up the
1813 river, who, before reaching there, fell in with three
Dec. 24 Shawnees of distinction, retreating from the battle, whom they killed. The firing being heard at the camp, Claiborne struck his tents and marched in that direction during the night. Encamping at Weatherford's place in an open field, the cold rains descended in torrents upon the troops, and Christmas morning found them engaged in parching corn for breakfast, which was the only thing left to eat. After destroying some houses and farms, the army marched back to Fort De-
Dec. 26 posite, and from thence to Fort Claiborne, where, the term of service of Carson's Mississippi volunteers and cavalry having expired, they were mustered out of service.

Colonel Russell, now left in sole command of Fort Claiborne, preferred charges against Major Cassels for disobedience of orders at the Holy Ground, and a court of inquiry, composed of
1814 Captain Woodruff, president, Captain J. E. Denkins and
Jan. 1 Lieutenant H. Chotard, decided that Sam McNac, the guide, was chiefly to blame for the failure of Cassels to occupy the position which had been assigned him. Another

* Extravagant tales have often been told of Weatherford's leap, and a bluff at or near the site of the Holy Ground town, which is probably eighty or a hundred feet high, is often pointed out as the one over which he charged. The account I have given is Weatherford's own statement of the affair.

court of inquiry, composed of Colonel Carson and Lieutenant Wilcox, decided that the contractor of the army was solely to blame for the perishing condition of the expedition, as General Claiborne had given him ample instructions to furnish abundant supplies. The command had been entirely without meat for nine days.

General Claiborne wrote to the Secretary of War, from Mount Vernon, that he had been left with but sixty men, whose time lacked only a month of expiring; that his other Jan. 24 volunteers, who had been disbanded, had gone home naked and without shoes, with eight months pay due them; and that his army, being thus broken up, he intended to return home as soon as he received permission from General Flournoy.*

Having planned an expedition against the enemy, Colonel Russell despatched Captain Denkins up the Alabama from Fort Claiborne in command of a barge, laden with provisions, and defended by a piece of artillery, with instructions Feb. 1 to enter the Cahawba river, and to ascend it to the "Old Towns," where his army would shortly join him. Afterwards, marching the larger portion of his regiment to the cross-roads, in Clarke county, four miles north of the present Sugsville, he was there joined by a company commanded by Captain Evan Austill and Lieutenant G. W. Creagh, and Captain Foster's horse company, both under the command of Major Samuel Dale. Leaving this place, with six days rations, Colonel Russell reached the Cahawba Old Towns, where he was mortified to find that Captain Denkins had not arrived—nor had he encountered, on the way, a solitary Indian. Despatching Lieutenant Wilcox in a canoe, with five men, with directions to find Denkins and hasten him on, that officer proceeded down the Cahawba, upset his boat the first night, wet his ammunition, and lost two of his guns. Recovering the canoe, however, and pro-

* Claiborne's MS. papers. Conversations with the late Colonel Creagh, General Patrick May, of Greene, and others.

ceeding down the river, lying by in the cane in the day time, he was, in the evening of the second day, fired upon by a party of Indians. The two Wilsons, who belonged to this expedition, made their escape, and reached the lower settlements many days after, in a starving condition. One of them, Mathew, was found by Hais Rodgers, on the ridge road of Clarke. Lieutenant Wilcox and the other three were made prisoners by the Indians, who proceeded with them down the Cahawba, into the Alabama. In the meantime, Denkins, unfortunately passing the mouth of the Cahawba by mistake, had ascended some distance up the Alabama, and was now returning to Fort Claiborne, knowing that the army could not wait for him, but would return to that place likewise. The Indians, going down the river also, descried the barge, and fearing to lose their prisoners, tomahawked and scalped Wilcox and his three companions, leaving them in their canoe. When the canoe and the barge came together Wilcox was still alive, but too far gone to give any account of the particulars of his capture, or of Russell's expedition. The body of this gallant young officer, being found upon the Alabama, where it meanders through the region between Canton and Prairie Bluff, the legislature appropriately preserved his memory, by giving the county his name.

Colonel Russell remained two days at the Cahawba Old Towns, in which time one of his men was killed by some skulking savages. Despairing of the arrival of the barge, he began the return march, without any provisions; and setting the example himself, in having his best horse killed for subsistence, twelve animals of that kind were devoured by the perishing troops. At Bradford's Pond they were timely relieved by wagons, laden with abundant provisions, and arriving again at the cross-roads, were disbanded, the regulars marching to Fort Claiborne.*

1814 Feb.

* Conversations with Colonel Girard W. Creagh, late of Clarke county.

CHAPTER XLI.

Battles of Emuckfau, Enitachopco and Calebee.

Since the battle of Talladega, Jackson had encountered innumerable difficulties and mortifications, owing to the failure of contractors and the mutiny of his troops, who were finally reduced to one hundred men by the expiration of their time of service. He was now compelled to employ Cherokees to garrison Fort Armstrong, upon the Coosahatchie, and protect the stores at Ross's. Almost alone, in a savage land, he yet constantly rode between Fort Strother and Ditto's Landing to hasten supplies for the new army, which he had employed Governor Blount to raise for him. At last two regiments, one of them commanded by Colonel Perkins and the other by Colonel Higgins, numbering together eight hundred and fifty men, who had only enlisted for sixty days, reached Fort Strother. Well understanding the character of minute men like these, who must be constantly employed, Jackson immediately marched them across the Coosa to the late battle ground of Talladega, where he was joined by two hundred Cherokees and Creeks, who evinced great alarm at the weakness which the command presented. Continuing the march towards the Tallapoosa, the army encamped at Enitachopco, a Hillabee village, and the next day fell into many fresh beaten trails, indicating the proximity of a large force. Here Jackson determined to halt for the purpose of reconnoitre. Before dark his encampment was formed, his army thrown into a hollow square, his pickets and spies sent out, his sentinels doubled, and his fires lighted some distance out-

1814 Jan. 14

1814 Jan. 16

1814 Jan. 21

side of the lines. About ten o'clock at night one of the pickets firing upon three of the enemy succeeded in killing one, and at the hour of eleven the spies reported a large encampment three miles distant, where the savages were whooping and dancing, and, being apprised of the approach of the Americans, were sending off their women and children.

Jan. 22 About six o'clock in the morning the Indians suddenly fell upon Jackson's flank, and upon the left of his rear, maintaining a vigorous attack for a half hour. General Coffee, Adjutant-General Sitler, and Inspector-General Carroll rode rapidly to the scene of action as soon as the firing commenced, animating the men, who firmly kept the assailants at bay. Morning shed its light upon the exciting scene, enabling Captain Terrill's infantry to reinforce the left flank, when the whole line was led to the charge by General Coffee, supported by Colonels Higgins and Carroll and the friendly Indians, which forced the savages to abandon the ground in a rapid manner. They were pursued with slaughter for two miles. Coffee being then ordered, with four hundred men and the friendly Indians, to burn up their encampment, advanced, and, finding it strongly fortified, returned for the artillery. Shortly afterwards, a body of the enemy boldly advanced and attacked the right wing of Jackson's encampment. Coffee again charged, but, through mistake, only forty-five men followed him, composing his own company of volunteer officers; but the friendly Indians were sent by Jackson to his support. Dismounting his men, he now pursued the "Red Sticks" to the swamp of a creek.*

Jackson had ordered his left flank to remain firm, and now the Indians came rushing with yells against it. Repairing to that point, and ordering up Captain Terrill to his support, the whole line received the enemy with intrepidity, and, after a few fires, advanced to the charge under the impetuous Carroll. Again

* The Indian war-party were often called the "Red Sticks," because their war-clubs were invariably painted red.

the Red Sticks fled before the bayonet, the Americans pursuing some distance, and marking their trails with blood. In the meantime, Coffee kept the enemy, who had now returned upon him from the swamp, at bay until Jackson strengthened him with a reinforcement of a hundred friendly warriors, at the head of whom was Jim Fife. Coffee again charged, when the Red Sticks once more gave way, and the pursuit was continued for three miles, with the loss of forty-five savages.

The brave Creeks had now been repulsed in every attempt, but they exhibited a ferocity and courage which commanded the serious consideration of Jackson, whose force was weaker than he desired. The horses had been without cane and without corn for two days, and but few rations remained for the men. The wounded were numerous, and the enemy would doubtless soon be reinforced. Jackson determined to return to Fort Strother with all possible despatch. The remainder of the day was employed in collecting and burying the dead, dressing the wounded and fortifying the camp; but the morning dawned without another attack.*

The army began the retrograde march about ten o'clock a. m., bearing the wounded, among whom was Coffee, in litters, constructed of the hides of the slain horses. Jackson reached Enitachopco before night without molestation, and fortified himself at a place a quarter of a mile from the creek, around which the Red Sticks prowled, but refrained from attack. 1814
Dreading an onset at the ford of the creek, by which his Jan. 23
army had passed a few days before, and which afforded great facilities for Indian ambuscades, the commander despatched spies in search of a less exposed crossing place. Six hundred yards lower down was selected, and thither he advanced his troops in the morning. Carroll commanded the Jan. 24
rear guard, Colonel Perkins the right column, and

* The battle of Emuckfau was fought near a creek of that name, which runs south into the Tallapoosa river, in Tallapoosa county, Alabama.

Colonel Stump the left. In case of attack, Carroll was to face about, display and maintain his position, while the other two colonels were to face outward, wheel back on their pivots, and attack the Red Sticks on both flanks.

The wounded and the front guard had passed the creek, and as Jackson was upon the eastern bank, superintending the crossing of the army, an alarm gun was heard, which was succeeded by a fierce attack of the savages upon the rear-guard of Captain Russell's spies. Colonel Carroll ordered the rear-guard to halt and form, when the right and left columns, seized by a sudden panic, fled without firing a gun, drawing after them most of the centre, with their officers foremost in the flight, at the head of whom was Colonel Stump, who came plunging down the bank, near the exasperated commander-in-chief, who made an unsuccessful effort to cut him down with his sword. With only twenty-five men, under Captain Quarles, Carroll gallantly checked the advance of the Red Sticks. The artillery was under the command of Lieutenant Armstrong, in the absence of Captain Deadrick, who now ordered his company, armed with muskets, to advance to the top of the hill, while he, with Constantine Perkins and a few others, dragged up the six-pounder from the middle of the creek. Instantly in their position, they maintained it against ten times their number, until Armstrong reached them with his piece. Discovering that, in the hurry of separating the gun from the limbers, the rammer and pricker had been left tied to the latter, with wonderful presence of mind, and while Indian bullets rattled like hail around them, Constantine Perkins and Craven Jackson, two of the gunners, supplied the deficiency. Perkins took off his bayonet, and rammed the cartridge home with his musket, and Jackson, drawing his ramrod, employed it as a pricker, priming with a musket cartridge.* The six-pounder was thus twice charged,

1814 Jan. 24

* Constantine Perkins was born in Knox county, Tennessee, the 17th August, 1792. He graduated at Cumberland College in 1813, and was with Jackson at the battle of Talladega in Carroll's advance guard, where he greatly distinguished himself. Refusing

pouring grape among the savages, then only a few yards distant. Several comrades of these men fell around them, and, after the second fire, the little artillery company furiously charged on the assailants, who became more cautious in their approaches. Captain Gordon's spies, in front of the army when the alarm was given, made a circuit and attacked the left flank of the Indians. At the same time, a number of the rear-guard and flankers, rallied by Jackson, re-crossed the creek and joined in the fight. The savages, finding that the whole army was now brought against them, fled, throwing away their packs and leaving upon the field the bodies of twenty-six warriors.

One hundred and eighty-nine bodies of the enemy were counted upon the fields of Emuckfau and Enitachopco. The loss of the Americans was twenty killed and seventy-five wounded, several of whom afterwards died. Major A. Donaldson was killed at Emuckfau. Captain Hamilton, Lieutenant Armstrong, Bird Evans, Hiram Bradford and Jacob McGivock were severely wounded. The first named afterwards died. Jackson, in his report, spoke in the highest terms of the bravery of these men, and also of that of Captains Sitler, Quarles, Elliott and Pipkin, and Colonel Higgins. He also mentioned the gallantry of the venerable Judge Cocke, who, at the age of sixty-five, was in the midst of these battles.

The army continued its march to Fort Strother, where Jackson ordered the sixty day volunteers to march to Huntsville for honorable discharge, at the same time granting to Coffee and his officers the privilege of returning home, until the government again demanded their services, to all of whom he addressed a kind letter, commending their patriotism and bravery. A court martial acquitted Colonel Perkins of 1814 Jan. 28

to abandon Jackson in a hostile land, he remained with the small number who adhered to him In the two battles at Emuckfau, he fought side by side with the bravest. When the Creek war was at an end, he studied law at Nashville. He was elected solicitor of one of the Tennessee circuits, but, removing to Alabama in 1819, was elected solicitor of the third circuit, which office he held until 1826, when he was elected attorney-general. In 1834, the people of Tuscaloosa county placed him in the State Senate, of which he was a member until the 17th September, 1836, when he died.

the charge of cowardice, at the battle of Enitachopco; but Colonel Stump was found guilty, and cashiered.*

Such is the American account of these engagements. The brave natives of Alabama had no writers among them to record their achievements. Several Chiefs and leading warriors, who were in the battles of Emuckfau and Enitachopco, have stated to us that they "whipped *Captain* Jackson, and run him to the Coosa river." The authors who have written upon these campaigns speak of the weakness of the American force. It consisted of seven hundred and sixty-seven men, with two hundred friendly Indians. We are enabled to state, with confidence, that the force of the Red Sticks, in these battles, did not exceed five hundred warriors, for the larger body had assembled below, to attack Floyd, while others were fortifying the Horse-Shoe, and various other places.

It has been seen that the Georgia army, after the battle of Auttose, retired to the Chattahoochie. There, for more than six weeks, it had reposed, for the want of expected supplies. When General Floyd recovered from his wound, he again marched to the seat of war, with a force of twelve hundred and twenty-seven, rank and file, besides a company of cavalry and four hundred friendly Indians. His destination being the town of Tookabatcha, he established posts upon the route, for the purpose of keeping up a communication and facilitating the transportation of supplies. Marching from post to post, as they were established, he at length encamped on the Calebee Creek, upon the high lands bordering its swamp.†

1814 Jan. 27 At twenty minutes past five o'clock in the morning, the Red Sticks, who had secreted themselves in the swamp during the latter part of the night, sprung upon the Georgians like tigers, driving in their sentinels, and taking the whole army by surprise. In twenty minutes the action

* Kendall's Life of Jackson, pp. 252-264. Waldo, Eaton, etc.
† This creek runs in a northwestern direction, through Macon county, Alabama.

became general, and the front right and left flanks of the Americans were closely pressed, but the enemy was met at every point. The front line was preserved by the steady fire of the artillery, under Captain Thomas, aided by the riflemen of Captain Adams. These troops suffered severely, for the enemy rushed within thirty yards of the cannon. Captain John Broadnax, who commanded one of the picket guards, maintained his post, until a party of Indians had cut off his retreat to the main army. In this desperate situation his resolute band cut their way through to their friends, assisted by Timpoochy Barnard, a half-breed, at the head of some Uchees. The other friendly Indians, with a few exceptions, taking refuge within the lines, remained alarmed and inactive while the battle lasted. When day appeared the battalions of Majors Watson and Freeman were ordered to wheel up at right angles. Those of Majors Booth and Cleavland, who formed the right wing, received the same order, while Captain Hamilton's cavalry was instructed to form in the rear of the right wing, to act as circumstances required. A charge was now made, and the Red Sticks gave way before the bayonet. The cavalry, falling upon them, made considerable havoc, and followed by the friendly Indians and the rifle companies of Merriweather and Ford pursued them through Calebee swamp. From the traces of blood and the number of head-dresses and war-clubs found in various directions, the loss of the enemy must have been considerable. In the commencement of the action Colonel Newnan was wounded by three balls, which deprived the commander of the services of that gallant and useful officer. Adjutant-General Narden, whose horse was wounded under him, performed important services, while the aid-de-camp of Floyd also had his horse killed under him. His additional aids, General Lee and Major Pace, acted in a manner highly honorable to themselves and useful to the army. The loss of the Americans was seventeen killed and one hundred and thirty-two wounded, to which must be added the loss of the friendly Indians, who had five killed and fifteen wounded. The

Georgians fought with great resolution; but, assailed before day, with no fortifications around them, the Indians, until the charge was made, had the advantage, and made use of it.* The large number of wounded Georgians, the proximity of the enemy, who continued to hover around them, indicating a disposition to renew the attack, were reasons deemed sufficient by Floyd for relinquishing the main object of the expedition, retracing his steps, and awaiting further reinforcements. He accordingly marched from Calebee to Fort Hull, one of his newly erected posts, and the next night the Indians were in possession of the battle field. Leaving at Fort Hull a small garrison, he returned to Fort Mitchell, upon the Chattahoochie, which he believed, from information, was soon to be attacked. Although the Georgia army had gallantly maintained their ground at the battle of Calebee, the Indians stopped their further march into the nation, and caused them in a few days to retreat.†

1814 Feb. 2

General Jackson had employed the few militia who remained with him at Fort Strother, after the battles of Emuckfau and Enitachopco, in constructing flat-boats to descend the Coosa with stores for the use of the new army then being raised in Tennessee, which was to operate below. The Kialigee Chiefs, whose neutrality Jackson had viewed with suspicion, becoming alarmed, paid him a visit, and disclosed that the Ufaulas, New-Yaucas and Ocfuskes, the remnant of the Hillabees, the Fish Ponds, and many Red Sticks from other towns, were then in a bend of the Tallapoosa, and on an island near Emuckfau, where they had resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity. This information determined him to march upon them.

1814 Feb. 15

When the army arrived at Fort Strother, he embarked the

* Zachariah McGirth, bearing a despatch from General Claiborne to Floyd, passed through the Calebee swamp late in the night, while it must have been filled with the enemy, and strangely reached the American camp in safety.

† Russell's History of the Late War, pp. 242-243. Waldo's Life of Jackson, pp. 124-126. Kendall's Life of Jackson, p. 240.

stores in the flat-boats, which were to proceed down the Coosa in charge of the thirty-ninth regiment, and, leaving a garrison of four hundred and fifty men in Fort Strother, under the command of Colonel Steele, he began the march, for the third time, toward the seat of war. March 15-16

Within five days, Jackson reached the mouth of Cedar Creek, having been retarded by the cutting out of thirty miles of the road. The boats, in descending the river, meeting with some obstructions, finally reached this point also, where a fort was immediately commenced, which Jackson called Fort Williams, in honor of the commander of the thirty-ninth regiment. A detachment returned to the camp, and reported that they had burned two Indian towns, lower down, but had seen no Red Sticks. Mar. 22

CHAPTER XLII.

Battle of the Horse-Shoe—Weatherford Surrenders Himself at Fort Jackson.

Leaving a guard at Fort Williams, General Jackson put his army, which consisted of two thousand men, upon the
1814 March. He opened a passage across the ridge which di-
March vides the Coosa and Tallapoosa, and, in three days ad-
24-27 vanced to the immediate neighborhood of the enemy.

Cholocco Litabixee—the *Horse-Shoe*—where the Red Sticks had assembled to make a desperate defence, was admirably adapted by nature for security if well guarded, but equally for destructiou if not well defended. About one hundred acres of land was bordered by the Tallapoosa river, forming a peninsula. Across the neck of the bend, the Red Sticks had a breast-work of logs, so arranged as to expose assailants to a cross-fire. The houses of the village stood upon some low grounds at the bottom of the bend, where hundreds of canoes were tied to the banks of the river. The warriors of Hillabee, Ocfuske, Oakchoie, Eufaulahatche, New-Yauca, Hickory Ground and Fish Pond towns had concentrated upon the remarkable peninsula. General Coffee, with a large body of mounted men, and the friendly Indians, forded the Tallapoosa two miles below the breast-work, and, having gained the eastern side, ex-
1814 tended his lines for a great distance, so as to encom-
Morning pass the bend. As soon as Jackson saw, from signals
of which were made, that Coffee had taken his position,
Mar. 27 he marched the remainder of his force towards the breast-work, planted two pieces of artillery, eighty

yards distant from the nearest part of the Indian defence, and, at ten o'clock in the morning, began to open them upon the enemy. These pieces, accompanied by occasional discharges from the muskets and rifles, effected but little. In the meanwhile, the Cherokees, under Coffee, swimming the river, took possession of the canoes, and returning with them to the opposite bank, they were presently filled with friendly Indians and Americans, the latter headed by Colonel Morgan and Captain Russell. They reached the town and wrapped it in flames. Jackson then ordered his troops to storm the breast-work, behind which all the warriors had posted themselves. A short contest was maintained at the port-holes, but presently the impetuous Americans mounted the breast-work, and, dyeing the huge logs with their blood and that of the enemy, they finally, after a most desperate struggle, became masters of the interior. The Red Sticks, now assailed in front by Jackson, who had taken possession of their breast-work, and attacked from behind by a portion of Coffee's troops, who had just completed the conflagration of their village, fought under great disadvantages. However, none of them begged for quarter, but every one sold his life at the dearest rate. After a long fight, many of them fled and attempted to swim the river, but were killed on all sides by the unerring rifles of the Tennesseans. Others screened themselves behind tree-tops and thick piles of timber. Being desirous not to destroy this brave race, Jackson sent a messenger towards them, who assured them of the clemency of the general, provided they would surrender. They answered by discharges from their guns and shouts of defiance. The artillery was then ineffectually brought to bear upon them. The Americans then applied fire to their retreat, which soon forced them to fly, and, as they ran, they were killed by American guns. It was late in the evening before the dreadful battle ended. The Red Sticks numbered about one thousand warriors, and, out of that number, five hundred and fifty-seven were found

1814
Mar. 27

dead on the peninsula.* As many were killed in the river, by Coffee's troops, while they were endeavoring to swim over, it may be safely stated that not more than two hundred survived. Some of them long afterwards suffered with the most grievous wounds. Manowa, one of the bravest Chiefs that ever lived, was literally shot to pieces. He fought as long as he could. He saved himself by jumping into the river, where the water was four feet deep. He held to a root, and thus kept himself beneath the waves, breathing through the long joint of a cane, one end of which he held in his mouth, and while the other end came above the surface of the water. When night set in the brave Manowa† rose from his watery bed, and made his way to the forest, bleeding from many wounds. Many years after the war, we conversed with this Chief, and learned from him the particulars of his remarkable escape. His face, limbs and body, at the time we conversed with him, were marked with the scars of many horrible wounds. Another Chief was shot down, among a number of slain warriors, and, with admirable presence of mind, saved his life, by drawing over him the bodies of two of them, under which he lay, till the darkness of the night permitted him to leave the horrible place.

The loss of the Americans was thirty-two killed and ninety-nine wounded. The friendly Cherokees had eighteen killed and thirty-six wounded. The tory Creeks had five killed and eleven wounded. Among the slain were Major L. P. Montgomery and Lieutenants Moulton and Somerville, who fell in the charge upon the breast-works.

Major Lemuel Purnell Montgomery was born in Wythe county, Virginia, in 1786. He was a relation, by consanguinity, of the gallant general of that name, who fell at the storming of Quebec. His grandfather, Hugh Montgomery, of North Carolina, a man of fortune and talents, commanded

* Kendall, Eaton, and Waldo's Lives of Jackson.
† Known by the American settlers as "Old Manorway."

a whig company during the revolution, which he equipped and supported at his own expense. With this company he fought the British and tories with great success. He was a member of the convention which formed the constitution of the State of North Carolina, and not long afterwards one of the counties of that State was named in honor of him. The father of Major Montgomery, also named Hugh, was a man of talents, and, having removed to Virginia, was a member of the Senate of that State. At Snow Hill, in Maryland, he married a lady, whose maiden name was Purnell, which was the middle name of her son, the brave major, who fell at the Horse-Shoe. The father removed from Virginia to East Tennessee, near Knoxville.

Major Montgomery completed his education at Washington College, Tennessee, studied law with Judge Trimble, of Knoxville, and established himself in that profession at Nashville, where, in four years, his attainments, eloquence, zeal, fearless independence and popular bearing, rendered him a formidable rival of the able Felix Grundy. During this period, he was frequently placed at the head of parties of armed horsemen; and with them he scoured the dark gorges of the Cumberland mountains in pursuit of desperate banditti, who had long pillaged the people in the valleys. At length he was appointed by Madison first major of the thirty-ninth regiment, which he gallantly led to the breast-works of the Indians at the Horse-Shoe. He was the first man that mounted the breast-work, and, while waving his sword and animating his men, a large ball, shot from the rifle of a Red Stick, entered his head and instantly killed him. When the battle was ended, Jackson stood over his body and wept. He exclaimed, "I have lost the flower of my army!"

1814 Mar. 27

At the time of his death, Major Montgomery was only twenty-eight years of age. His eyes were keen and black; his hair was of a dark auburn color; his weight was one hundred and seventy-five pounds; his height was six feet and two inches;

his form was admirably proportioned, and he was, altogether, the finest looking man in the army.

A diversity of opinion prevails among the soldiers of this campaign as to the disposition of the body of Major Montgomery. Some contend that Jackson caused it to be sunk in the Tallapoosa river to protect it from Indian brutalities. We have in our possession the affidavit of two soldiers, now living in Tennessee—John Lovelady and Samuel Gearing—which states that they assisted to bury the body of Montgomery, and bore off the surplus dirt which remained about the grave upon the skin of a beeve and threw it into the river. They then burnt brush over the grave to conceal it from the keen eyes of the savages. Since then, and only a few years ago, the people of Tallapoosa county took up these remains, conveyed them to their court-house and deposited them in the ground with military honors. The county of Montgomery, Alabama, was named in honor of Major Montgomery, while the memory of his relation, who fell at Quebec, is preserved in the name of the city.

The day after the terrible battle of the Horse-Shoe,
1814 General Jackson assumed the line of march, and reached
Fort Williams on the second of April.

Upon an examination of the Coosa river, it was found impracticable to transport the stores from Fort Williams to the termination of the falls, by water, and the reduced condition of the horses and the roughness of the country rendered it impossible to transport them by land in any quantity. However, with such provisions as the men could carry upon their backs, Jackson marched towards the Hickory Ground, relying upon the
1814 eastern army, whose advance guard was then under
April 4 Milton, for supplies. Heavy rains retarded his march, but he reached Fooshatchie, where he captured a few prisoners. The Red Sticks fled from Hoithlewaule and other towns across the Tallapoosa.

Colonel Milton, with troops from the two Carolinas, had been

a month at Fort Decatur, situated upon a commanding bluff, on the eastern side of the Tallapoosa, but took no steps to co-operate with Jackson in preventing the escape of the Indians.

. Prevented from pursuing the enemy by a flood in the river and the scarcity of provisions, Jackson marched to the head of the peninsula formed by the confluence of the Apr 17 Coosa and Tallapoosa, and planted his colors upon the spot where Governor Bienville, one hundred years before, had erected Fort Toulouse, so long garrisoned by French troops. Here the rivers approach within six hundred yards of each other, and diverging unite four miles below.

The battle of the Horse-Shoe had nearly put an end to the war, and the dispirited Red Sticks made but few efforts to rally. Many came in and surrendered, while the larger portion escaped towards Florida. The old French trenches were cleaned out, and an American stockade with block-houses was erected upon the site, which received the name of Fort Jackson.

Deputations of Chiefs continually arrived, and submitted, in behalf of themselves and their people, to such terms as General Jackson thought proper to impose. Among the most conspicuous of these was William Weatherford, who led the Indians at Fort Mims, and at the battles of Calebee and Holy Ground. Jackson had directed that he should be captured, if possible, and brought to him, confined, to receive such punishment as his crimes merited. Weatherford, a man without fear, boldly resolved to appear at the American camp voluntarily. Mounting the same splendid gray steed which had borne him over the bluff at the Holy Ground,* he rode within a few miles of Fort Jackson, when a fine deer crossed his path and stopped within shooting distance, which he fired at and killed. Re-loading his rifle, with two balls, for the purpose of shooting the Big Warrior, should he give him any cause at the fort, he placed the 1814

*The Weatherfords always had fine horses, and old Charles, the father, was a celebrated patron of the Alabama turf.

deer behind his saddle and advanced to the American outposts. Some soldiers, of whom he politely inquired for Jackson's whereabouts, gave him some unsatisfactory and rude replies, when a gray-headed man a few steps beyond pointed him to the marquee. Weatherford rode up to it, and checked his horse immediately at the entrance, where sat the Big Warrior, who exulting exclaimed:

"Ah! Bill Weatherford, have we got you at last!"

The fearless Chieftain cast his keen eye at the Big Warrior, and said in a determined tone:

"You d—d traitor, if you give me any insolence, I will blow a ball through your cowardly heart."

General Jackson now came running out of the marquee, with Colonel Hawkins, and, in a furious manner, exclaimed:

"How dare you, sir, to ride up to my tent, after having murdered the women and children at Fort Mims?"

Weatherford said:

"General Jackson, I am not afraid of you. I fear no man, for I am a Creek warrior. I have nothing to request in behalf of myself; you can kill me, if you desire. But I come to beg you to send for the women and children of the war party, who are now starving in the woods. Their fields and cribs have been destroyed by your people, who have driven them to the woods without an ear of corn. I hope that you will send out parties, who will safely conduct them here, in order that they may be fed. I exerted myself in vain to prevent the massacre of the women and children at Fort Mims. I am now done fighting. The Red Sticks are nearly all killed. If I could fight you any longer, I would most heartily do so. Send for the women and children. They never did you any harm. But kill me, if the white people want it done."

1814 April

At the conclusion of these words, many persons, who had surrounded the marquee, exclaimed, "KILL HIM! KILL HIM! KILL HIM!" General Jackson commanded silence, and, in an emphatic manner, said:

"ANY MAN WHO WOULD KILL AS BRAVE A MAN AS THIS WOULD ROB THE DEAD!"

He then invited Weatherford to alight, drank a glass of brandy with him, and entered into a cheerful conversation, under his hospitable marquee. Weatherford gave him the deer, and they were then good friends. He took no further part in the war, except to influence his warriors to surrender.* He went to the place of his former residence, upon Little river, but soon had to leave it, as his life was in constant danger. 1814 April

He then went to Fort Claiborne, and the commanding officer of that place saved him from being killed, by placing him in a tent by himself, which was pitched very near the marquee, and which was constantly guarded by a file of soldiers. After he had been kept there ten or fifteen days, the commanding officer became still more uneasy, for fear he would be killed by persons who had lost relations at Fort Mims, and who were bent on his destruction. He now resolved to send him beyond the lines, during a dark night. About midnight, he sent his aid, followed by Weatherford, to the station of Major Laval, who was then a captain, and the officer on guard. He said, "Captaid Laval, the commanding officer says you must take Weatherford to yonder tree, under which you will find a horse tied, and that he must mount the horse and make his escape." Captain Laval instantly told Weatherford to follow him. He passed by the guard, giving the countersign, and reached the tree. Weatherford eagerly seized the limb to which the horse was tied, threw the reins over the animal's head, shook Laval by the hand, and said, in earnest and grateful tones, "GOOD-BYE! GOD BLESS YOU!" He then vaulted into the saddle and rode off rapidly. That was the last time he

* Such is the account of Weatherford's interview with Jackson, as related by the Chieftain himself, to Colonel Robert James of Clark, William Sisemore, of Little river, and many other persons. The *incorrect* statements of Eaton, in his Life of Jackson, are doubtless based entirely upon camp gossip.

ever saw Weatherford. For the distance of one mile, at least, Laval heard the clattering of the horse's feet.*

After the war was over, Weatherford became a permanent citizen of the lower part of the county of Monroe, where, upon a good farm, well supplied with negroes, he lived, maintained an excellent character, and was much respected by the American citizens for his bravery, honor and strong native sense. In 1826 he died from the effects of fatigue, produced by a desperate bear hunt.

Many persons yet living bear testimony to the bravery and honor of William Weatherford in private life, an instance of which we here take occasion to mention:

In 1820, many people assembled at the sale of the effects of the deceased Duncan Henderson, in the lower part of Monroe county, Alabama. An old man, named Bradberry—the father of the gallant lieutenant, who fought at Burnt Corn, and who was afterwards killed in another action—was cruelly
1820 murdered upon this occasion by one C——r, who plunged a long knife into the back of his neck. The murderer had an accomplice, one F——r, who was in pursuit of Bradberry at the same time, and who had, a few moments before, broken a pitcher over his head. These men were so desperate, and flourished their knives with such defiance, that Justice Henderson in vain called upon the bystanders to seize them, while the poor, unoffending old Bradberry lay weltering in his blood.

Shocked at the cowardly and brutal act, and provoked at the timidity of the bystanders, William Weatherford, who lived in that neighborhood, now advanced towards Henderson, and said in a loud voice: "These, I suppose, are white men's laws. You stand aside and see a man, an OLD man, killed, and not one of you will avenge his blood. If he had one drop of Indian blood mixed with that which runs upon the ground there, I would instantly

* Conversations with Major Laval, a resident of Charleston, S. C.

kill his murderers, at the risk of my life." Justice Henderson implored him to take them, and, being assured that the white man's law would not hurt him, but that he would be commended for the act, Weatherford now drew forth his long, silver-handled butcher-knife and advanced towards the murderers, who stood forty paces off, threatening to kill the first man who should attempt to arrest them. He first advanced to C——r, who, trembling at his approach, let his knife drop by his side, and instantly surrendered. Seizing him by the throat, he 1820
said to the bystanders, "Here, tie the d—d rascal." Then, going up to F——r, upon whom he flashed his tiger eyes, he also arrested him without the least opposition—F——r exclaiming, "I will not resist *you*, Billy Weatherford."

General Picknney arriving at Fort Jackson, and being the senior officer of the Southern army, assumed 1814
the command and approved of all the acts of Jackson. April 20
Learning that the Indians were generally submitting, he ordered the West Tennessee troops to march home. April 21
Two hours after the order was issued they were in motion. Arriving at Camp Blount, near Fayetteville, Jackson discharged them, after gratifying them with a feeling address. He then repaired to the Hermitage, from which he had been absent eighteen months, in a hostile land, and, a portion of the time, almost alone.

Pinckney remained at Fort Jackson with the troops from the two Carolinas and those from East Tennessee. Four hundred of General Dougherty's brigade of East Tennesseans were stationed at Fort Williams. General Johnson, at the head of five hundred men, had been dispatched to the Cahawba river, who proceeded to its source and joined Jackson before he reached the Tennessee river. Several detachments were sent forth from Fort Jackson, who scoured the country in all directions for the fugitive Red Sticks. Colonel Hawkins performed several trips to the Chattahoochie, and exerted himself to induce the wretched

Creeks to surrender and terminate a war which had proved so disastrous to them. But the British at Pensacola were
July 1 endeavoring to rally them. Two vessels had anchored at the mouth of the Apalachicola, and had landed five thousand stand of arms and abundant ammunition, and three hundred British troops had commenced a fortification, under the command of a colonel. Runners were sent to all parts of the nation, inviting the Indians to rush to that point for provisions and military supplies, and thither many of the Red Sticks repaired. The condition of the friendly Indians, too, was at this time most wretched, and upwards of five thousand of them were fed at the different American posts.*

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 857-860.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Treaty of Fort Jackson—Attack Upon Mobile Point—March Upon Pensacola.

On the resignations of Generals Hamilton and Harrison, Jackson had been promoted to the rank of major-general. Leaving the Hermitage once more, he proceeded with a small escort to Fort Jackson, where he safely arrived, and 1814 assumed the command of the Southern army. He had July 10 been empowered by the Federal Government to conclude a treaty of peace with the Creek nation. After much opposition from the Big Warrior and other Chiefs to the surrender of the territory which was demanded, a treaty was Aug. 9 signed. It was stipulated that a line should commence upon the Coosa, at the southern boundary of the Cherokee nation, and continue down that river to Wetumpka, and thence eastwardly to Georgia. East and north of that line, containing upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand square miles, remained to the Indians. West and south of it was secured to the United States. This territory was obtained as an indemnification for the expenses incurred by the government in prosecuting the war. Before the treaty was signed the Big Warrior addressed Jackson and Hawkins in a long speech, and tendered them, in the name of the friendly Chiefs, a reservation of three miles square of land each, "to be chosen where you like, from that we are going to give, as near as you can to us, for we want you to live by us and give us your advice." To George Mayfield and Alexander Curnells, their interpreters, they also gave one mile square each. Jackson accepted of this national mark of re-

gard for him if approved by the President, who, he said, "would doubtless appropriate its value in aid of your naked women and children." Colonel Hawkins said:

"I have been long among you—I have grown grey in your service—I shall not much longer be your agent. You all know that when applied to by red, black or white, I looked not to color, but to the justice of the claim. I shall continue to be friendly and useful to you while I live, and my children, born among you, will be so brought up as to do the same. I accept your present, and esteem it the more highly by the manner of bestowing it, as it resulted from the impulse of your own minds, and not from any intimation from the general or me."*

Among other gallant officers present upon this occasion was Colonel Arthur P. Hayne, who, after the peace, resided in Autauga county, Alabama, and was there much esteemed and respected. He was born in Charleston, South Carolina, on the 12th March, 1790, and descended from a family distinguished in the Revolution. Although not of age when the attack was made by the British upon the Chesapeake, he entered Colonel Wade Hampton's regiment of light dragoons as a first lieutenant. In 1809 he was stationed upon the Mississippi with Scott and Gaines, who then held the same rank with himself. When war was declared against England, Hayne was ordered to the North, and he presently participated in the battle of Sackett's Harbor, in which he displayed so much gallantry and judgment that he was immediately promoted to the command of a squadron of cavalry, with the rank of major. He was with Wilkinson in 1813 on the St. Lawrence. General Hampton, who wanted Hayne to join *his* wing of the army, in one of his letters to the Secretary of War, employed this complimentary language: "Send me Hayne; I want his constitutional ardor—it will add much to the strength of my army." After Major Hayne had been in several severe engagements at the North, he received the

* Indian Affairs, vol. 1.

important appointment of inspector-general; and being ordered to join Jackson in the Creek nation, we find him at the marquee of that officer when the treaty was made. Colonel Hayne, during the battle of New Orleans, was constantly in his saddle, executing the many hazardous trusts confided to him by Jackson with promptness, bravery and ability. In later years, the duties of important offices abroad, emanating from the Federal Government, have been confided to him. He is now a resident of Charleston.

In the meantime, General Jackson had been vigilant as to the movements of the British and their Indian allies upon the coast of the Floridas. He constantly despatched spies to Pensacola and other points, who returned and confirmed the previous reports which had reached him. Provoked at the treachery of the Spaniards, he addressed a letter to Manriquez, Governor of Pensacola, remonstrating against the attitude of the Spanish authorities towards the United States, a power with which Spain professed to be at peace. Manriquez, in his reply, denied that the fugitive Red Sticks were then with him, and that if they were he could not surrender them, upon the ground of hospitality, nor refuse them assistance at a moment when their distresses were so great; and, in admitting that the English had and still used the posts of Florida, he justified it on account of a treaty which existed between Great Britain and the Indians previous to the conquest of the Floridas by Spain. Jackson replied in strong terms to this letter, despatching Captain Gordon with the document, who was instructed to gain additional information of the designs of the enemy.

Having arranged all things at the fort which bore his name, Jackson, in company with Colonel Hayne, departed down the Alabama, in boats, with a portion of his troops, and arriving at Mobile, made that place his headquarters. He had been admonished that it was the design of the English soon to attack the city. He addressed a letter to Colonel But- 1814 Aug. 11

ler, which reached that officer, at Nashville, on the 9th of September, urging him to hasten the advance of the volunteers to protect that point and New Orleans. Soon General Coffee was on the march from Tennessee, at the head of two thousand men, while Colonel Butler hastened to press forward the militia under Colonel Lowery, which had been, heretofore, required for garrisoning posts in the Indian country. Captains Baker and Butler also commenced the march from Nashville to Mobile, with the regular forces lately enlisted.

Colonel Nichol, an Irishman by birth, now a British officer, arrived at Pensacola with a small squadron of his majesty's ships, immediately manned the Forts Barancas and St. Michael, and hoisted the British flag upon their ramparts. Making the house of Governor Manriquez his headquarters, Nichol
1814 sought to draw around his standard the malcontents and
Aug. 29 traitors of the country, by issuing a proclamation, stating that he had come with a force sufficient to relieve them from the chains which the Federal Government was endeavoring to rivet upon them. This presumptuous appeal was even extended to the patriotic people of Kentucky and Louisiana. At the same time, in conjunction with Captain Woodbine, he employed himself in collecting and clothing, in British uniform, the Red Sticks and Seminoles, whom he publicly drilled in the streets of Pensacola. To these, and *all* the Red Sticks, he promised a bounty of ten dollars for every scalp, whether of men, women or children.

Fort Bowyer, at Mobile Point, had been dismantled by the orders of General Flournoy, who deemed it incapable of defence. Jackson, soon after arriving at Mobile, sailed to the Point, and after an inspection of this defence, resolved to garrison it. Sending from Mobile the artillery which was taken from it, and one hundred and thirty men, including officers, Major Law-
1814 rence, the commander, immediately prepared to resist
Sept. 12 the attacks of the enemy, should he make his appearance. At length a sentinel, stationed towards Lake

Borgne, discovered six hundred Indians and one hundred and thirty British marines. In the evening, two English sloops of war, with two brigs, came to anchor on the coast, within six miles east from the fort. The next day, at twelve o'clock, the land force approaching within seven hundred yards, threw three shells and one cannon ball. Sept. 13 The shells exploded in the air, but the ball carried away a timber of the rampart. The Americans, returning a few shots, forced the assailants to retire behind the sand hills, a mile and a half distant, where they began to raise intrenchments, but a few more discharges from the fort dispersed them. Some small boats were sent out from the ships to sound the channel, but the discharge from the battery drove them off. The ships now stood out to sea, but about two o'clock they bore down upon the fort in order of battle, the Hermes, on board of which was Commodore Percy, being in the advance. Sept. 15 The Americans opened a fire upon her at four o'clock, but she came to anchor within musket shot—the other three taking their position behind her. The engagement became general, the ships discharging whole broadsides, while the American circular battery was destructive in its operations. Captain Woodbine opened a battery with a land force, from behind a sand bluff on the south-eastern shore, seven hundred yards distant, but the south battery of the Americans soon dispersed them. A furious cannonade of an hour filled the air with so much smoke, that Major Lawrence ceased for a moment, to ascertain the intentions of the English, seeing that the halyard of the commodore's flag had been carried away. The commodore raised a new flag, and, at that moment, all the guns of the American battery were discharged, sensibly shaking the earth around. After a short silence, the English renewed the action. The cable of the Hermes was cut and she was carried away by the current, keeping her head to the fort, which enabled Lawrence, for twenty minutes, to rake her, fore and aft.

In the hottest of the engagement, Lawrence seized a sponge staff and hoisted upon the edge of the parapet another
1814 flag to supply the place of the one which had been car-
Sept. 15 ried away. The land force, under Woodbine, seeing the fall of the flag, rushed in triumph towards the fort; but some discharges of grape again dispersed them. The Hermes drifted a half mile, ran aground and was set on fire. The brig was so disabled that she could scarce retire to join the other two vessels, which now all put to sea. At eleven o'clock at night the explosion of the magazine blew up the Hermes.*

The attack upon Mobile Point was a confirmation of the previous conjecture of General Jackson, and he determined to throw a force into Pensacola sufficient to expel the enemy, who had sailed to that place after their defeat at Fort Bowyer. He despatched Colonel Hayne to Fort Montgomery, which was then in command of Colonel Thomas H. Benton, under whose superintendence it was erected, for the purpose of organizing the troops in that quarter. Colonel Hayne discharged this duty with his usual promptness and decision. About this time, General Coffee had encamped on the western side of the Tom-
1814 bigby, opposite the Cut-Off, with two thousand eight
Oct. 26 hundred men. Jackson reached his camp, and strained every nerve to afford supplies for the army, effecting loans upon his own credit and responsibility. The army crossed the Tombigby, and proceeded across Nannahubba Island to Mims' Ferry. One thousand volunteers, hitherto mounted, left their horses in the care of keepers, to feed on the cane, and now cheerfully marched on foot. Reaching Fort Montgomery,
Nov. 4 the army reposed a short time, and again took up the line of march for Pensacola. It consisted of the third, thirty-ninth and forty-fourth regiments of infantry, the militia

* British loss—162 killed, 70 wounded; American loss—4 killed, 4 wounded. Latour's War in West Florida and Louisiana, pp. 32-42. Russell's History of the War, p. 279. Williams' Florida, p. 200. Eaton's Life of Jackson, pp. 236-237.

of Tennessee, a battalion of volunteer dragoons of the Mississippi Territory and some friendly Indians. En- Nov. 6
camping within one mile and a half of Pensacola, Jackson sent a detachment of cavalry, under Lieutenant Murray, of the Mississippi dragoons, to reconnoitre. They captured a Spanish picket-guard, but could perceive nothing. Lieutenant Murray was, unfortunately, killed by an Indian, while in a path somewhat separated from his command.

Major Pierre was despatched from headquarters to the governor with a summons, preparatory to an attack upon the town, but was fired upon when he had arrived within three hundred yards of Fort St. Michael, although he held a white flag in his hand. Impelled by a feeling of humanity towards the oppressed Spaniards, whose fortifications were held by the English, Jackson sent a letter by a prisoner to the Governor, demanding an explanation for the insult offered to his flag. Through an officer, his excellency disclaimed any participation in the transaction, and gave a pledge that American officers should in future be treated with respect. Major Pierre being again sent at midnight, was unsuccessful in his negotiation with the Governor to allow Jackson to occupy Forts Barancas and St. Michael, until Spanish troops should arrive in sufficient numbers to protect the Floridas from British outrages upon the neutrality of the nation. Major Pierre then left the Governor, with the assurance that recourse would be had to arms.

Zachariah McGirth, who has been mentioned in reference to Fort Mims and the battle of Calebee, was sent by Jack- 1814
son into Pensacola, to ascertain the number and position Nov. 6
of the enemy. About midnight he returned, and reported that a body of Indians, British and Spaniards, whom he estimated at over five thousand, occupied the heart of the town, and that some distance in advance of them, in the direction of the American camp, another party had erected a battery across the street. Knowing that this battery commanded

the only avenue by which he could reach the enemy, without passing under the guns of Fort St. Michael, Jackson determined to remove it. He sent for Captain Laval, of the third regiment, and informed him that he had selected him as the man to "lead the forlorn hope." He ordered him to pick one hundred and twenty men, for the purpose of storming the battery. Laval commanded a company composing that number, and, although he had the option of selecting men from other companies, he first appealed to his own men, and stated to them the dangerous duty which had been assigned to him. They all responded by saying, "Wherever you go, Captain Laval, we follow."

1814 Nov. 7 About eight o'clock in the morning Laval began his march. Captain Denkins, who was ordered to support him with two pieces of artillery, if it should become necessary, marched some distance in the rear. Colonel Hayne, so anxious for the success of Laval, who was his warm friend, rode in the rear of the company. When Laval came near the battery Denkins and his artillery were far behind, in consequence of the rapid march of the former and the heavy sand, which retarded the pieces of the latter. The enemy opened their cannon upon the "forlorn hope," while numerous assailants annoyed them by cross fires from the houses and gardens. The brave Laval, at the head of his company, however, marched steadily on. Colonel Hayne now dismounted and rushed upon the enemy on foot. Finally Laval reached the battery, and at that moment a large grape shot tore his leg to pieces, and he instantly fell to the ground. The troops rushed over the battery and secured the pieces of the enemy, all of whom presently fled, except the commanding officer, who bravely maintained his position and was taken a prisoner.

Captain William Laval, now Major Laval, was born on the 27th May, 1788, in Charleston, South Carolina. His father, who had been an officer in France, came to America with the French army, in the legion of the Duke of Lauzun, to assist us

in the struggle for our liberties. He was a cavalry officer, and participated in several of the American battles in Virginia, Delaware and New Jersey, and after peace was declared was, for many years, a Sheriff of the Charleston district. The son entered the American army in October, 1808, as an ensign. He was stationed at Forts Moultrie and Johnson, and at a recruiting encampment upon the Catawba. In 1812, he was appointed a first lieutenant. In January, 1813, he advanced with his company, commanded by Captain Moore, from Fort Hawkins across the Creek nation to Mobile and from thence to New Orleans. Very soon after, when the Creek war broke out, he was promoted to the post of captain, and marched with the third regiment, to which his company belonged, to Fort Claiborne, and from thence to the Holy Ground, in the battle of which he participated. From the wound which he received upon the occasion of the siege of Pensacola, he was a severe sufferer for two years; but, although it has rendered him a cripple for life, he is now in fine health, and moves upon his crutches with ease and animation. Since the war, he has held various respectable offices, conferred by a people grateful for his military services. He has been a Secretary of State of South Carolina, its Comptroller-General, a Sheriff of Charleston, an officer in the custom-house, Assistant Treasurer of the United States under Mr. Polk, and is now the Treasurer of the State of South Carolina. Major Laval is near six feet high, very erect in person, and presents a very striking and military appearance.

In the capture of the Spanish battery, seven Americans were killed and eleven wounded, among whom, besides Laval, was Lieutenant Flournoy. Four Spaniards were killed, six wounded and several captured. 1814 Nov. 7

After the storming of this battery, three thousand Americans, in three columns, advanced and proceeded along the beach, eastward of the town, to avoid the fire from St. Michael. A flag of truce from Governor Manriquez produced a cessation of hos-

tilities. The former terms of Jackson were now agreed to; but the commandant of St. Michael refused to obey the governor. Jackson now, leaving Major Pierre, with eight hundred men, with orders to possess the fort before night, retired to his camp with the remainder of his troops, the British attempting to intercept his march by the fire of long guns from the shipping.

It was important that the Americans should possess the fort before morning, for the British vessels, provided with spring cables, were, at any moment, ready to fire the town, or effect a landing. Indeed, by the aid of their boats, they had continued to fire upon our troops, as they passed along the principal streets; but Lieutenant Call, with a single piece of artillery, suddenly appeared upon the beach, and dispersed them. Five hundred men were now placed upon the beach, to oppose the landing of the British, while Captain Denkins, with two companies and three pieces of cannon, occupied Mount St. Bernard, which commanded Fort St. Michael. At six o'clock p. m., Colonel Sotto, after having sent a verbal message that he would surrender, refused to receive Captain Denkins and his command, which had been ordered to possess the fort, upon the pretence that they could not evacuate before morning. When Denkins was about to commence an attack, Sotto, aware
1814 of the consequences, surrendered, and at eleven o'clock
Nov. 7 at night the Americans took possession. On the same afternoon the battery of St. Rose, opposite Fort Barancas, was blown up by the Spaniards.

The next morning the Governor refused to give an order for the surrender of Fort Barancas, and Jackson resolved to take it; but, while preparations were making to march down against it, it was blown up by order of the commandant. The
Nov 8. British shipping, by this act, were enabled to pass by the ruins of Fort Barancas and put to sea. Had Jackson possessed it in time, they would have been cut off from retreat.

Having effected the expulsion of the British from Pensacola, captured one of the forts, while the others were destroyed by the enemy themselves, and forced the Red Sticks to retreat to the forests in a perishing condition, and, being aware that his army could only be supported by tedious land trans- Nov. 9 portation, that winter was setting in, and that the defence of New Orleans demanded his services, General Jackson took up the line of march for Fort Montgomery, where he arrived without accident.

Placing a considerable portion of his army under Major Uriah Blue, of the thirty-ninth regiment, the commander-in-chief visited Mobile, and then departed for New Orleans.

Major Blue, at a period between the attack upon Pensacola and the battle of New Orleans, scoured the swamps of the Escambia and all the bays in West Florida with a large force of mounted men, consisting of Americans, Choctaws, Chickasaws and friendly Creeks. He killed many of the refugee Creeks, who fought him in their dense retreats, and captured a large number, besides women and children, whom he constantly sent to Fort Montgomery, guarded by strong detachments. We regret exceedingly that want of space forces us to omit a detailed account of this fatiguing and perilous expedition, taken from the lips of an intelligent surgeon. In some other work we hope to be able to record the brilliant achievements and valuable services performed on this occasion by Major Blue. We would remark, however, that he was the officer who brought the Creek war of 1813 and 1814 to a final termination. No official account of this march has fallen into our hands, and we believe none exists.

In drawing our account of the Creek war to a close, we cannot refrain from indulging in some reflections upon the bravery, endurance, self-sacrifice and patriotism of the Red Sticks. Let us, for a moment, recapitulate their achievements, never yet rivalled in savage life. They defeated the Americans at Burnt Corn, and compelled them to make a pre-

cipitate retreat. They reduced Fort Mims, after a fight of five hours, and exterminated its numerous inmates. They encountered the large force under Coffee, at Tallasehatche, and fought till not one warrior was left, disdaining to beg for quarter. They opposed Jackson at Talladega, and, although surrounded by his army, poured out their fire, and fled not until the ground was almost covered with their dead. They met Floyd at Auttose, and fought him obstinately, and then again rallied and attacked him, a few hours after the battle, when he was leading his army over Heydon's Hill. Against the well-trained army of Claiborne they fought at the Holy Ground, with the fury of tigers, and then made good their retreat across the Alabama. At Emuckfau, three times did they charge upon Jackson, and when he retreated towards the Coosa they sprang upon him, while crossing the creek at Enitachopco, with the courage and impetuosity of lions. Two days afterwards, a party under Weatherford rushed upon the unsuspecting Georgians at Calebee, threw the army into dismay and confusion, and stood their ground in a severe struggle, until the superior force of Floyd forced them to fly, at daylight. Sixty days after this, Jackson surrounded them at the Horse-Shoe, and, after a sanguinary contest of three hours, nearly exterminated them, while not one of them begged for quarter. At length, wounded, starved and beaten, hundreds fled to the swamps of Florida; others went to Pensacola, and, rallying under Colonel Nichol, attacked Fort Bowyer. Fierce scouting parties, during the whole war, had operated against them, from point to point, and they were not finally overcome until Major Blue made the expedition just related.

Thus were the brave Creeks opposed by the combined armies of Georgia, Tennessee and the Mississippi Territory, together with the federal forces from other States, besides numerous bands of bloody Choctaws and Chickasaws. Fresh volunteers and militia, from month to month, were brought against them, while no one came to *their* assistance, save a few English

officers, who led them to undertake enterprises beyond their ability to accomplish. And how long did they contend against the powerful forces allied against them? From the 27th of July, 1813, to the last of December, 1814. In every engagement with the Americans, the force of the Creeks was greatly inferior in number, except at Burnt Corn and Fort Mims.

Brave natives of Alabama! to defend that soil where the Great Spirit gave you birth, you sacrificed your peaceful savage pursuits! You fought the invaders until more than half your warriors were slain! The remnant of your warlike race yet live in the distant Arkansas. You have been forced to quit one of the finest regions upon earth, which is now occupied by Americans. Will THEY, in some dark hour, when Alabama is invaded, defend this soil as bravely and as enduringly as you have done? Posterity may be able to reply.

CHAPTER XLIV.

The British Take Mobile Point—Peace Declared—The Alabama Territory.

The victory of the Americans at New Orleans forced the British to abandon the banks of the Mississippi and hover about Mobile Point. Twenty-five of their vessels anchored in
1815 a semi-circular position five miles from Fort Bowyer.
Jan. 8 Thirteen ships of the line anchored two miles in the rear of it. Five thousand men landed and encamped. After several days of the most active preparations for the reduction of this little American defence, still under the command of the brave Major Lawrence, the latter assembled a council of his
Feb. 12 officers, who decided that it was impossible to contend with a powerful force, both by sea and land. The next day, according to previous negotiations, three hundred and sixty Americans, including officers, marched out of Fort Bowyer, with colors flying and drums beating, and took up quarters on board of three British ships of the line, as prisoners of war.*

The treaty of peace between England and the United States, concluded at Ghent, did not reach General Jackson at
1814 New Orleans until the 13th March. A few days after
Dec. 24 this the latter informed Admiral Cochrane, of the British navy, of the joyous intelligence. But the latter, whose fleet still lay about Mobile Point, did not leave our shores immediately, in consequence of the exchange of prisoners constantly going on. Besides this, the great mortality from the wounds and disease which prevailed throughout his shipping,

* Latour's Late War in West Florida and Louisiana, pp. 207-216.

still further retarded his departure. Hundreds of British soldiers were entombed in the white sands of Mobile Point and Dauphin Island. At length, the first of April witnessed the departure of our enemies and the happiness of our people, now once more left to repose.

At this period a large tract of country was still in possession of the Chickasaws, south and west of Madison county, but the American population began to form settlements upon it. Hundreds went lower down, upon the Tombigby, and others upon its head waters. Governor Holmes extended, by proclamation, the jurisdiction of the Mississippi Territory over the country of the Black Warrior and Tombigby, now acquired from the Chickasaws by treaty, and gave the whole the name of Monroe county. 1815 June 9

Madison, north of the Tennessee, at this time less than thirteen miles square, had, within six years, obtained a population of more than ten thousand souls, many of whom were wealthy and intelligent planters from the Southern Atlantic States. Gabriel Moore, Hugh McVay and William Winston were elected to the Territorial Legislature from this county in June. Fifteen hundred and seventy votes were cast in Madison at the election for a delegate to Congress, while the aggregate vote of the counties of Jefferson, Claiborne and Adams, was only fourteen hundred and twenty. The Washington district, upon the Tombigby, sent only two members to the Territorial Legislature. 1815 June

The lands acquired by the treaty of Fort Jackson began to be only partially settled, as much of them was still in the occupancy of the Creeks, who had not removed, and, owing to the intrigues of British emissaries, still in Florida, the boundary lines had not been established. Indeed, even before the 16th October, the Creeks had again commenced hostilities upon the frontiers of Georgia, and had broken up the military cantonments on the line from Fort Jackson to Fort Mitchell.

Dec. 12 Again, settlements were still further retarded by the proclamation of the President, forbidding the settlement of this territory until it was surveyed.

To facilitate the advance of population north and west of the Creek nation, and to prevent encroachments upon the Choctaws, Chickasaws and Cherokees, commissioners of the United States obtained, by treaties, in the autumn of 1816, all the territory from the head waters of the Coosa westward to Cotton Gin Port, and to a line running from thence to the mouth of Caney Creek, on the Tennessee. After this, the Americans pressed forward, and, before the close of 1816, the population of the Mississippi Territory was more than seventy-five thousand, including slaves. Forty-six thousand of this population was distributed in the counties west of Pearl river, the remainder in the Tennessee valley, and upon the Tombigby and the Mobile.

On the 1st March, Congress declared that the Mississippi Territory should be divided, by a line commencing at
1817 the mouth of Bear Creek, on the Tennessee, thence to the northwest corner of Washington county, and thence south, with the western limit of that county, to the sea. A convention, also upon the authority of Congress, composed of forty-four delegates, assembled at the town of Washington, near Natchez, and adopted the constitution of the State of
Aug. 15 Mississippi. None of the counties now lying in Alabama were represented in this convention. On the 10th December, the acts of the convention were ratified by Congress, and Mississippi became a member of the Federal Union.

The territory east of the new State of Mississippi, Congress erected into a territorial government, giving it the name of Alabama, from the great river which drained its centre. Upon the first organization of this new government, seven counties only—Mobile, Baldwin, Washington, Clarke, Madison, Limestone and Lauderdale—were formed within our limits, and they enjoyed the legislative and judicial powers which they possessed before

the division, and the officers retained their places. The seat of government was temporarily fixed at St. Stephens.

William Wyatt Bibb was appointed Governor of the Alabama Territory. He was born in Amelia county, Virginia, October 2, 1781. His father, William Bibb, had held the commission of captain in the revolutionary war, and was afterwards a respectable member of the legislature of Virginia. His mother, whose maiden name was Wyatt, a native of New Kent county, of the same State, was a lady of superior intellect, and was favorably known to the early settlers of Alabama. The family removed to Georgia at an early period, and settled in Elbert county, upon the Savannah. Captain Bibb died in 1796, leaving to his wife the care and responsibility of eight children, all of whom she lived to see in affluent and respectable positions in life. William, the subject of this notice, graduated at the College of William and Mary, returned to Georgia and established himself as a physician in the town of Petersburg. Shortly afterwards, he was elected to the legislature, where, for several sessions, he evinced considerable talents and usefulness. When scarcely twenty-five years of age, he took a seat in Congress, at the commencement of the session of 1806, where he was an active and efficient member. From the Senate of the United States to which he afterwards succeeded, he was transferred by President Monroe to the government of Alabama.

The first Territorial Legislature convened at St. Stephens the 19th January, 1818. James Titus was the only member of the Executive Council or Senate. He sat alone, and decided upon the acts of the lower house, and adjourned and met again with a show of formality quite ludicrous. Gabriel Moore, of Madison county, was the speaker of the house, which was composed of about thirteen members. Governor Bibb, on the 20th, presented his message, in which he recommended the advancement of education, the establishment of roads, bridges and ferries, the alteration in the boundaries of counties, and the formation of new ones,

and many other things, calculated to promote the welfare of the Territory. He brought to the serious attention of the assembly the petition from the Mississippi convention, recently addressed to Congress, praying that body to enlarge the limits of

1818 Mississippi, by restricting those of the Alabama Terri-
Jan. tory to the Tombigby river. He opposed the project, and contended that the present line of partition had been deliberately fixed by the competent authorities and voluntarily accepted by the people of that State.

Thomas Easton was elected Territorial printer. George Philips, Joseph Howard, Mathew Wilson, Joseph P. Kennedy, John Gayle and Reuben Saffold were selected as nominees, from whose number the President of the United States should select three members for the next legislative council.

The counties of Cotaco, Lawrence, Franklin, Limestone, Lauderdale, Blount, Tuscaloosa, Marengo, Shelby, Cahawba, Dallas, Marion and Conecuh were established. In each, the superior courts of law and equity, and two county courts, and one intermediate court, were to be holden annually. They were allowed one representative each in the legislature.

The boundaries of Washington, Baldwin, Mobile and Marengo were altered and extended. Madison, the shape of which was formerly that of a triangle, was now made to assume its present form. The St. Stephens Academy was incorporated, and its trustees authorized to raise four thousand dollars by a lottery. "The St. Stephens Steamboat Company" was also incorporated. Hudson Powell, Robert Gaston, Joseph H. Howard, Howell Rose and George Dabney were appointed commissioners to select a temporary place at which to hold the courts of Montgomery county, then of vast extent.

The legislature repealed the laws upon usury, and allowed any interest agreed upon between the parties, and ex-

1818 pressed in writing, to be legal. The compensation of
Feb. the members was fixed by themselves, upon a more

liberal scale than at present. The speaker and president were allowed seven and the members five dollars per diem, besides mileage.

Clement C. Clay, Samuel Taylor, Samuel Dale, James Titus and William L. Adams were elected commissioners to report to the next session the most central and eligible site for the Territorial legislature.

Madison, Limestone, Lauderdale, Franklin, Lawrence and Catoco counties were erected into the "northern judicial district." Governor Bibb, on the 14th February, appointed Henry Minor attorney-general of this district.

Clarke, Washington, Monroe, Conecuh, Baldwin and Mobile counties composed the "southern judicial district," and Mathew D. Wilson was appointed the attorney-general thereof.

Marion, Blount, Shelby, Montgomery, Cahawba, Marengo, Dallas and Tuscaloosa counties, composed the "middle judicial district," and Joseph Noble was appointed its attorney-general.

Before the division of the Mississippi Territory, and while the legislature sat at Washington, in Adams county, a stock bank had been established at Huntsville. A resolution adopted at the session of St. Stephens changed its name to that of "Planters' and Merchants' Bank of Huntsville." The Tombigby stock bank was also now established, with a capital of five hundred thousand dollars. Such were the only important acts of the first session of the legislature of the Alabama Territory.*

But Indian disturbances, as we have said, had commenced. Although the British army had sailed for Europe, yet there were still subjects of that nation in the Floridas, who originated the "Seminole war"; among the most active of whom were Captain Woodbine, Colonel Nichol, Alexander Arbuthnot and Robert C. Ambrister. They had adopted the opinion of Lord Castlereagh, that the 9th article of the treaty of Ghent entitled the Creeks to a restoration of the lands which they had been compelled to relin-

* State Archives.

quish at Fort Jackson. Woodbine, entering upon the task of enforcing this ill-founded claim, had conducted to Florida a colony of negro slaves, which had been stolen by the British during the war from the Southern planters. He had ascended the Apalachicola, and had erected a strong fort, which was well supplied with artillery and stores. From this point he had presumptu-

1815 ously addressed Hawkins a letter, demanding the restora-

Apr. 28 tion of the ceded lands, and representing himself as commanding his majesty's forces in Florida. Hostilities had already commenced upon the frontiers, and even the Big Warrior had declared that he had been deceived as to the extent of the lands which had been forced from him. Colonel Clinch, of Georgia, with detachments under Major Muhlenburg and Captain Zachary Taylor, had invested and

1816 completely destroyed Woodbine's negro fort, killing

Aug. 26 many of the inmates and burning a vast amount of military property. Notwithstanding these difficulties, emigrants continued boldly to push through the Creek nation, and to occupy portions of the Alabama Territory. A small colony had established themselves in the present Butler county. Among them was Captain William Butler, a native of Virginia, who had been a member of the Georgia Legislature, and the commander of a company of volunteers at the battle of Calebee; Captain James Saffold, a lawyer, who had commanded a company of artillery, under Major McIntosh, while stationed at Fort Decatur, besides William P. Gardner, Daniel Shaw, James D. K. Garrett, Britain M. Pearman, and others, all of whom

1818 came recently from Georgia. Most of these worthy

March settlers pitched their camps upon the ridge near the residence of the late Chancellor Crenshaw. Two years previous to this, however, a few emigrants had settled on the Federal Road, near where Fort Dale was afterwards erected, in the present county of Butler, among whom were William Ogle, his wife and five children, with J. Dickerson. Another settle-

ment had been formed in the "Flat," on the western border of that county.

Sam McNac, who still lived near the Pinchoma, on the Federal Road, informed these emigrants that hostile Indians were prowling in that region, who meditated mischief. A temporary block-house was immediately erected at —— Gary's, and those in the "Flat" began the construction of a fort, afterwards called Fort Bibb, enclosing the house of Captain Saffold, who had removed from the ridge to that place. On the 6th March, William Ogle drove his ox-cart in the direction of Fort Claiborne for provisions, and he had not proceeded far before a Chief, named Uchee Tom, and seventeen warriors, seized the rope with which he was driving, and gave other evidences of violence, but finally suffered him to proceed. Feeling much solicitude on account of his family, and purchasing corn at Sepulga Creek, he returned home, where the Indians had been in the meantime, and had manifested a turbulent disposition. On the 13th of March Ogle attended a company muster, and from thence there went home with him in the evening an old acquaintance, named Eli Stroud, with his wife and child. Meeting in a savage land, under sad apprehensions, these friends, having put their children to sleep, sat by the fireside of the cabin and continued to converse in undertones, ever and anon casting their eyes through the cracks to discover if Indians were approaching. Presently, by the dim light of the moon, Ogle saw a band of Red Sticks, who stealthily but rapidly approached the house. Springing from his seat he seized his gun, ran to the door, and set on his fierce dogs; but he was soon shot dead, falling upon the threshold which he was attempting to defend. Stroud and his wife sprang over his body into the yard, leaving their infant sleeping upon the hearth and ran off, pursued by a part of the savages. Paralyzed with fear, Mrs. Ogle at first stood in the floor, but recovering herself, ran around the corner of the house, and, protected by a large dog, escaped to a reed brake hard by, where she concealed herself.

1818 March

Here she heard the screams of Mrs. Stroud, who appeared to be running towards her, but who was soon overtaken and tomahawked. The savages entered the house, dashed out the brains of the infant, which was sleeping upon the hearth, and butchered the other children, whose shrieks and dying groans the unhappy mother heard, from the place of her concealment. After robbing the house, the wretches decamped, being unable to find Stroud, who lay not far off, in the high grass. The next morning some of the emigrants assembled, to survey the horrid scene. During the night, Mrs. Stroud had scuffled to the cabin, and was found in the chimney corner, sitting beside the body of her child, bereft of her senses. Ogle and four children lay in the sleep of death. His two daughters, Elizabeth and Mary Ann, were still alive, and were taken, with Mrs. Stroud, to the houses of the kind settlers, and, in a short time were sent to Fort Claiborne, with an escort furnished by Colonel Dale. On the way, Mrs. Stroud died, and, not long after reaching Claiborne, Mary Ann also expired. Elizabeth, through the kind attentions of Dr. John Watkins, survived her wounds, and is yet a resident of Butler county.

1818 Mar. 20

One week after this massacre, Captain William Butler and James Saffold, in company with William P. Gardner, Daniel Shaw and young Hinson, set out from the fort, to meet Dale, who was then marching to that point with a party of volunteers, a portion of whom they desired to induce him to send to the Flat, to protect the citizens, while cultivating their fields. Advancing about two miles, Savannah Jack and his warriors—the same who had murdered the Ogles—fired upon them from a ravine. Gardner and Shaw, riddled with rifle balls, fell dead from their horses. Butler and Hinson, both being wounded, were thrown to the ground. The latter, regaining his seat in the saddle, fled back to the fort. Unable to reach his horse, Butler attempted, by running across the ravine, to gain the road in advance of the Indians; but he was pursued and shot at, from tree to tree, until he fell dead, but not before he had

killed one of his pursuers. Captain Saffold escaped to the fort, receiving no injury, except the perforation of his clothes by rifle balls. A detachment, sent by Dale the next day, buried the dead, whose heads were beaten to pieces, and their bodies horribly mutilated.* 1818 Mar. 21

Not long after this affair, an emigrant, named Stokes, with his wife and children, was killed, fifteen miles below Claiborne. Great alarm pervaded the whole country, and the people moved upon the hills and began the construction of defences.

In the meantime, Governor Bibb, who had made several trips from Coosawda to St. Stephens, and who was well apprised of these depredations, resorted to prompt measures to afford protection to the settlers. By his directions, Colonel Dale had marched to the scene of the late murders. Bibb sent a despatch to the Big Warrior demanding the withdrawal of all the Indians from the lands ceded at Fort Jackson, acquainting him with the murders committed upon unoffending white people, and requesting that the authors be pursued and punished by such warriors as he might think proper to send out.

Dale advanced to Poplar Spring, erected a fort, which assumed his name, and assisted the people to finish Fort Bibb. Both of these forts were now garrisoned. Major Youngs, of the eighth infantry, stationed at Fort Crawford, despatched a detachment of whites and Choctaws, with orders to scour the Conecuh, and afterwards to join Dale. The latter also scoured the surrounding country, but overtook none of the Indians. Governor Bibb successfuly co-operated with the United States officers stationed at Montgomery Hill and Fort Crawford for the protection of the citizens, and he visited in person all the newly erected stockades. On the 25th May he returned to Coosawda, and the next day rode up to Tookabatcha and had a friendly interview with the Big Warrior. Leaving the Secretary of State, Henry Hitchcock, a young New Eng- 1818 May

* In relation to the murders in Butler county, I must return my thanks to John K.

lander, of great ability, in charge of the government, his excellency returned to Georgia upon urgent business.

The Red Sticks, in the meanwhile, had collected in a considerable band, and the country over which Dale had the command becoming too hot to hold them, they crossed the Alabama and marched through Marengo and Greene. In McGowan's settlement three children, named Hall, and a negro woman, were murdered on Sept. 14. Suspicion falling upon Savannah Jack and his party they were pursued and trailed to Gun Island, or Gun 1818 Shute, on the Warrior, by Colonel Thomas Hunter, at Sept. 15 the head of some settlers. Night coming on, the pursuit ceased. The next day a party under Major Taylor, and another under Captain Bacon, crossed the Warrior to the western side, and, in a dense swamp, came upon the savages. An action of an hour ensued. The officers, acting with bravery and prudence, were sustained by only a few of their men. A retreat was at length made, with the loss of two men killed and one severely wounded. The next day Colonel Hunter, with fifty men, followed upon the trail of the enemy, and came upon a small party, one of whom was killed. The next morning he continued the pursuit for twenty miles, to the Sipsey Swamp, where, from the impracticability of entering it, the enemy was left to repose.*

This expedition was followed up by several others upon Oct. the Warrior; but the Creeks had at length determined to leave the Americans in quiet possession of the lands, which were surrendered with such reluctance at the treaty of Fort Jackson. The flood-gates of Virginia, the two Carolinas, Tennessee, Kentucky and Georgia were now hoisted, and mighty streams of emigration poured through them, spreading over the whole territory of Alabama. The axe resounded from side to side, and from corner to corner. The stately and magnificent forests fell. Log cabins sprang, as if by magic, into sight. Never before or since, has a country been so rapidly peopled.

Henry, Esq., of Greenville, who took the pains to procure correct statements of them from J. Dickerson and James D. K. Garrett. The late Reuben Hill, of Wetumpka, also furnished notes upon this subject.

* Report of Colonel Hunter to Governor Bibb, to be found among the State Archives.

CHAPTER XLV.

Modern French Colony in Alabama, or the Vine and Olive Company.

A colony of French sought Alabama as an asylum from Bourbon persecution. The winter of 1816 and 1817 found many of these distinguished refugees in Philadelphia. An ordinance of Louis XVIII had forced them from France on account of their attachment to Napoleon, who was then an exile upon St. Helena.

The refugees despatched Nicholas S. Parmentier to the Federal city to obtain from Congress a tract of land in the wild domain of the West, upon which they had resolved to establish a colony. On the 4th March, 1817, Congress authorized the sale of four townships to them, at two dollars per acre on a credit of fourteen years, upon condition that they cultivated the vine and olive. In the meantime, the refugees had entered into a correspondence with intelligent persons of the West, in regard to the soil and climate of different regions. Dr. Brown, of Kentucky, who had traveled in France, and had become much interested in these unhappy people, advised them to settle near the confluence of the Warrior and Tombigby, which they determined to do. Organizing in Philadelphia, the company was found to consist of three hundred and forty allottees, and the land was divided among them; some acquiring a full share of four hundred and eighty acres, and others half and quarter shares, and some not more than eighty acres. To each man was also assigned a lot in the town which they were to establish, and also one in the suburbs. Associated with them as assistants 1818
were Prosper Baltard, A. Mocquart and J. le Francois. April

George N. Stewart, then a youth of eighteen, and now a distinguished lawyer of Mobile, was their secretary.

The schooner McDonough was chartered, and the commissioners, with many French emigrants, set sail from Philadelphia. Late one evening, in the month of May, this vessel, bearing these romantic voyagers, was seen approaching Mobile Point, in the midst of a heavy gale. Governed by an obsolete chart, the captain was fast guiding her into danger. Lieutenant Beal, commanding at Fort Bowyer, perceiving her perilous situation, fired an alarm gun. Night coming on, and overshadowing both sea and land with darkness, he caused lights to be raised along the shore as guides to the distressed vessel. The wind continuing to increase, she was thrown among the breakers and immediately struck. Signals of distress being made, the noble lieutenant threw himself into a boat, with five resolute men, and with Captain Bourke, formerly an officer. Mounting wave after wave, they reached the wreck about one o'clock in the morning. The wind had somewhat abated, and Beal crowded the women and children into his boat and conducted them safely to shore. The larger number of the colonists remained on board the schooner, which was ultimately saved by being washed into deeper water. Bestowing upon the refugees every attention while they remained at the Point, Beal accompanied them to Mobile and partook of a public dinner, which they gave him in token of their gratitude.

The commissioners remained a few days at Mobile, which was then a small place, with but one wharf, and proceeded up the river in a large barge, furnished by Addin Lewis, the collector of the port. Stopping at Fort Stoddard, they were received with hospitality by Judge Toulmin, to whom they bore letters. They next visited General Gaines, then in command of a large force at Fort Montgomery, and the barge then cut across to the Tombigby and landed at St. Stephens—a place of some 1818
size, with refined and lively inhabitants. Discharging June
the government boat and procuring another barge, the

refugees once more began their voyage up the winding and rapid current. Camping upon the banks occasionally, and exploring the country around, they at length established themselves temporarily at the White Bluff. A portion of them proceeded to old Fort "Tombecbe," and near there visited Mr. George S. Gaines, who was still United States Choctaw factor, whose table fed the hungry, and whose roof sheltered the distressed. He advised them to make their location in the neighborhood of the White Bluff. John A. Peniers and Basil Meslier, whom the association had despatched to explore the Red river country now arrived. Receiving favorable reports of the country in the Alabama Territory, the association at Philadelphia took measures to colonize it. The west side of the Tombigby belonged to the Choctaws, and the east had recently been in possession of the Creeks. The region where the French emigrants had resolved to establish themselves was an immense forest of trees and canes, interspersed with prairie; and near the present town of Greensboro was Russell's settlement of Tennesseans, and some distance below the White Bluff were a few inhabitants. However, the French continued to arrive in boats by way of Mobile, and cabins were erected about the White Bluff in a rude and scattering manner. Having been accustomed to Parisian life, these people were very indifferent pioneers. Unprovided with wagons and teams, and unacquainted with the shifts to which pioneer people are often compelled to resort, they made but slow progress in subduing the wilds. Provisions of all kinds were remarkably high. They, however, slowly struggled against these difficulties, and endeavored to raise provisions upon small patches, without knowing upon what tract in the grant they were to live in future.

July

The meridian line was established, and the grant divided into townships and sections. A town was formed at the White Bluff, which, according to the request of Count Real, of Philadel-

phia, was call Demopolis—*the city of the people.** To secure the river front, two fractional townships were chosen by the commissioners, instead of two entire townships. Emigrants continuing to arrive, great confusion and controversy arose in the selection of lots and tracts of land, while the association at Philadelphia, unacquainted with the localities, were unwisely and arbitrarily planning their own forms of location. By a new contract, made between Mr. Crawford, Secretary of the
1819 Treasury, and Charles Villar, agent of the association,
Dec. the lands were sold and the tracts of each person designated. The allotments made at Philadelphia, and ratified by Mr. Crawford, being different from those already made by the settlers, forced the latter to abandon many of their hard-earned improvements, and to retire further into the forest. This wretched state of things caused General Lefebvre Desnoettes, who had opened a farm on his Tombigby allotment, to proceed to Philadelphia to adjust these conflicting interests. He succeeded only in securing his own improvements, while the claims of the others were disregarded, and the contract made at Washington was ordered to be enforced. The settlers were then forced to retire upon the lands assigned them in township eighteen, range three east, and township eighteen, nineteen and twenty, in range four east.

Among the French emigrants were many distinguished characters. Count Lefebvre Desnoettes had been a cavalry officer, under Bonaparte, with the rank of lieutenant-general. Accompanying Napoleon in his march to Russia, he rode with him in his carriage in his disastrous retreat over the snows of that country. He had served in Spain in many bloody engagements, and was an active participator in the dreadful battle of Saragossa. Vivacious and active, handsome in person and graceful in carriage, he was the most splendid rider of the age in

* Afterwards it proved that Demopolis was not embraced in the townships of the French grant. An American company purchased it of the United States, at fifty-two dollars per acre.

which he lived. His imperial master was so much attached to him, that when forced to abdicate the throne, and about to depart for Elba, and while addressing his weeping and sorrowing officers at Fontainbleau, said: "I cannot take leave of you all, but will embrace General Desnoettes in behalf of you all." He then pressed him to his bosom in the most affectionate manner. Napoleon frequently made him valuable presents, and influenced his cousin, the sister of the celebrated banker, La Fitte, to espouse him. While he was at Demopolis, that lady made an attempt to join him in exile, but being shipwrecked on the coast of England, was forced to return to France. At length, she negotiated with the French government for his return, and, through the influence of her family, succeeded in obtaining permission for him to reside in Belgium. This induced Count Desnoettes, in 1823, to leave Alabama in the ship Albion, which was wrecked upon the coast of Ireland, at Old Kinsale, in view of an immense number of people, who were standing on the cliffs. The distinguished refugee was washed overboard, and the ocean became his grave. While in Marengo county, he often received large sums of money from France, and was the wealthiest of the emigrants. Near his main dwelling he had a log cabin, which he called his sanctuary, in the centre of which stood a bronze statue of Napoleon. Around its feet were swords and pistols, which Desnoettes had taken in battle, together with beautiful flags, tastefully hung around the walls.

M. Peniers, another distinguished emigrant, was a republican member of the National Assembly, and voted for the death of the amiable Louis XVI. He remained about Demopolis, engaged in agriculture, but procuring an appointment of Sub-Agent for the Seminoles, died in Florida, in 1823. Distinguished in France, and honored with many civil appointments, he was at last expatriated for his adherence to the fortunes of Napoleon.

Colonel Nicholas Rooul, a remarkable personage, had been a

colonel under Bonaparte, and had accompanied him in his banishment to Elba. When his imperial master left that island, Rooul commanded his advanced guard of two hundred grenadiers upon the march from Caenes to Paris. When this small band was preparing to fire upon the king's troops, under Marshal Ney, who had come to capture the emperor, Bonaparte advanced to the front of the lines, and gave the command to "order arms." Baring his breast to Ney's division, he exclaimed, "If I have ever injured a French soldier, fire upon me." The troops of Ney shouted "Vive la Empereur!" and Bonaparte marched at their head, through the gates of Paris. Colonel Rooul lived several years upon his grant, and, becoming much reduced in circumstances, was forced to keep a ferry at French Creek, three miles from Demopolis—being accustomed to ferry over passengers himself. Often would the American traveler gaze upon his foreign countenance, martial air and splendid form, and wonder what order of man it was who conducted him over the swollen stream. At this time Rooul, being in the prime of life, was a large, fine-looking man. He was firm and irascible in his disposition, and was a dangerous competitor in any controversy in which he might engage. His wife was a handsome woman, of the Italian style of beauty. She was a native of Naples, and had been Marchioness of Sinabaldi, and maid of honor to Queen Caroline, when Murat was king of that country. She brought with her to Alabama two children by a former husband. In 1824, she left her lonely cabin upon French Creek and followed Colonel Rooul to Mexico, where he engaged in the revolution, and fought with his accustomed fierceness and impetuosity. At length, once more reaching his beloved France, he there for a long time held an honorable commission in the French army.

J. J. Cluis, one of the refugees, cultivated a farm near Greensboro. He had been an aide to Marshal Lefebvre, the Duke of Rivigo, who was afterwards at the head of the police department of Paris. Colonel Cluis was then his secretary. At

another time Cluis had the custody of Ferdinand VII., King of Span, while he was imprisoned by Napoleon near the Spanish frontiers. Like all the other refugees, he found planting the vine and olive a poor business in Alabama, and, having become much reduced in fortune, kept a tavern in Greensboro. He died in Mobile not many years since.

Simon Chaudron, one of the Tombigby settlers, formerly a resident of Philadelphia, where his house was a centre of elegance and wit, was distinguished for his literary attainments. He had been the editor of the "Abeille Americaine," and was a poet of considerable reputation. He delivered a eulogy upon the life and character of Washington before the Grand Lodge of Philadelphia, which was pronounced a splendid effort, both in Europe and in America. He died in Mobile in 1846 at a very advanced age, leaving behind him interesting works, which were published in France.

General Count Bertand Clausel had been an officer of merit throughout Bonaparte's campaigns. During the Hundred Days he commanded at Bordeaux, and making the Duchess of Angouleme prisoner, released her, for some unknown cause. The general did not occupy his grant, but became a citizen of Mobile in 1821, living on the bay, furnishing the market with vegetables, and driving the cart himself. Returning to France in 1825, he was subsequently made, by Louis Philippe, governor and marshal of Algeria.

Henry L'Allemand, who had been a lieutenant-general, commanding the artillery of the imperial guard, was an officer of great merit and a man of high character. He married the niece of Stephen Gerard. General Charles L'Allemand, his brother, had also been an officer of distinction in France. Filled with daring and ambitious projects, he employed the following language in writing to his brother: "I have more ambition than can be gratified by the colony upon the Tombigby." This was literally true, for he soon made a hazardous expedition to Texas,

collecting followers at Philadelphia and in Alabama. Arriving at Galveston Island, which was shortly afterwards submerged, his people suffered greatly for provisions, and were generously relieved by the pirate, La Fitte. Annoyed by the Indians, and prostrated by disease, in a short time most of the colonists perished, and the establishment failed.

The celebrated Marshal Grouchy was one of the Philadelphia associates. He was a man of middle stature, and had very little, apparently, of the military about him. Not being popular with the refugees, in consequence of his conduct at Waterloo, to which they imputed the loss of that day, he became involved in controversies with them in the American gazettes. He never came to Alabama, but one of his sons, who had been a captain in the French army, settled his grant near Demopolis. The marshal afterwards returned to France and enjoyed honors under the Bourbons.

M. Lackanal, a savant, and member of the academy at the head of the department of public education under the emperor, settled on the bay, near Mobile, in 1819. He was one of those members of the National Assembly of France who voted for the death of Louis XVI. After a long residence in Mobile, he went to France and there died in 1843.

Among all the refugees who sought homes in Alabama, none had passed through more stirring and brilliant scenes than General Juan Rico, a native of Valencia, in Spain, who had been proscribed in that country, upon the return of Ferdinand VII, because he was a republican, and a supporter of the constitution of 1812. An eloquent member of the Cortes and a distinguished officer of the Spanish army, he resisted to the last the invasion of Napoleon. One day, an interesting scene occurred between General Rico and the elegant Desnoettes. Both being invited to dine at Demopolis, the conversation turned upon the campaigns in Spain, when allusion was made to the obstinate and sanguinary siege of Saragossa, where one of them had commanded the troops

of France and the other those of Spain. They were now assembled at a hospitable table in an humble cottage in the wilds of Alabama. They had met before, amid the din of arms, arraying their troops against each other, and pouring out rivers of blood, at the head of the best trained troops of Europe, who had figured in the most eventful times of France and Spain. Each had been expelled from his native country, and each had been blasted in his ambitious hopes. Nevertheless, good humor prevailed in the cabin, and the sorrows of all were drowned in wine, amid merry peals of laughter. In 1825, General Rico was re-called to Spain, and, arriving there, again became a member of the Cortes, under his favorite constitution. He met with singular reverses of fortune, was expelled from Spain the second time, became an inhabitant of England, and was again re-called to assist in the government of his country. When he lived in Alabama, he was fifty years of age, and was of a dark complexion. He possessed great energy and decision of character, and was a most excellent farmer. If our limits would permit it, many other interesting persons among the French emigrants might be described.

The principal portion of the French grant lay in Marengo county. This name was proposed by Judge Lipscomb, while a member of the legislature at St. Stephens, in honor of the great battle fought during the French republic. It also extended into the county of Greene, embracing some of the best lands in the vicinity of Greensboro. It has been seen that much difficulty arose among the French about their respective locations, and that three times they lost their improvements. Forced to abandon their settlements in Demopolis, they laid off the town of Agleville, and erected cabins, but the drawing at Philadelphia not embracing this place, they were once more forced to go deeper in the forest. The want of wagons and teams, and the great scarcity of water in the cane brake, induced them to dwell on small allotments, while their more valuable tracts were unoccupied. Owning no slaves, a number of German redemptioners were imported,

through the enterprise of Desnoettes, but these people proved a burden and expense, and also disregarded their obligations. The French were less calculated, than any other people upon earth, to bring a forest into cultivation. The provisions which they raised were made at the expense of extravagant hire, and Desnoettes expended over twenty-five thousand dollars in opening and cultivating his farm. In this manner the whole colony, after a few years, became poor, and many were forced to sell their claims to Americans, who soon opened large plantations, and made the earth smile with abundant products. However, a majority of the French still held on to their grants, and, in good faith to the government, entered upon the cultivation of the grape and olive. Importations of plants were often made from Bordeaux, but the newness of the land and the ignorance of the colony in regard to their cultivation, were among the reasons why the experiment failed. The importations frequently arrived out of season, when the vines withered away and the olive seeds became defective. At length, with difficulty, grapes were grown, but they failed to produce even a tolerable wine, because the fruit ripened in the heat of summer. Before the vinous fermentation was completed the acetic had commenced. In 1821 the French planted three hundred and eighty-three olive trees upon the grant, and a large number in 1824. Every winter the frosts killed them down to the ground, but new shoots putting up were again killed by the succeeding winter. The usual mode of planting the grape was at the distance of ten feet in one direction, and twenty in the other. They were trained to stakes and cultivated with cotton.

In addition to the ruinous failure of the vine and olive, the French were continually annoyed by unprincipled American *squatters*. Occupying their lands, without a shadow of title, they insultingly told the French that they intended to maintain their footing at all hazards. Several law suits arose, and although our Supreme Court decided in favor of the grantees, yet the latter

became worn out with controversies, and allowed the intruders in many cases to retain possession for a small remuneration. On the other hand, many honorable Americans purchased their grants for fair considerations, and thus the French refugees were gradually rooted from the soil.

But, in the midst of all their trials and vicissitudes, the French refugees were happy. Immured in the depths of the Tombigby forest, where for several years want pressed them on all sides—cut off from their friends in France—surrounded by the Choctaws on one side, and the unprincipled squatters and land-thieves on the other—assailed by the venom of insects and prostrating fevers—nevertheless, their native gaiety prevailed. Being in the habit of much social intercourse, their evenings were spent in conversation, music and dancing. The larger portion were well educated, while all had seen much of the world, and such materials were ample to afford an elevated society. Sometimes their distant friends sent them rich wines and other luxuries, and upon such occasions parties were given and the foreign delicacies brought back many interesting associations. Well cultivated gardens, and the abundance of wild game, rendered the common living of the French quite respectable. The female circle was highly interesting. They had brought with them their books, guitars, silks, parasols and ribbons, and the village, in which most of them dwelt, resembled, at night, a miniature French town. And then, farther in the forest, others lived, the imprints of whose beautiful Parisian shoes on the wild prairie, occasionally arrested the glance of a solitary traveler. And then, again, when the old imperial heroes talked of their emperor, their hearts warmed with sympathy, their eyes kindled with enthusiasm, and tears stole down their furrowed cheeks.*

* Conversations with George N. Stewart, Esq., of Mobile, who was the secretary of the French Vine Company; also conversations with Mr. Amand Pfister, of Montgomery, whose father was one of the French grantees.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Last Territorial Legislature—State Convention.

The second session of the Legislature of the Territory of Alabama convened at St. Stephens, in the fall of 1818. John W. Walker was Speaker of the House, and James Titus President of the Legislative Council. Among other acts, two new counties were formed—St. Clair, with the courts to be held at the house of Alexander Brown, and Autauga, with the courts to be held at Jackson's Mills, on Autauga Creek. The territory of the latter county was formerly attached to that of Montgomery. These new counties were added to the Middle Judicial District.

1818 Fall

The Bank of Mobile, with a charter extending to 1st January, 1839, and with a capital stock of five hundred thousand dollars, was established. The banks at St. Stephens and Huntsville were empowered to increase their capital stock, by selling shares at auction. The profits, to the extent of ten per cent., were to be divided among the stockholders, and, if there proved to be an excess, it was to be applied to the support of Green Academy, in Madison county, and the academy at St. Stephens.

Governor Bibb was constituted sole commissioner to lay off the seat of government at the confluence of the Cahawba and Alabama. He was required to have the town surveyed, expose maps of the same at public places, and give ninety days' notice of sale, out of the proceeds of which he was to contract for the building of a temporary capitol. About the last of November the legislature adjourned, having determined to hold the next session at Huntsville.*

* State Archives.

The Territory of Alabama increased in population to such an extent that Congress authorized the people to form a State constitution. 1819 Mar. 2

The following persons were elected members of the convention:

From the County of Madison—Clement C. Clay, John Leigh Townes, Henry Chambers, Samuel Mead, Henry Minor, Gabriel Moore, John W. Walker and John M. Taylor.

Monroe—John Murphy, John Watkins, James Pickens and Thomas Wiggins.

Blount—Isaac Brown, John Brown and Gabriel Hanby.

Limestone—Thomas Bibb, Beverly Hughes and Nicholas Davis.

Shelby—George Philips and Thomas A. Rodgers.

Montgomery—John D. Bibb and James W. Armstrong.

Washington—Israel Pickens and Henry Hitchcock.

Tuscaloosa—Marmaduke Williams and John L. Tindal.

Lawrence—Arthur F. Hopkins and Daniel Wright.

Franklin—Richard Ellis and William Metcalf.

Cotaco—Melkijah Vaughan and Thomas D. Crabb.

Clarke—Reuben Saffold and James McGoffin.

Cahawba—Littlepage Sims.

Conecuh—Samuel Cook.

Dallas—William R. King.

Marengo—Washington Thompson.

Marion—John D. Terrell.

Lauderdale—Hugh McVay.

St. Clair—David Conner.

Autauga—James Jackson.

Baldwin—Harry Toulmin.

Mobile—S. H. Garrow.

These members convened at Huntsville on the 5th July, 1819. John W. Walker was chosen to preside over the convention, and John Campbell was elected its secretary.

Being about to introduce biographical notices of some of these members,* we begin with the following well-written sketch, prepared by a college companion and intimate friend of the distinguished person of whom he writes.†

"John W. Walker was born in Virginia, and, while yet a child, accompanied his father, the Reverend Jeremiah Walker, who emigrated to Elbert county, Georgia. His preceptor in the rudiments of education was the Reverend Moses Waddel, long accustomed, with an honest pride, to enumerate among his pupils many of the most celebrated jurists and statesmen of the South. He graduated with distinguished honor at Princeton, preserving during his collegiate course an untarnished moral character, and acquiring, along with the reputation of an excellent scholar, a high relish for polite literature, which he ever afterwards retained. On leaving college he applied himself to the study of the law, and although more than once interrupted by illness, his quick and keen perception of the right and just, and the extent and variety of his previous attainments, speedily insured him clear and comprehensive views of a science not always enjoyed by more laborious, but less sagacious, students. Seeking the temple as a worshipper in spirit and in truth, who regarded jurisprudence not as a craft or mystery, but the noblest of sciences, he thus insured his future superiority over practitioners who treat their profession as an art and its principles as a mere collection of rules and codes.

"In 1810 Mr. Walker, then a resident of Petersburg, Georgia, married Matilda, the daughter of LeRoy Pope, Esq., of the same village, and removed with his father-in-law and several of his neighbors to Alabama, then a territory, where they became the first settlers of Madison county, and founded the now flour-

* I regret to have occasion to observe that my application to the friends of *many* of the members of this convention, for information in relation to their birth, early life and political career, has *not been responded to*, and hence I have been unable to embody in this work any notice of them.

† From the pen of Richard Henry Wilde, formerly of Georgia, but afterwards of New Orleans, and now deceased.

ishing town of Huntsville. Here he began the practice of his profession, soon rose to eminence, and was repeatedly chosen a member of the Territorial legislature. In 1819 he declined the office of district judge, tendered him by President Monroe, and in the same year was chosen to preside over the convention which formed the constitution of the State, an instrument indebted to him for many of its best provisions.

"Immediately after its adoption and the admission of Alabama into the Union, he was elected a United States Senator, an office which he held until 1823, when ill-health compelled him to retire; and on the 23d of April of that year he passed away from life, leaving behind him the memory of no fault and the enmity of no human being.

"In person Mr. Walker was tall, his figure slender but well formed, and his manners and address mild, graceful and prepossessing. He had blue eyes, brown hair, a fine complexion, handsome features, and a countenance whose expression, habitually pensive, kindled into animation with every lofty thought and generous feeling. Even to a stranger his appearance was highly engaging and attractive, while those who enjoyed his familiar conversation were charmed with the sweet, low tones of his colloquial eloquence, the intellectual music of a pure heart, a sound mind, a rich memory and brilliant imagination. Surrounded by friends who loved and honored, or in the bosom of a family who idolized him, how often hours vanished unconsciously in conversation, grave and gay, in the inexhaustible topics of art, science, literature, government and morals, to all of which his perfect urbanity, extensive reading, the refinement of his taste, and the delicacy of his feelings, gave interest and novelty. His letters, many of which have been preserved by the writer with reverential care, are models of the familiar epistolary style, correct and sparkling, yet free, cordial and unstudied—true to the feeling of the moment, and passing from the whimsical and excursive playfulness of

Sterne to the pathos of McKenzie, with all the graceful negligence of Byron, or slip-shod gossip of Walpole.

"Before the higher aims or heavier burdens of life came upon him, he was, like most other men of genius, a rhymer, and the few specimens of his verse, which had currency in the circles of his love and friendship, were prized, not unreasonably, as jewels by their possessors.

"Mr. Walker's literary attainments, far from impairing, increased his efficiency as a jurist and orator. Many, it is true, believe that belles-lettres scholarship is usually an impedient to forensic eloquence; but the examples of Mansfield and Blackstone, Story and Legare, stamp this as a vulgar error. The prejudices of ignorance and envy may, indeed, retard the success of the more thorough-bred and highly educated; but, in this case, as in every other, where industry and good sense are not wanting, all learning is useful, as well as ornamental, and ultimately tends to form the character of a perfect advocate. As might naturally be expected, therefore, Mr. Walker's contemporaries at the bar speak of his professional skill and knowledge with the highest praise, and assigned to him the palm for persuasive eloquence, readiness of resource and gentlemanly bearing.

"In the Senate, he was mainly instrumental in producing the passage of the first law for the relief of purchasers of the public lands, emphatically a bill of peace, which, while it saved the new State of Alabama from bankruptcy, preserved their affections to the Union, and led to the abolition of the credit system, thus preventing future evils.

"To this new theatre of usefulness and honor, Mr. Walker brought all the modest worth and unalloyed patriotism of Lowndes, with much of the easy and graceful manner of Forsyth, and, to his career as a statesman, only a longer life was wanting. But time, as it has been beautifully observed, is the indispensable ally of genius in its struggle for immortality, and, though death may have shut the gate on other aspirants as highly gifted,

it has never closed on one more fondly loved or more deeply mourned."

Arthur Frances Hopkins was born near Danville, in the State of Virginia. He was a descendent of Arthur Hopkins, an Englishman, and a physician of very high standing, who settled in the early part of the eighteenth century in the colony of Virginia. His grandmother was a Miss Jefferson, a relative of the President of that name. His father, James Hopkins, was in the severe battle of Guilford Court House, a volunteer soldier of the United States at the age of fifteen, and died at his residence in Pittsylvania county, Virginia, in 1844.

In the pursuit of an education, Arthur Frances Hopkins studied in an academy at New London, in Virginia, in another at Caswell Court House, North Carolina, and at the University at Chapel Hill. He received his law education in the office of the Honorable William Leigh, of Halifax county, Virginia, who was a distinguished jurist, and the brother of the celebrated Benjamin Watkins Leigh. In December, 1816, Mr. Hopkins, at the age of twenty-two, settled in the town of Huntsville, Alabama. Owning a plantation near Huntsville, and the price of cotton then being very high, and the practive of law in the valley of the Tennessee river worth but little, he relinquished his business at the bar in the spring of 1818. In January, 1819, he moved to the county of Lawrence, was elected a member of the convention in May of that year, and took his seat in that body, as we have seen. The people of Lawrence elected him to the State Senate in August, 1822. He immediately ranked with the most talented and influential men, and endeavored, with all his ability and ingenuity, to dissuade the Legislature from enacting a measure which, it is believed by many, has inflicted much evil. We allude to the establishment of the State Bank. His speeches upon that occasion were powerful efforts against the system of connecting bank and State, and the evils which he predicted have been, as many believe, most sensibly realized. His

views were overruled by the Legislature, only thirteen of the entire body, among whom were the Honorable Joshua L. Martin, afterwards Governor of Alabama, James Jackson, of Lauderdale, and Nicholas Davis, of Limestone, concurring with him. The opposition of Mr. Hopkins to the State Bank, which was called the People's Bank, diminished materially his popularity, which was shortly afterwards impaired still more by his opposition to the election of General Jackson to the office of President of the United States. He preferred Henry Clay to all other men, and supported him whenever he was a candidate for the Presidency. He voted for Judge White in 1836, and for General Harrison in 1840, again for Henry Clay, and lastly for General Taylor; but, as he emphatically said to us one day, "never for General Jackson."

In March, 1825, Mr. Hopkins returned to Huntsville, and applied himself successfully to the profession of the law, without any interruption, until the summer of 1833, when he was returned a member of the Legislature from Madison county. The most exciting measure before the Legislature was the "Creek Controversy," then waging between the national administration and Governor John Gayle. Although personally friendly to the Governor and opposed to General Jackson, the conviction of his judgment led Mr. Hopkins to take the side of the administration, and in support of his views he delivered in the house a speech of power and research, which was published and widely distributed, giving him great reputation as a constitutional lawyer and statesman. Since the close of the session of 1833 and 1834, he has not been a representative of the people of this State. In January, 1836, he was elected by the Legislature one of the Judges of the Supreme Court without opposition, and at the solicitation of both political parties; and in 1837 he was appointed by his associates on the bench Chief Justice of Alabama. In December, 1836, the whig members of the Legislature did him the honor to vote for him, as a Senator in Congress, against

the Honorable John McKinley. They conferred upon him the same unsolicited honor in January, 1844, when Mr. Lewis was elected a Senator of the United States. In June, 1837, Judge Hopkins resigned his seat upon the bench, returned to Huntsville, engaged in the practice of the law, and was soon tendered by Mr. Van Buren the office of commissioner, with others, under a late treaty with the Cherokees, which he declined. During the Presidential canvass of 1840, Judge Hopkins was one of the whig electors, and addressed many public meetings in North Alabama. At the Baltimare whig convention in May, 1844, he presided as chairman, until the convention was fully organized, and during that summer, he often addressed the people of Alabama, to induce them to vote for Mr. Clay, for the Presidency. Judge Hopkins appears to have always been a great favorite with the whig party, for they ran him upon a two day's ballot, when William R. King and Dixon H. Lewis were candidates for the United States Senate, during the first session of the legislature held at Montgomery, and again, in the winter of 1849 and 1850, he was balloted for against Colonel King, to fill the vacancy which occurred in the Senate, and, when the latter succeeded over him, the whig party immediately ran him for the other vacancy in the Senate, against our excellent and much-admired friend, Governor Fitzpatrick. But the whigs, being in a minority, have never been able to place him in the United States Senate.

Judge Hopkins lives in Mobile, where he is regarded as a lawyer of ability, and as a gentleman of honor, benevolence and refinement. In person, he is compactly made, and rather large. He has an agreeable countenance, and is pleasant and affable in his manners.

William Rufus King is a native of North Carolina. He was born on the 7th April, 1786. His father, William King, was a planter, in independent circumstances, whose ancestors came from the north of Ireland, and were among the early settlers on James river, in the colony of Virginia. He was highly esteemed

for his many virtues, and was elected a member of the State convention which adopted the Federal constitution. The mother of Mr. King was descended from a Huguenot family, which had been driven from France by the revocation of the edict of Nantz.

William Rufus King received his education at the University of North Carolina, to which he was sent at the early age of twelve years. On leaving that institution, where his attention to his studies, and uniformly correct and gentlemanly deportment, had commanded the respect and regard of his fellows, and the approbation of the professors, he entered the law office of William Duffy, a distinguished lawyer, residing in the town of Fayetteville, North Carolina, and in the autumn of 1805, obtained a license to practice in the superior courts of the State. In 1806, he was elected a member of the legislature of the State, from the county of Sampson, in which he was born. He was again elected, the year following, but on the meeting of the legislature, he was chosen solicitor by that body, and resigned his seat. Colonel King continued in the practice of his profession until he was elected a member of Congress from the Wilmington district, which took place in August, 1810, when he was but little more than twenty-four years of age; but, as his predecessor's term did not expire before the 4th March, 1811, Colonel King did not take his seat in the Congress of the United States until the autumn of that year, being the first session of the twelfth Congress. This was a most important period in the history of the country. The governments of England and France had for years rivalled each other in acts destructive of the neutral rights and ruinous to the commerce of the United States. Every effort had been made, but in vain, to procure an abandonment of orders in councils on the one hand and decrees on the other, which had nearly cut up the commerce of the country by the roots, and a large majority of the people felt that to submit longer to such gross violations of their rights as a neutral nation would be degrading, and they

called upon their government to protect those rights, even at the hazard of a war. In this state of things, Colonel King took his seat in the House of Representatives, and unhesitatingly ranged himself on the side of the bold and patriotic spirits in that body, who had determined to repel aggression, come from what quarter it might, and to maintain the rights and the honor of the country. The withdrawal of the Berlin and Milan decrees by France, while England refused to abandon her orders in council, put an end to all hesitation as to which of those powers should be met in deadly strife. In June, 1812, war was declared against England, Mr. King advocating and voting for the declaration. He continued to represent his district in Congress during the continuance of the war, sustaining, with all his power, every measure deemed necessary to enable the government to prosecute it to a successful termination; and not until the rights of the country were vindicated and secured, and peace restored to the land, did he feel at liberty to relinquish the highly responsible position in which his confiding constituents had placed him. In the spring of 1816 Colonel King resigned his seat in the House of Representatives, and accompanied William Pinckney, of Maryland, as Secretary of Legation, first to Naples and then to St. Petersburg, to which Courts Mr. Pinckney had been appointed Minister Plenipotentiary. Colonel King remained abroad not quite two years, having, in that time, visited the greater portion of Europe, making himself acquainted with the institutions of the various governments and the condition of their people. On his return to the United States, he determined to move to the Territory of Alabama, which determination he carried into effect in the winter of 1818-19, and fixed his residence in the county of Dallas, where he still resides. A few months after Colonel King arrived in the Territory, Congress having authorized the people to form a constitution and establish a State government, he was elected a member of the convention. Colonel King was an active, talented and influential member of that body, was placed on the commit-

tee appointed to draft a constitution, and was also selected by the general committee, together with Judge Taylor, now of the State of Mississippi, and Judge Henry Hitchcock, now no more, to reduce it to form, in accordance with the principles and provisions previously agreed on. This duty they performed in a manner satisfactory to the committee. The constitution thus prepared was submitted to the convention and adopted, with but slight alterations.

On the adjournment of the convention Colonel King returned to his former residence in North Carolina, where most of his property still was, and, having made his arrangements for its removal, set out on his return to Alabama. On reaching Milledgeville, in the State of Georgia, he received a letter from Governor Bibb, of Alabama, informing him that he had been elected a Senator in the Congress of the United States, and that the certificate of his election had been transmitted to the city of Washington. This was the first intimation that Colonel King had that his name even had been presented to the Legislature for that high position, and, injuriously as it would affect his private interests in the then condition of his affairs, he did not hesitate to accept the honor so unexpectedly conferred upon him; and, leaving his people to pursue their way to Alabama, he retraced his steps, and reached the city of Washington a few days before the meeting of Congress. His colleague, the Honorable John W. Walker, had arrived before him.

Alabama was admitted as a State, and her Senators, after taking the oath to support the constitution of the United States, were required to draw for their term of service, when Major Walker drew six years and Colonel King four. At the time that Alabama became a State of the Union, the indebtedness of her citizens for lands, sold by the United States under what was known as the credit system, was nearly twelve millions of dollars. It was perfectly apparent that this enormous sum could not be paid, and that an attempt to enforce the payment could

only result in ruin to her people. Congress became satisfied that the mode heretofore adopted for the disposal of the public domain was wrong, and a law was passed reducing the minimum price from two to one dollar and twenty-five cents the acre, with cash payments. This change was warmly advocated by our Senators, Walker and King.

At the next session a law was passed authorizing the purchasers of public lands, under the credit system, to relinquish to the government a portion of their purchase, and to transfer the amount paid on the part relinquished so as to make complete payment on the part retained. At a subsequent session another law was passed, authorizing the original purchasers of the lands so relinquished to enter them at a fixed rate, much below the price at which they had been originally sold. To the exertions of Senators King and Walker, Alabama is mainly indebted for the passage of these laws, which freed her citizens from the heavy debt which threatened to overwhelm them with ruin, and also enabled them to secure their possessions upon reasonable terms.

Colonel King was elected a Senator in 1823, in 1828, in 1834, and in 1840. His firm but conciliatory course insured for him the respect and confidence of the Senate, and he was repeatedly chosen to preside over that body as president pro tem, the duties of which position he discharged in a manner so satisfactory, that, at the close of each session, a resolution was adopted, without a dissenting voice, tendering him the thanks of the body for the ability and impartiality with which he had discharged those duties. In the spring of 1844, Colonel King was offered the situation of Minister to France, which he declined, as he had, on previous occasions, refused to accept other diplomatic situations, which had been tendered to him, preferring, as he declared, to be a Senator from Alabama to any office which could be conferred on him by the General Government. At this time, the proposition for the annexation of Texas was pending, and there was but too much reason to believe that the British gov-

ernment was urging that of France to unite with her in a protest against such annexation. It was, therefore, of the highest importance to prevent, if possible, such joint protest, as, should it be made, must have inevitably resulted in producing hostilities with one or both of these powers; for no one, for a moment, believed that the government of the United States would be deterred from carrying out a measure which she considered essential to her interests, from any apprehension of consequences which might result from any combination of the powers of Europe. Colonel King was a decided advocate of the annexation of Texas, and when urged by the President and many of his friends in Congress to accept the mission, he consented, under these circumstances, to give up his seat in the Senate. Colonel King, feeling the importance of prompt action, did not even return to his home to arrange his private affairs, but repaired at once to New York, and took passage to Havre. Arriving in Paris he obtained an audience of the King, presented his credentials, and at once entered upon the object of his mission. After frequent conferences with the King of the French, who had kindly consented that he might discuss the subject with him, without going through the usual routine of communicating through the foreign office, Colonel King succeeded in convincing his majesty that the contemplated protest, while it would not arrest the proposed annexation, would engender on the minds of the American people a feeling of hostility towards France, which would operate most injuriously to the interests of both countries, now united by the closest bonds of friendship; and his majesty ultimately declared that "he would do nothing hostile to the United States, or which could give to her just cause of offence." The desired object was accomplished. England was not in a condition to act alone, and all idea of a protest was abandoned. Colonel King remained in France until the autumn of 1846, dispensing a liberal hospitality to his countrymen and others, and receiving from those connected with the government, and a large circle of the

most distinguished individuals in Paris, the kindest attention. He returned to the United States in November, 1846, having requested and obtained the permission of the President to resign his office.

In 1848, the Hon. Arthur P. Bagby was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Russia, and resigned his seat in the Senate of the United States. Colonel King was appointed, by the Governor of Alabama, to fill the vacancy thus created, and in 1849, the term for which he was appointed having expired, he was elected by the legislature for a full term of six years. In 1850, on the death of General Taylor, the President of the United States, Mr. Filmore, the Vice-President, succeeded to that high office, and Colonel King was chosen, by the unanimous vote of the Senate, President of that body, which places him in the second highest office in the government. Colonel King has ever been a decided republican of the Jeffersonian school. He has during his whole political life opposed the exercise of implied powers on the part of the General Government, unless palpably and plainly necessary to carry into effect an expressly granted power, firmly impressed with the belief, as he has often declared, that the security and harmony, if not the very existence of the Federal Government, was involved in adhering to a strict construction of the constitution.

In all the relations of life, Colonel King has maintained a spotless reputation; his frank and confiding disposition, his uniform courtesy and kindness, has endeared him to numerous friends, and commanded for him the respect and confidence of all who have had the pleasure of his acquaintance.

Colonel King is about six feet high, remarkably erect in figure, and is well proportioned. Brave and chivalrous in his character, his whole bearing impresses even strangers with the conviction that they are in the presence of a finished gentleman. His fine colloquial powers, and the varied and extensive information which he possesses, render him a most interesting companion,

Clement Comer Clay was born in Halifax county, Virginia, on the 17th December, 1789. His father, William Clay, son of James Clay, and his mother, Rebecca, daughter of Samuel Comer, were Virginians by birth, and of English descent. His father, William Clay, entered the revolutionary army as a private soldier at the early age of sixteen, and made several tours. He was in various engagements, and was present at the siege of Yorktown and the surrender of Cornwallis. At an early age, his father removed west of the Alleghanies to Grainger county, East Tennessee.

Clement Comer Clay completed his education at the East Tennessee University at Knoxville. Leaving college, he read law with the Honorable Hugh Lawson White, and obtained a license in December, 1809. He remained in East Tennessee until 1811, when he removed to Huntsville, where he has resided ever since. With a determined self-reliance, he pursued the practice of his profession steadily, and with gradually increasing profit, until the spring of 1817, taking no other interest in political matters than such as might be expected in any intelligent private citizen. When hostilities were commenced by the Creeks in 1813, he performed military duty as adjutant of a battalion of volunteers, called into service from Madison county; but he had volunteered as a private soldier in one of the companies of that battalion. This battalion never joined the army of General Jackson in the Creek nation, but, under his orders, was kept on the frontier, south of Tennessee river, to watch the enemy, and repel any advance which might be made. In the spring of 1817 the friends of Mr. Clay announced him as a candidate for the Territorial council, and he was elected by more than two hundred votes above the next highest candidate who was returned. He went to St. Stephens, and discharged his duties during the two sessions held at that place in a manner creditable to himself and useful to his constituents and the Territory. His absence, however, seriously interrupted a lucrative practice at the bar, and

deprived him of the favorable opportunity of purchasing a valuable tract of land near Huntsville as a permanent home. When the convention was organized at Huntsville, Mr. Clay appeared as one of the delegates from the county of Madison. An active and assiduous member to its close, he was appointed chairman of the committee of FIFTEEN to prepare and report a plan of government, and in that capacity brought forward a paper containing the main features of the constitution as it was originally adopted. When the convention terminated he resolved to devote himself exclusively to the practice of his profession and to planting; but in December, 1819, before he had completed his thirtieth year, he was elected, without opposition, one of the judges of the circuit court. When the judges assembled at Cahawba, in May, 1820, although he was several years younger than any other one on the bench, he was elected by his associates the first chief justice of the State of Alabama. As judge he served more than four years, when he resigned, in December, 1823, to resume the practice of his profession.

On his return to the bar Judge Clay re-entered upon the practice of his profession with his accustomed assiduity, energy and talents, and immediately obtained a highly lucrative business. But in 1828 he was elected to the legislature by the people of Madison, to advance their interests in the grant of four hundred thousand acres of land made by Congress for the improvement of the navigation of the Tennessee river. On his arrival at Tuscaloosa, then the seat of government, he was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives without opposition. He performed the high and responsible duties of that post during the unusually long and exciting session of 1828–9 in a manner very satisfactory to the house. He participated in the debates upon the most important questions, and earned a reputation as an able legislator. Upon his return to Huntsville his friends placed him in nomination for Congress. Captain Nicholas Davis, who had been a member of the Senate, and its

president, was his opponent. The canvass was a most exciting one. Each candidate had numerous active and influential friends. The district then consisted of the counties of Madison, Jackson, Limestone, Lauderdale and Lawrence. In Jackson and the eastern part of Madison the public lands had never been offered for sale, and the great question was whether the *right of pre-emption* should be given to the pioneers. The government of the United States had sold all the lands in the other counties of the district in 1818–19–20 under the credit system, which then prevailed, at such enormous prices as, under the change brought about by the reduced price of cotton, rendered many unable, and nearly all the original purchasers, unwilling, to pay for them. Consequently, nearly all the lands in those counties had been relinquished and forfeited, including, in many instances, the dwelling-houses, gin-houses and other improvements, and the question was whether adequate relief should be obtained for the former purchasers, and those holding under them. Judge Clay and Captain Davis were both advocates of pre-emption rights to the settlers on public lands, and relief to the unfortunate purchasers, who had relinquished or forfeited. Judge Clay, the successful candidate, took his seat in Congress in December, 1829, and devoted his best energies to the accomplishment of those great measures. He succeeded to his entire satisfaction, and the journals of Congress show the labor and talent which he employed in aiding in the passage of the "relief laws." On his his return home, he was everywhere greeted with expressions of praise and gratitude.

The tariff was one of the exciting questions then agitating the national councils. Judge Clay took the ground he has ever occupied, in favor of a revenue tariff and *ad valorem* duties, and delivered in Congress a creditable speech upon that subject. In another speech, he sustained General Jackson's policy and measures in opposition to the Bank of the United States and the removal of the deposits. He agreed with the administration, in

the main, in regard to the tariff, and disapproved of the course taken by South Carolina to nullify the tariff laws, yet he could not be induced to vote for the "force bill," as it was familiarly called. His regard for the sovereignty and rights of the States was such that he would not consent to give the Federal Executive additional power against any member of the confederacy, however much he condemned her action. Judge Clay's course in Congress was such that he never incurred opposition to his several re-elections, and in 1835 he was nominated as the democratic candidate for governor. At that time Judge White was placed in nomination by his friends as a candidate for the presidency, in opposition to Van Buren. Although Judge Clay's personal preferences were in favor of the claims of the former, and he would have preferred him as the nominee, he would not consent to divide the democratic party, to which he belonged, and, therefore, he gave his support to Van Buren. This brought out opposition to him, in the person of General Enoch Parsons, but Judge Clay was elected Governor in August, 1835, by the largest majority ever given any candidate for that office in the State, being upwards of thirteen thousand votes. He was inaugurated as governor in November, 1835.

Governor Clay has been charged with inactivity and neglect of duty during the Creek war, in the spring of 1836. If we were writing a history of those times, we could vindicate him in a most successful manner, for we were then attached to the executive staff, and well remember what transpired. We cannot, however, refrain from remarking, that no man ever labored more assiduously to bring into the field a force sufficient to subdue the hostile Indians, and no one ever evinced more willingness to afford relief to his fellow citizens in the Creek nation, or felt for them more anxiety. As soon as he learned, at Tuscaloosa, the alarming condition of the settlers in the Creek nation, he addressed an order to Major General Benjamin Patteson, directing him to bring down a force from North Alabama, to hasten to the

seat of war, and to assume the immediate command of all the Alabama troops intended to be employed against the hostiles. At the same time, he addressed a letter to the commandant of the United States arsenal at Mount Vernon, making a requisition upon him for arms, munitions and tent equipage, directing them to be shipped forthwith to Montgomery. At the same time, he also issued an order to Brigadier-General Moore, of the Mobile division, ordering him to send troops to Eufaula, upon the Chattahoochie. He then took a seat in the stage-coach, arrived at Montgomery, and temporarily established his headquarters at that place. It was during a period when provisions of all kinds were scarce and exorbitantly high,—when the whole country had run mad with speculations—and when even the elements were in commotion—tornadoes prostrating trees across the highways, and heavy rains swelling every stream and sweeping off every bridge. Yet, in spite of these things, he assembled a large force from North Alabama, from West Alabama, and from South Alabama. He caused a great quantity of arms, tent equipage and ammunition to be brought up the river from the arsenal at Mount Vernon. He made the most judicious arrangements with highly responsible contractors, who sent forward from New Orleans and Mobile an abundance of subsistence for the army. To meet some pressing necessities, he sold his own bill of exchange to the Bank of Montgomery for the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars. He exerted himself, in gaining over to our side many of the prominent Chiefs. Opothleoholo and eleven principal Chiefs came down to Montgomery by his invitation, to whom he made an ingenious appeal in the ball-room of the Montgomery Hall in the presence of Colonel James E. Belser, Colonel John A. Campbell, Colonel George W. Gayle and the author—who were his aids—and General Patteson, with his staff, among whom were Major J. J. Donegan, Major Withers, and others, who, at this moment, are not recollected. Opothleoholo responded in a

"talk" of an hour's length. He concluded, by tendering to Governor Clay his services and those of his people.

In short, an army of near three thousand men was organized, who reached the Creek nation by the time that General Jessup, who had been sent by the Federal Government to assume the command, arrived there.

In June, 1837, Governor Clay was elected to the United States Senate, without opposition, and shortly afterwards resigned the gubernatorial office. He took his seat in the Senate in September, 1837, (an extra session) and served the four succeeding regular sessions, and the extra session of 1841. The journals of the Senate contain evidences of his talent and industry. In consequence of the ill-health of his family, he resigned his seat in the Senate.

Governor Clay is of medium size. He is erect in figure, and walks with elasticity, presenting but few of the marks of age. His eyes are of a dark brown color, expressive and penetrating, and are ever in motion. Nothing escapes his observation; and while conversing with you, even upon a topic highly interesting to him, it is his custom frequently to cast his eyes upon some one who has entered the room, or who is passing the streets, and then upon you. He tells an anecdote well, and is an agreeable companion. He is a brave man, and is exceedingly punctual and honorable in all the relations of life.

Nicholas Davis, a member of the convention from the county of Limestone, will next be noticed. He was born on the 23d of April, 1781, in Hanover county, Virginia, in a region of country familiarly called the "Slashes," where, also, the great orator of Kentucky first saw the light. He descended from the Davis and Ragland families, whose names are preserved in the archives of Virginia, as among the earliest settlers of Yorktown. He was educated in the same county, and partly in the same school, with Henry Clay.

Captain Davis never studied any profession, but has been all

his life a farmer. He removed to Alabama in March, 1817, and established himself at "Walnut Grove," in the county of Limestone, where he has resided ever since. After the termination of the convention, he was elected a member of the first legislature of Alabama, which sat at Huntsville in the fall of 1819. In 1820 he was again a member, at Cahawba, where the legislature was permanently established. The people of Limestone placed him in the Senate in 1821, and when he arrived at Cahawba, in the beginning of the winter, he was selected to preside over that body. His impartiality, honesty, firmness, talents and efficiency caused him to be continued in the office of President of the Senate for the period of ten years.

In the preceding memoir, we have alluded to the Congressional canvass in which Captain Davis was engaged in the summer of 1829. It was exceedingly spirited. Governor Clay found him to be a truly honorable and liberal competitor, but a very formidable one. Everywhere Captain Davis met him upon the stump, and exhibited decided evidences of a first-rate popular speaker. At that period, Captain Davis was a man in the prime of life, of commanding person, vigorous constitution, and an honest and generous heart. Possessing a handsome and expressive countenance, beaming with intelligence, and a clear and distinct voice, he might have been pointed out as one of the noblest specimens of an intelligent yeomanry. He was defeated for Congress, as we have seen, although every man in the district who voted against him was ready to acknowledge that, as a representative, he would have been honest, faithful and efficient; but the early opposition which he made to General Jackson in North Alabama has served to build up a barrier to his political success.

The whig party of Alabama, upon whose list the name of Nicholas Davis has ever been among the first and most prominent, placed him upon the electoral ticket in the memorable contest between Van Buren and Harrison. Again, when

Clay and Polk were candidates for the presidency, Captain Davis was one of the whig electors, and frequently addressed the people of North Alabama upon that occasion, in a zealous and eloquent manner, sometimes imploring them, even with tears in his eyes, to vote for the whig candidate! It was a fine theme for this gentleman, which at once brought out all his warm and generous feelings, emanating from the recollections of his youth, and the unbounded admiration which he had ever since entertained for Henry Clay.

His party supported him for the office of Governor of Alabama against the Honorable John Gayle, but the democratic party being greatly in the ascendancy, the latter prevailed over him. When the Honorable Reuben Chapman was nominated by the democratic convention for governor, the whigs again supported Captain Davis for that office, and he was again defeated from the same cause.

As a legislator, Captain Davis was exceedingly sensible and useful. He manifested much firmness in his opposition to the State Bank and its branches. He always preferred well regulated stock banks.

Captain Davis is large and well proportioned. His eyes are deep blue, very expressive, and indicative of benevolence, or much of the "milk of human kindness." He is a man of great energy of character, and is remarkable for his physical strength and industrious habits. He has ever been a patron of the turf. His horses have run at New Orleans, Nashville, Mobile, and through the South generally. He was present at the celebrated contest between the horses of Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, and James Jackson, of North Alabama, at Huntsville.

Captain Davis still lives at "Walnut Grove," esteemed and respected by all classes and parties. Many refined and intelligent gentlemen in Huntsville and its vicinity, and other portions of North Alabama, deem it their imperative, but most pleasing duty, to pay him two long visits every year. Often *his large old log-*

house, which he erected when he first came to Alabama, and which he venerates so much that he would not exchange it for a palace, contains forty or fifty visitors at one time, who, for days together, are entertained by his agreeable conversation, fed from his abundant table, and delighted with the survey of his extensive groves, rich fields, happy negroes, fine blooded horses, and sleek and well formed cattle.

Reuben Saffold was born in Wilkes county, Georgia, on the 4th September, 1788. He received such an education as was usually imparted at a common academy, where he made some proficiency in the Latin language. He studied law with —— Paine, of Watkinsville, Clarke county, Georgia, and in that place he entered upon the practice of his profession. In the spring of 1811, he married Mary Phillips, daughter of Colonel Joseph Phillips, then of Morgan county, Georgia, who soon after removed to the southern part of Alabama.

Mr. Saffold, in the spring of 1813, established himself at the town of Jackson, situated upon the Tombigby river, then in the Mississippi Territory. Soon, thereafter, the Indian war broke out, and he at once became actively engaged in the protection of a suffering people and an exposed frontier. Holding at the time the rank of colonel in the militia, he nevertheless raised a company of sixty volunteers, and, as their captain, scoured the thickets from the mouth to the head of the Perdido river, upon which occasion several Indians were killed, while others were driven to the more remote parts of Florida. But before he made this tour he had been a participant, as a private, in the battle of Burnt Corn, and was one of those who fought bravely and retreated among the last. During these early times he was also a member of the legislature of the Mississippi Territory at several sessions. When peace was restored he entered upon the practice of his profession, but in 1819 he was chosen a member of the convention. At the session of the legislature of the State of Alabama, held at Huntsville in the fall of 1819, he

was elected, without opposition, one of the circuit judges, and in December of that year he removed to the residence at which he died, in the county of Dallas.

Judge Saffold held the office of circuit judge, under various re-elections, with distinguished ability and honor until January, 1832, when the legislature authorized the organization of a separate Supreme Court. Then he was elected one of the three who were to constitute that court. Upon this new theatre of judicial labor he lost none of the high and deserved reputation which he had acquired in the "court below." At the January term of 1835 Judge Lipscomb resigned the office of chief justice, and Judge Saffold was selected in his place. He occupied this dignified position until the spring of 1836, when he resigned it and bid a final adieu to the bench, having held the office of judge for more than sixteen years. The reports of the Supreme Court of Alabama are enduring memorials of his strength of mind, patient investigation, deep research and profound learning. Before the separate organization, the people of the whole State had it in their power to scan his acts as a circuit judge. They remember him to have been firm and dignified, but not austere. Wherever he presided entire order and decorum prevailed, and he was respected and admired by both clients and attorneys. Such, indeed, was his reputation throughout the State, and such was the confidence reposed in him, that his retirement from the bench was a source of public regret. When Judge Henry Goldthwaite resigned his seat upon the bench of the Supreme Court, Governor Fitzpatrick tendered the vacancy to Judge Saffold, who declined it.

Judge Saffold, a few years after his resignation, resumed the practice of the law, and pursued it with distinguished success until his death. His political opinions, although he never sought political preferment, and engaged but little in the exciting contests of the times, were well known. He was a democrat. He was warmly devoted to the interests of the South. The firm

friend of Texan independence, he rejoiced in her annexation to the United States. A devoted husband and father, it was his fortune to raise a large family, and most nobly did he discharge his duty to them. As a master, he was kind, merciful and just. He never attached himself to any church, yet he was a firm believer in the atonement, and was accustomed to express the confident hope that he had nothing to fear beyond the grave. He died of apoplexy on the 15th February, 1847. He was a large man, with an excellent face, and an exceedingly fine forehead. No man of distinction has ever died in Alabama leaving behind more reputation for legal ability, and for honor, justice and probity.

Israel Pickens was born on the 30th January, 1780, in the county of Mecklenburg, State of North Caroliua. He was the second son of Captain Samuel Pickens, a gentleman of French descent, who served his country in the revolutionary war against the British and tories in the two Carolinas. Israel Pickens received his academic education partly in South Carolina, but principally at a school in Iredell county, North Carolina, and finished his studies at Washington College, Pennsylvania, where he also completed his law education. He returned to his native State, established himself at Morganton in the practice of the law, lived there many years, and occasionally represented Burke county in the legislature. In 1811, he was elected to Congress from that district, and continued to represent it till the year 1817. He gave his vote for the war of 1812, and continued a firm supporter of all the prominent measures of President Madison's administration. Mr. Pickens removed to Alabama in 1817, and settled at St. Stephens, where he practiced law, and held the post of Register of the Land Office.

After the death of Governor Bibb, Mr. Pickens was elected as his successor in 1821, and again in 1823, filling up the period allotted to him by the constitution. Very soon after the expiration of his last term as governor, a vacancy occurred in the Senate of the United States by the death of Dr. Chambers, and Governor Pickens was appointed by the executive to fill it. A few

days after his departure to Washington city, a letter was received at Greensboro conveying a commission for him as District Judge of the United States for Alabama, which he declined to accept. In the fall of 1826 he resigned his seat in the Senate and returned home, in consequence of a serious affection of the lungs. He died in the Island of Cuba on the 24th April, 1827, at the early age of forty-seven years.

Governor Pickens was six feet high, very slender and erect, with a fair complexion and blue eyes. In all the attributes of a moral nature he was, indeed, a remarkable man. His manners were easy, affable and kind--his temper mild, amiable and always the same. Benevolence was a predominant trait in his character. He had a finished education and talents of a high order—more solid than brilliant. As a public man, he was very popular, and, although mild and gentle in his deportment, no one was firmer in the discharge of his public duties. He possessed extraordinary mechanical ingenuity, and a great fondness for mathematics, natural philosophy and astronomy. While a student under Dr. Hale, of North Carolina, he invented the lunar dial, by which the time of night could be ascertained by the moon. While a member of Congress, the celebrated Reidheifer pretended to have discovered the perpetual motion, and exhibited a model in Washington city, to the inspection of which he invited the members of Congress. Mr. Pickens, with many others, attended and witnessed its performance; and being satisfied that there was deception in the matter, he returned the next day and gave it a more thorough examination. Finding the doors open, he entered, but there was no one within. During this second visit, he detected the fraud and exposed it, by inserting a card in the National Intelligencer, signed "A Member of Congress." This brought forth a bitter reply from the impostor, and a rejoinder from the "Member of Congress," but, in a few days, Reidheifer, model and all, left the city never again to return.*

* A notice of James Jackson, a member of the convention from Autauga, will be found near the close of this volume.

CHAPTER XLVII.

The First Legislature of the State of Alabama—Governor Bibb.

An election was held throughout the new State of Alabama for a governor and members of the legislature, in anti-
Summer of 1819 cipation of the admission by Congress of the State as a member of the American Union. William W. Bibb received eight thousand three hundred and forty-two votes for governor, and his opponent, Marmaduke Williams, received seven thousand one hundred and forty.

The General Assembly of Alabama convened at Huntsville on the fourth Monday in October. The House of Repre-
1819 Oct. sentatives was composed of forty-five members, and James Dellet, of Monroe, was elected Speaker. The Senate had twenty-one members, and Thomas Bibb was elected President of that body.

William W. Bibb was inaugurated as the first governor of the State before both houses of the legislature, in the presence of a large assemblage of citizens, to whom he made a handsome and appropriate address. He had previously presented an excellent message, in which he congratulated the people upon the
Nov. 9 abundant crops which it had pleased the Almighty to afford them, the health which they had universally enjoyed, and the fortunate termination of the convention, which had resulted in the establishment of an excellent constitution. He brought to the attention of the legislature the subject of the liberal donations by Congress in reserving for a seminary of learning seventy-two sections of land—the sixteenth section in

every township for the use of schools—five per cent. of the net proceeds of the sales of the public lands (sold after the first of September, 1819) for purposes of internal improvements—and sixteen hundred and twenty acres of land, at the confluence of the Cahawba and Alabama rivers, for a seat of government. He reported that he had laid off the town of Cahawba, and that one hundred and eighty-two lots had been sold, for one hundred and twenty-three thousand eight hundred and fifty-six dollars—one-fourth of which, received in cash, had been deposited in the Planters' and Merchants' Bank of Huntsville, to be expended in the erection of a temporary State-house, which was then under contract. The message concluded by recommending a revision of the statutes, the organization of the judicial department, the election of judges, and the appointment by law of an engineer to examine the rivers, who was to report in what manner their navigation might be improved. 1819 Nov. 9

The legislature proceeded to elect two Senators of the United States. William R. King and John W. Walker were elected upon the first ballot, over Thomas D. Crabb and George Phillips.

During the session of the legislature, General Jackson visited Huntsville with his horses, and was enthusiastically engaged in the sports of the turf, then an amusement indulged in by the highest classes. Colonel Howell Rose, a Senator from the county of Autauga, was also at Huntsville. Colonel Rose was then a young man of indomitable energy and fearless spirit, and possessed a native intellect of remarkable vigor and strength. He was ardent in his attachment to Jackson, and was the first to propose resolutions approbatory of his valuable services to the State performed during the late Creek and Seminole wars. Colonel Rose introduced joint resolutions of this character, together with one inviting the general to a seat within the bar both of the House and the Senate on all Session of 1819

occasions when it should be his pleasure to attend those bodies, which were adopted. Colonel Rose, at the head of a committee, waited upon Jackson, with a copy of the resolutions, to which the latter replied in a letter full of the liveliest gratitude. Since that interesting occasion Colonel Rose has from time to time performed valuable services to the State, as a member of the General Assembly. He is a wealthy citizen of the county of Coosa. His mind, naturally one of the richest in the country, and improved by self-instruction, is still vigorous and clear, while his agreeable eccentricity of manner, and original ideas and sayings, engage the attention of all who are thrown in his way. His colloquial powers are of a very high as well as of a very peculiar order. He delivers his views with force and energy, and is never at a loss for a spicy repartee. While he was addressing the members of the legislature, he never failed to engage their attention. Colonel Rose was born in North Carolina, removed from thence to Georgia, and emigrated to Alabama soon after the Creek war.

So soon as the judicial circuits were organized, the legislature proceeded to elect officers. Henry Hitchcock, the former Territorial Secretary, was elected Attorney-General over John S. N. Jones and D. Sullivan. Abner S. Lipscomb was elected Judge of the First Judicial Circuit over Harry Toulmin; Reuben Saffold, Judge of the second without opposition; Henry Y. Webb, Judge of the third without opposition; Richard Ellis, Judge of the fourth over Beverly Hughes and John McKinley; Clement C. Clay, Judge of the fifth without opposition.

John Gayle was elected Solicitor of the First Judicial Circuit without opposition; Constantine Perkins, of the third, over Sion L. Perry; Peter Martin, of the fourth, without opposition; James Eastland, of the fifth, over James W. McClung and Poladore Naylor.

The legislature was exceedingly anxious to see the laws enforced; and, for that purpose, selected magistrates from among

the most respectable and prominent men throughout the State. They discharged the same duties which the Judges of the County Courts had done previous to the adoption of the present Probate system, and as was the practice of Virginia. A few of those now selected must be mentioned merely to show the determination of our then infant State, to give tone and dignity to the administration of the laws, even in inferior courts. For the county of Autauga, for instance, John A. Elmore, John Armstrong, Robert Gaston, James Jackson and William R. Pickett were elected magistrates.

General John A. Elmore, one of these justices, was a native of South Carolina, of the legislature of which State he had often been a respectable member. Not long after his removal to Alabama, he represented the county of Autauga in our legislature, which then sat at Cahawba. He was a man of firmness and much good sense, and always delivered his opinions, even in common conversation, in a distinct and loud voice, with that candor and honesty which characterized his conduct through life. He had a commanding appearance, was large in person, and, altogether, an exceedingly fine looking man. He delighted in the sports of the chase, being a most successful and spirited hunter, and an agreeable companion in the many camp-hunts in which he engaged with his neighbors and friends. Towards the close of his life, we remember that he presented a dignified and venerable appearance, and we saw him preside as chairman of several large and exciting meetings in the town of Montgomery during the days of nullification.

James Jackson, another of these magistrates, was born in the county of Wilkes, Georgia. He had been a man of influence in that region. Upon his arrival, in 1818, in the Territory of Alabama, he immediately ranked with the leading men of the county of Autauga. He was elected a member of the State convention, and assisted to give us the excellent constitution we now have. Afterwards, Mr. Jackson was several

times an active and influential member of the House of Representatives and of the Senate of the State of Alabama. He died the 19th July, 1832, at his residence in Autauga, within a few miles of that of General Elmore, who also died about that period. Mr. Jackson was a man for whom nature had done much. Although raised upon the frontiers of Georgia, among a rude population, and thrown upon the world with but little means and still less education, he was decidedly elegant in conversation and polite and polished in his manners. He had the faculty of adapting himself to all classes. In person he was of medium size, his face was handsome and expressive, and, when meeting a friend, was generally enlivened with a smile. He was a most excellent and liberal neighbor. Smooth and fluent in conversation, and conciliating in his general views, he was a most delightful fireside companion. He was shrewd and sagacious, and a close and correct observer of human nature.

The author, being the son of WILLIAM R. PICKETT, another of the Autauga magistrates, is relieved from the delicate task of portraying his character by copying the following obituary, written by a friend for the gazettes:

"Colonel William Raiford Pickett died at his residence, in Autauga county, on the 20th September, 1850, aged seventy-three years. Colonel Pickett was born in Anson county, North Carolina, upon the Pedee river, where his parents, James Pickett and Martha Terry, had removed some time before the revolutionary war from their place of nativity, near Bolling Green, in Caroline county, Virginia. Their ancestors, whose extraction was Scotch, English and French, were among the earliest colonists of Virginia.

"Soon after he became of age Colonel Pickett filled the post of sheriff of Anson county, and was afterwards elected to the legislature, which sat at Raleigh, where he served for several years. When the federal revenue was collected by direct taxation, he received from Mr. Madison, then President, the appoint-

ment of assessor and collector for a large district in North Carolina, the arduous and responsible duties of which he discharged to the end with zeal and fidelity.

"In the spring of 1818 he brought his family out to this country, and established himself as a planter and merchant in the present Autauga county, which then formed a portion of the county of Montgomery. Two years before this early period he had explored these southwestern wilds, in company with his near relative and friend, Tod Robinson, encountering dangers and hardships incident upon the close of a sanguinary war with the Creeks.

"When the legislature of Alabama sat at Cahawba, Colonel Pickett took his seat in that body in 1821. In 1823 he was a member, and again in 1824, which term closed his duties in the Lower House. In 1828 he was elected to the State Senate, and entered that body in the fall of that year at Tuscaloosa, then the capital of Alabama. He was a Senator for the period of five years, when, in the summer of 1834, he was beaten for that position by Colonel Broadnax, during an exceedingly high state of party excitement, the election turning solely upon party grounds, and many of his old friends voting against him with much reluctance. In his legislative career, he was an active and very influential member, and was the originator of many salutary laws, some of which are still in force. In the meantime, he was *three* times placed upon the democratic electoral ticket for President and Vice-President, and each time received overwhelming majorities.

"He was a man of sterling honor and integrity, and, perhaps, no one ever surpassed him in disinterested benevolence and charity, for he not only supported the poor and destitute around him, but freely dispensed to those upon the highway. In person, he was large, erect and commanding, with a face beaming with intelligence, a forehead bold and lofty, and eyes brilliant and expressive, to the last moments of his existence. He was peculiarly

remarkable for his wit and originality, and the risible faculties of more men have been aroused, while in his company, than in that of almost any other person. And even to this day, in North Carolina, though thirty-two years have transpired since he left that State, his original sayings and anecdotes are often repeated. No man ever received more attention, during his protracted illness, from those in his immediate neighborhood, who deeply mourn his departure from their midst. Persons from all parts of the country visited him in his affliction."

The legislature of Alabama, during its session at Huntsville, enacted many salutary laws, and judiciously arranged the districts. Six new counties were established, and were added to those already organized. They were Greene, Jefferson, Perry, Henry, Wilcox and Butler. Wilcox was named in honor of the lieutenant, who, in 1814, was killed by the Indians upon the Alabama river, as we have seen, and Butler in memory of the captain, who was also killed by the Indians, near Fort Dale, on the 20th March, 1818. The legislature adjourned on the 17th December, 1819.*

Session of 1819

The land offices at Milledgeville and Huntsville were in active operation. Extensive surveys had been completed, sales had been everywhere proclaimed, and thousands of eager purchasers flocked into the country from every Atlantic and Western State. Never before or since, did the population of any State so rapidly increase as that of Alabama from the period of 1820 until 1830.

1819-20

No sooner had the flourishing State of Alabama been thoroughly organized, than the citizens were called upon to mourn the death of their first governor. Riding in the forest one day, the horse of Governor Bibb fell with him to the ground, and he then received an injury from which he never recovered. He died at his residence, in the county of Autauga, in July, 1820, in the fortieth year of his age—calm, collected, peaceful—surrounded by numerous friends and relations.

* State Archives.

Governor Bibb was five feet ten inches in height, with an erect but delicate frame. He was exceedingly easy and graceful in his bearing. His interesting face bore the marks of deep thought and great intelligence. His eyes, of a dark color, were mild, yet expressive. Whether thrown into the company of the rude or the refined, his language was pure and chaste. No one ever lived, either in Georgia or Alabama, who was treated with a greater degree of respect by all classes. This was owing to his high moral character, unsurpassed honor, excellent judgment, and a very high order of talents. Entirely free from that dogmatism and those patronizing airs which characterize many of our distinguished men, he invariably treated the opinions of the humblest citizen with courtesy and respect. He was, however, a man of firmness, swaying the minds of men with great success, and *governing* by seeming to *obey*.

In all the stations which he filled, Governor Bibb was eminently successful. When quite a young man his skill and attention as a physician, in the then flourishing town of Petersburg, Georgia, secured for him an extensive practice. He next went into the legislature from Elbert county, and, serving four years in that body, acquired a popularity rarely attained by one of his age. At the early age of twenty-five he was elected to Congress under the General Ticket System, by a vote so large as to leave no doubt but that he was a great favorite with the people. He immediately became a leading member of the Lower House of the National Legislature—was an able and fearless advocate of the war of 1812, and a conscientious supporter of the administration of Madison. His contemporaries, at his first election, were Bolling Hall, George M. Troup and Howell Cobb. He had not been long in Congress before his popularity caused him to come within a few votes of being elected to the office of Speaker of the House. Afterwards the legislature of Georgia elected him to the Senate of the United States. He was thus a member of Congress from 1806 until 1816, when, as we have seen in the preceding pages,

he was appointed by the President, Governor of Alabama *Territory*, and was afterwards elected by the people Governor of the *State* of Alabama. In reference to his Congressional career, we have often heard, from the lips of many of his distinguished contemporaries, that the practical order of his mind, the wisdom of his views, and the peculiar music of his voice, contributed to render him one of the most attractive and effective of speakers.

When Governor Bibb first established himself as a physician he married Mary, only daughter of Colonel Holman Freeman, of revolutionary memory, and then a citizen of Wilkes county. She was one of the most beautiful and accomplished ladies of her day, and has ever been esteemed and admired by the early inhabitants of Alabama. She is now residing in the county of Dallas, in the enjoyment of fine health. Governor Bibb left two children by this lady—a son and a daughter. The latter, the late Mrs. Alfred V. Scott, who died some years ago, was much like her father in the mildness of her disposition, the grace and ease of her manners, and the intellectual beauty of her face.

After the death of Governor Bibb his brother, Thomas Bibb, who was President of the Senate, became the acting governor. He was a man of strong mind and indomitable energy.

In the preceding pages we have alluded to the mother of Governor Bibb. She was one of the most remarkable women we ever knew, for energy, decision, and superior sense. When Captain Bibb, her husband, died, he left her with eight children, and an estate much embarrassed by debt. Benajah, the ninth child, was born a few months after the death of his father. Mrs. Bibb worked the estate out of debt—educated her children, and lived to see them all in affluence, and many of them enjoying offices of honor and profit. She was known to the early inhabitants of Alabama, by whom she was much esteemed, as Mrs. Barnett, having married a gentleman of that name. Thomas Bibb resembled his mother more than any of the children, in the native strength of his mind and the energy of his character.

The memory of Governor William Wyatt Bibb is preserved in the name of a county in Georgia, and one in Alabama.

But here we lay down our pen. The early history of Alabama, as far as it rests in *our* hands, is ended, and our task is accomplished. To some other person, fonder than we are of the dry details of State legislation and fierce party spirit, we leave the task of bringing the history down to a later period.

THE END.

ANNALS OF ALABAMA,

1819-1900.

BY

THOMAS McADORY OWEN, A. M., LL. B.,

BIRMINGHAM, JEFFERSON COUNTY, ALA.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

The great excellence of Mr. Pickett's work makes it invaluable to all students and others interested in the history of the State. Its practical usefulness is, however, limited because the narrative is only brought down through the year 1819. To meet this defect, in a small measure, the Webb Book Company, having in press a new edition of the reprint of 1896, urged the preparation of the following annals. They are not designed to be in any sense a history of the period covered, and are only intended to embrace in the briefest possible form, consistent with clearness and accuracy, the outline facts of that history from the admission of the State into the Union in 1819 to the present time. There is no attempt at literary style. The facts are presented as nearly as practicable in chronological order.

The chapters on "Literary History," and "Bibliography," with the Appendix, have a merit altogether apart from the annals. All students will doubtless appreciate the value of the "Index," as neither the original edition, nor the first edition of the reprint have this great essential to a well-made book.

THE COMPILER.

Birmingham, Alabama, April 12, 1900.

CHAPTER I.

Annals, 1819 to 1830.

The enabling act for the admission of Alabama "into the Union upon the same footing as the original States," was approved March 2, 1819. The Constitutional Convention, organized under its provisions, was in session from July 5 to August 2, 1819, inclusive. The first General Assembly under the Constitution convened at Huntsville on October 25, and concluded its labors, after a most important session, on December 19, 1819. "A true and attested copy" of the Constitution having been transmitted to it as required, the Sixteenth Congress passed a resolution "declaring the admission of the State of Alabama into the Union," which was approved by President James Monroe, December 14, 1819. On the 17th of the same month, the General Assembly of Alabama passed a resolution thanking the President "for the dignified and useful course he has pursued as Chief Magistrate of the Union." Alabama was now a State, clothed with all the attributes of sovereignty.

The untimely death, July 10, 1820, of the State's first Chief Magistrate, Hon. William Wyatt Bibb,* created a vacancy in the executive office. In accordance with the Constitution, the President of the Senate, Thomas Bibb, a brother to the governor, became his successor. He served until the general election of 1821.

During his term the first called session of the General Assembly of the State convened June 4, 1821.

The election for governor in 1821 resulted in the choice of Israel Pickens, over Dr. Henry Chambers. In 1823 he was again elected, defeating his former opponent. The four years of his administration were important in the life of the new State. Mr. Pickens brought to the exercise of his duties, patience, zeal and constructive abilities of a high order.†

* See pp. 615, 666-669, for sketch of life and public services. † For sketch see pp. 658-59.

The General Assembly, December 19, 1820, created Pickens from the western portion of Tuscaloosa County. This session also changed the name of "Cahaba" to "Bibb" County; located Baldwin County as it exists at present; divided old Baldwin between other counties; and ordered its old court house at McIntosh Bluff to be sold. The Counties of Covington and Pike were created December 7, 1821, the former from Henry, and the latter from Henry and Montgomery Counties. The same session changed the name of "Cotaco" to "Morgan" County; and created Decatur County, which in 1824 was abolished. Walker County was created December 26, 1823, from Marion and Tuscaloosa; Fayette County from Marion, Pickens and Tuscaloosa, December 20, 1824; and Dale County from Henry and Covington, December 22, 1824.

In May, 1820, the first term of the Supreme Court of the State, which was composed of the circuit judges sitting *en banc*, convened at Cahaba. Clement C. Clay was chosen Chief Justice. Henry Minor was appointed the first Reporter of the decisions of the Court.

During this administration Congress passed appropriate relief acts in behalf of the purchasers of public lands.*

Under an act of 1821, Harry Toulmin† prepared a *Digest of the Laws* of the State, which was published in 1823. This was the first collection of its laws; and the volume is a mine of historical and other information pertaining to the early years of the State.

In 1820, the General Assembly passed the first of a long series of banking acts. The Bank of the State of Alabama was chartered, but did not go into operation. Another was passed in December, 1823, incorporating a new bank, but of the same name. Under this act the State entered upon the business of banking, a venture which in less than twenty years terminated

* See pp. 644-5, 650, for an account of embarrassments of land purchasers, and the work of Messrs. King and Clay in securing relief.

† For sketch and account of early public services, See pp. 480-81.

in financial disaster, piled up an enormous public debt, and tarnished the character of many prominent officials and other public men.

The visit of the venerable Lafayette, the friend of Washington, and the youthful champion of liberty, in the last year of the administration of Gov. Pickens, excited the patriotic fervor of the people to the highest point of enthusiasm. His tour through the United States was like the march of a triumphal hero. Coming South he passed through Georgia and entered Alabama at Fort Mitchell, on the Chattahoochee river. Here an escort of between two and three hundred persons, composed of the militia, several prominent citizens and numbers of Indians, met the distinguished visitor. He was first greeted by Chilly McIntosh, son of the Indian general, Wm. McIntosh, with fifty Indian warriors, who were stripped naked and finely painted. The General taking his seat in a sulky, previously prepared for him, was drawn by the Indians up the hill to where the Alabama delegation stood. On halting the Indians gave three loud whoops. Mr. Bolling Hall, of Montgomery, then welcomed him, after which a splendid address was made by Mr. Dandridge Bibb. On its conclusion the Indians engaged in a magnificent game of ball play. Starting across the country accompanied by the escort, Montgomery was reached on April 3, 1825. On "Goat Hill" where the State Capitol now stands, Governor Pickens and a large crowd of citizens were assembled, as Lafayette and his party marched up to the air, "Hail to the Chief." The Governor, completely overcome by the crowding emotions of the moment, was unable to speak, but the loud hurrahs and the wild demonstrations of joy on the part of the throng proclaimed a more substantial welcome. During his stay business was forgotten. Several old Revolutionary soldiers were present, and their meeting with the General was affecting. At midnight he took the boat for Cahaba. Arriving the next day he was welcomed with an address, and later attended a

sumptuous dinner. Tuscaloosa sent a delegation of her leading citizens to Cahaba to join in his reception. At night he visited the Masonic Lodge. Embarking on the Alabama river, he reached Mobile on the 7th inst. The citizens of the Gulf city treated him with all of the respect an affectionate people could bestow, and on the next day he departed for New Orleans.

Party feeling in the early years of the State was not manifested in any special way. The coming of immigrants had been so recent that matters of a local and personal character principally engrossed attention. It must not be forgotten, however, that from its very earliest settlement, the people of Alabama have taken a wide and intelligent interest in public questions. In 1820 the General Assembly chose John Scott, Henry Minor, and George Phillips electors. They met at Cahaba, and cast the vote of the State for James Monroe, President, and Daniel D. Tompkins, Vice-President.

In the Presidential contest of 1824 the State took early and friendly action in behalf of General Jackson. The hero of the battles of the Horse Shoe and New Orleans possessed the warmest affection of the people. The Legislature of 1823-24 passed a resolution recommending his candidacy to the executives of the several States. The five electoral votes were cast for him for President, and John C. Calhoun for Vice-President. John Quincy Adams was, however, chosen President, with Mr. Calhoun as Vice-President. In 1828 the electors were chosen by the people. Their votes were again cast for General Jackson and Mr. Calhoun, both of whom were at this time successful. The Senators and Representatives from Alabama began their public service by participating in the struggle over the admission of Missouri, out of which grew the Missouri compromise, a measure favored by them. On the protective tariff measures which were constantly under discussion during the period, the State was firm in opposition, and the Legislature sent up memorial after memorial in remonstrance.

The election of John Murphy in 1825, as successor to Mr. Pickens, and his re-election in 1827, were without opposition. Mr. Murphy was a native of North Carolina. His administration comprised four years of steady growth and progress.

The most important event of the administration of Gov. Murphy was the removal of the State Capital from Cahaba to Tuscaloosa. The Constitution anticipated the possible necessity for a change of location, and power was given the General Assembly, at its session, 1825-26, to designate by law the seat of government, which should not thereafter be changed. If at that time a new selection failed it was to remain permanently at Cahaba. The original choice of Cahaba had not long been made before its many disadvantages became apparent. It was on such a low situation that it was liable to overflows from both rivers, so that at times it was almost impossible to reach the State House without a conveyance by water. Often all the roads leading to the country were inundated. By reason of its unhealthy situation the administration of justice was impeded. The members of the Bar and of the Supreme Court were unwilling to hazard themselves in the town during the sickly season. The inhabitants themselves deserted it at such times. The several contestants for the honor of the new location were very active. The aspiring places were Tuscaloosa, Selma, Montgomery, Centreville, Greensboro, Wilson's Hill (Montevallo), and a place in Autauga County. The discussion of the merits of the proposed sites assumed a wide range, and a seriousness that is now amusing. Tuscaloosa became the successful competitor, the choice depending in part on its situation at the head of navigation on the Black Warrior river. The General Assembly provided for the removal of the Bank, the State offices, and for the sale of the property of the State at Cahaba. At this period Tuscaloasa was a well laid off town, originally a government selection for a town site. It was first settled in 1815. It was in the midst of a fine healthy country. A land office was already in

operation; and a year later it was made the location for the State University.

Congress, April 21, 1820, established a Federal District Court, with jurisdiction over Alabama. Hon. Charles Tait was commissioned Judge, May 30, 1820; and William Crawford, District Attorney, in which offices each served until 1826. By act of Congress, March 10, 1824, the State was divided into the Northern District, with Huntsville as the place of holding Courts, and the Southern District, with Courts to be held at Mobile and Cahaba. In 1826, Judge Tait resigned, and Gov. Pickens was named to succeed him, but he declined the appointment. William Crawford was then commissioned May 22, 1826, and continued in office until his death in 1849.

In 1828 Congress granted four hundred thousand acres of relinquished lands in some of the counties of North Alabama for the improvement of the navigation of the Muscle and Colbert shoals and other parts of the river. To direct this work a Board of Canal Commissioners was created by the General Assembly.* The improvements undertaken were completed in part in the next decade. In these times the genius, energies and hopes of the people did not go beyond an improvement and extension of natural agencies. It was an era of river improvement and canal projection.

Gabriel Moore was elected governor in 1829 without opposition. He was born in North Carolina. Coming to Huntsville in 1810, he begun the practice of law, and soon became prominent in territorial affairs. His administration of the business of his office was in the line of development and policies then dominating the people. He was at this time a friend and supporter of General Jackson.

In 1829, an amendment to the constitution was adopted limiting the official tenure of Judges to six years. It was

* See pp. 649-50.

ratified by the General Assembly, June 16, 1830. This was the first amendment to the State constitution.

On December 29, 1827, Tuscaloosa was selected by the General Assembly as the location for the State University. Buildings were then erected, and a president and faculty chosen. Rev. Alva Woods, at that time holding the same position in Transylvania University, at Lexington, Ky., was chosen president. On April 12, he was publicly inaugurated, and April 18, 1831, the University opened for students.

La Grange College was chartered January 19, 1830. This was the second educational institution established in the south by the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the first denominational college in Alabama.

During these years, 1819 to 1831, the several religious denominations attained their first real healthy growth and expansion. A higher state of intellectual cultivation existed among the preachers. Regular houses of worship were taking the places of the makeshifts of private houses, the county court house, and the open air. The camp meeting grew to be a most potent factor in awakening religious interest, and in advancing the cause of the church.

The Baptist Church in October, 1823, organized a State Convention at Salem Church near Greensboro. The growth of this church for this period was confined almost exclusively to the country. Its condition in 1831 showed twelve associations, two hundred and nineteen churches, one hundred and thirty ministers, and eight thousand nine hundred and fifty-three communicants, but it was much torn with internal dissension over the question of missions.

In 1825 the Vicarate Apostolic of Alabama and Florida was created. In the same year the Rev. Michael Portier was appointed Bishop, and was consecrated November 5, 1826. Prior to this South Alabama was under the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Louisiana and Florida, and North Alabama was under the

Archbishop of Baltimore. There were a few scattered Catholics in various parts of the State, but the only church was at Mobile. This was burned in 1827. On May 15, 1829, the Diocese of Mobile was created, with Bishop Portier at its head. In 1831 several missions had been established, and there were nine priests in the Diocese.

From the introduction of the Methodist Church in the State in 1808 to 1832, it had at various times been in part under the South Carolina, the Tennessee, the Mississippi, and the Georgia Conferences. In the latter year the Alabama Conference was organized. The membership of the denomination had grown rapidly, both in the towns and rural districts. In 1831 it had a membership of thirteen thousand five hundred and four, about two thousand of whom were colored. These were served by forty-four preachers. The Methodist Protestant Church, organized in 1829, had a membership in 1830, of eight hundred and eighty-one.

The Presbyterian Church organization in the State dates from March 1, 1821, when at Cahaba, three ministers and two elders, under an order of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, established the Presbytery of Alabama. It retained its ecclesiastical connection with this Synod until November 11, 1829, when the Synod of Mississippi and South Alabama was formed, composed of the Presbyteries of Mississippi, South Alabama, and Tombeckbee. In 1834 this Synod was divided, and the Synod of Alabama was created, consisting of the Presbyteries of South Alabama, Tombeckbee and Tuscaloosa. In 1831 its condition was thirty-eight churches, twenty-seven ministers, six licentiates, and one thousand six hundred and sixty-nine communicants. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church, which had early entered the State, had three Presbyteries, and its membership was slowly increasing.

While there were many individual Episcopalians in the State, it was not until 1825 that, in Mobile, its first church was

organized, but it had no minister until December, 1827. A Primary Convention was held January 25, 1830, and an organization of churches effected. All of the parishes in the State were placed under the care of the Rt. Rev. Bishop Brownell, of Connecticut.

CHAPTER II.

Annals, 1830 to 1840.

On March 3, 1831, Governor Moore resigned to enter the United States Senate, and was succeeded by Samuel B. Moore, who was then President of the State Senate. This was the second time in the short life of the State that the President of the Senate had become Governor. The new incumbent was a Tennesseean.

In August, 1831, after a heated campaign, John Gayle was elected Governor. His opponents were Samuel B. Moore, the retiring executive, and Nicholas Davis. He was born in South Carolina. Fresh from graduation, in 1813 he came to Monroe county, where he took part in the Indian wars. He read law, and began the practice in 1818. The temper and feeling of the times were reflected in his election. He opposed the continuation of the high protective tariff, re-charter of the Bank of the United States, "deprecated in the strongest terms, the doctrine of nullification and disunion," and believed internal improvement by Congressional promotion a violation of the Constitution. He favored the relief laws for land debtors, and was the avowed friend and supporter of President Jackson.

The Presidential year 1832 coming on, the seven votes of the State were cast for Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren. During this year there was great political indignation in the State over the rejection of Mr. Van Buren by the United States Senate as Minister to Great Britain. Of the Alabama Senators, Mr. King favored, while Mr. Moore opposed confirmation. In expression of their intense feeling against the latter, public

meetings were held by the people in all parts of the State. The General Assembly formally called for his resignation, but he continued in his seat to the close of his term. He was henceforth an opponent of the administration.

From the beginning of the voluntary removal of bodies of Indians to the West, under the direction and encouragement of the General Government, the new settlements formed there were increased from time to time by many from Alabama. But compared with those who remained, the number that went was inconsiderable. The majority of the Indians of the Southern tribes opposed a general removal. The continued presence of the Indians in proximity to thickly settled portions of the State became more irritating and the clamor of the whites to possess their lands so great, that now the President, whose policy had long been to remove the Indians west, foresaw the absolute necessity for securing their lands and providing for their emigration.

To carry out this policy he appointed commissioners to confer with the Indians, which resulted in a series of treaties with them. The first of these, concluded with the Choctaws September 27, 1830, was the treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek. After preliminary arrangements at Cusseta, a treaty with the Creeks was made at Washington City, March 24, 1832. At the Council House on Pontotock Creek, in Mississippi, October 20, 1832, a treaty was entered into with the Chickasaws. In each of these treaties the Indians ceded all of their lands east of the Mississippi river. With somewhat varying provisions, each contained an agreement on the part of the Indians to remove west, the United States undertaking to defray all expenses of removal and to provide homes for them in the new country. It was not long after the execution of these treaties before the Choctaws and Chickasaws removed from such of their lands as were in Alabama.

In anticipation of the cessions contained in these treaties

many pioneers had rushed into the Indian country. When the treaties were executed the volume of immigration was largely increased, not only from adjoining counties in Alabama, but from all of the older States, and by the end of 1832 many thousands had located in East Alabama. The General Assembly, December 18, 1832, laid off the ceded country into ten counties, and provided for putting into operation in this territory the full machinery of state and local government. Out of the Choctaw cession Sumter county was formed. That part of the Chickasaw cession lying in Alabama was attached to Franklin county. Out of the Creek cession nine counties were formed: Benton, Barbour, Chambers, Coosa, Macon, Randolph, Russell, Talladega and Tallapoosa.

While the settlers were coming into the counties in large numbers, planting their crops and making improvements, and the surveys were going on, suddenly great feeling was aroused over the killing, in August, 1833, of Hardeman Owens, a citizen of Russell county. The treaty with the Creeks contained stringent stipulations as to intruders on the ceded lands. It was provided in the 5th article of the treaty that until the country was surveyed and the selection of reservations by the Indians had been made, all intruders should be removed, excepting white persons who had made their own improvements, and who had not expelled the Creeks from theirs. This latter class was allowed to remain until their crops should be gathered. After the surveys were made, and the Indians had made their selections under the treaty, the rule of removal was not to be operative except as to intruders on such selections, which were protected for five years, or until they had passed by conveyance to settlers. The surveys at this time had not been completed, and the selections of reservations were in consequence held in abeyance. The treaty had hardly been executed before complaints were made by the Indians against the settlers who were locating in their midst in large numbers, and in direct violation

of its terms. These complaints continued to be made to the War Department for more than a year. Orders were from time to time given the United States marshal to cause the removal of intruders, forcibly if necessary, and the military stationed at Fort Mitchell was directed to assist him when called upon. The deputy marshal, Jeremiah Austill, made an attempt to arrest Owens when he was shot by the soldiers. Much dissatisfaction had existed with the actions of the deputy marshal in executing his instructions as to intruders, and the killing of Owens produced a high state of excitement. The grand jury of Russell county indicted the soldiers who were concerned in the effort to make the arrest. Gov. Gayle remonstrated with the general government, and Francis Scott Key, author of "The Star-Spangled Banner," was appointed a Federal Commissioner to visit Alabama and adjust the difficulty. The commissioner first visited Fort Mitchell, where he made an investigation, and then went to Tuscaloosa, where he conferred with the governor. A settlement was affected after a consultation, and the controversy closed. The position taken by Governor Gayle placed him in the ranks of the State's Rights men, and his whole attitude toward the President changed.* The breach between them was never healed, and in 1836 he supported Judge Hugh L. White for the Presidency against Martin Van Buren, the representative of the administration.

In the meantime, in August, 1833, Gov. Gayle was re-elected without opposition.

Under the census of 1830, the State was given two additional members of the House of Representatives. To carry out the recent Constitutional amendment, the Legislature of 1831-32 created a separate Supreme Court to consist of three judges.

The same session provided for the decennial revision of the statute laws, and elected John G. Aikin to perform the work. His labors, reported to the following session, were adopted and

*See p. 640 for position of Judge A. F. Hopkins on these questions.

ordered printed. This was the second digest and revision of the kind. In 1836 Mr. Aikin issued an authorized revision. These contained no local or special acts.

There was a called session of the General Assembly, which convened in November, 1832, the second in the existence of the State.

The session of 1832-33 required the Governor to reside at the seat of government.

The first canal in the State, which had been under construction for many years, and which connected Huntsville and Looney's Landing on the Tennessee river, was opened to the public in January, 1832.

The Tuscumbia Railway Company, incorporated January 26, 1830, completed a track of two and one-eighth miles and celebrated the event by the firing of cannon, and the giving of a dinner and ball on June 12, 1832. This was the first railway track laid west of the Alleghany mountains. By the 4th of July 1833, the Tuscumbia, Courtland and Decatur Railroad Company, incorporated January 13, 1832, had constructed a road eight and seven-tenths miles from Tuscumbia toward Decatur. The promoters of these railroad enterprises were among the leading citizens and business men of the Tennessee valley. The General Assembly was now called on at each session to incorporate one or more railroad companies.

Cotton manufacturing had long been a small industry in the State, but the Bell Factory was the first corporation chartered by the Legislature, December 29, 1832, for the manufacture of cotton and woolen wares and cotton and woolen fabrics. Its capital stock was not to exceed $100,000.

The session of the Legislature for 1832-33 was unusually long. It consumed much time in the consideration of nullification, great feeling being occasioned by the controversy between the President and the State of South Carolina.

The winters of 1832 and 1833 were of great severity, and

were each followed by heavy rains and great floods. The Tombigbee river above Gainesville was higher in the latter year than ever before known. On the night of November 13, 1833 occurred the most brilliant meteoric display of which there is any record, and it nowhere presented more beautiful and at the same time alarming manifestations than in Alabama.

A feeling of sorrow pervaded the whole State on the announcement of the death of Lafayette, which sad event occurred May 20, 1834.

To meet the demands for an enlargement of the banking system, branches of the State Bank were established in 1832 in Montgomery, Decatur, and Mobile. In 1835 a branch was established at Huntsville.

The elections of 1835 were as usual characterized by much feeling. Clement Comer Clay was elected governor, defeating Gen. Enoch Parsons. Mr. Clay entered upon his duties with a large and varied experience.*

On December 29, 1835, at New Echota a treaty was concluded with the Cherokees, by which they ceded all their lands east of the Mississippi river. The government was to pay them $5,000,000, and to provide them lands in the West, to which they were to remove. Out of the lands embraced in this cession, the General Assembly, January 9, 1836, created Cherokee, DeKalb, and Marshall Counties.

The General Assembly, January 9, 1836, abolished direct taxation. The expenses of the State government were in future to be defrayed by the State Bank.

On the same date, Spring Hill College (founded in 1830), and the Franklin Society of Mobile, formed for literary and scientific purposes, werein corporated.

During the Texas struggle for independence In 1836, several companies of Alabamians volunteered and hurried to the scenes of the conflict. They suffered untold hardships; and many were cruelly massacred at Goliad.

* See pp. 648-653 for full and appreciative memoir of Mr. Clay.

In 1836, four years after the cessions of their lands, there was an outbreak on the part of some of the Creek Indians in East Alabama. They committed a number of depredations. The village of Roanoke, Ga., on the Chattahoochee, was burned, and several white persons killed. These troubles caused widespread, but unnecessary alarm. Through the energy of Gov. Clay, a force of fifteen hundred volunteers collected at Tuskegee, and on the arrival of Gen. Jessup, of the regular army, he took command. With his force he proceeded against a body of hostiles then assembled in Russell county, but before action he was recalled by Gen. Scott. There was no fighting, although the troops were kept together for some time. Several prominent Indian Chiefs were in friendly co-operation with the authorities. During the progress of these events, Gen Wm. Welborn attacked, on Pea river, a body of emigrating hostiles, who had been guilty of depredations near Midway. Several Indians were killed. At length the Indians submitted, and in the latter part of the year were removed west.*

The State's electoral votes, seven in number, were cast in 1836 for Martin VanBuren and R. M. Johnson, President and Vice-President respectively, on the Democratic ticket. The Whig party entered the political arena in this contest for the first time under this name, its nominee being Wm. Henry Harrison.

The financial panic of 1837, which convulsed the whole country, was felt with unusual severity in Alabama. For some years a spirit of speculation had been growing and spreading, stimulated by increased bank circulation and unlimited credit facilities. Extravagant investments in lands and slaves were made. Property of all kinds reached fictitious values. When the crash came, the banks suspended specie payments, and all classes of business stagnated. Thousands of good men were ruined. Numbers emigrated to the newer States or Territories. In July, 1837, the General Assembly met in called session and

* For detailed account of Mr. Clay's conduct at this time, see pp. 651-3.

passed relief acts, and again at the regular session, further measures were enacted. But unfortunately legislation could not bring substantial relief, and years passed before the people fully rallied from the effects of this trying experience.

Governor Clay, having been elected to the United States Senate, resigned in July, 1837. The president of the State Senate, Hugh McVay, succeeded him, and served the unexpired term. Mr. McVay was a native of South Carolina, and had been in the legislative branch of the public service with but few intervals since 1811.

Arthur P. Bagby was elected governor in 1837 over Samuel W. Oliver. He was re-elected in 1839, nominally opposed by A. F. Hopkins. Mr. Bagby was a native of Virginia, and a lawyer. He entered upon his duties during a period of unparalleled financial distress, which continued with but little abatement during his entire term. Although successive sessions of the General Assembly passed numerous acts, but little real relief was obtained.

Dr. Alva Woods, after seven years of delicate and trying experience, resigned the presidency of the State University in 1837. He was a learned educator. Notwithstanding many instances of insubordination and disturbance on the part of the students, substantial progress was made in the work of higher education. Dr. Basil Manly was elected to the vacancy.

By act of Congress, March 3, 1837, the number of justices of the U. S. Supreme Court was increased to nine. William Smith, of Alabama, was named for one of the new places, but declined, and on April 22, 1837, John McKinley, of Lauderdale county, was commissioned. He continued on the bench until his death in 1852.

The removal of the Cherokees in 1838 was accompanied without difficulty. This took from the State the last of the four great tribes which had from aboriginal times dwelt in its borders.

Separate Courts of Chancery were provided by act of January 26, 1839. Hitherto the Circuit Courts had exercised jurisdiction in all equity causes.

On the same date a "penitentiary and State prison for the reformation of criminals" was established. It was located at Wetumpka. The judges of the Supreme Court were directed to prepare a code of criminal laws adapted to the penitentiary system of punishment. Benj. F. Porter was the author of this measure, which for more than ten years had engaged public attention. In 1831, the proposed system had been rejected by the people in a popular election. Its adoption now was one of the most substantial evidences of broad development, and of the revulsion of public opinion against the old and cruel modes of punishment, such as branding, cropping, whipping, and the pillory.

Another important measure, likewise introduced and urged by Mr. Porter, was the abolition of imprisonment for debt, except in cases of fraud, which became a law February 1, 1839.

A protracted drouth occurred in 1839, extending generally over the South, and lasting from the first of August to the following February. Navigable waters were lower than ever before known.

During this year Mobile was visited by yellow fever, and also a destructive fire, the pestilence causing frightful ravages, and the fire consuming a large part of the city.

CHAPTER III.

Annals, 1840 to 1850.

As a result of intense local party feeling, the General Assembly, in 1840, adopted the "general ticket system," under which all representatives in Congress were to be elected by the vote of the entire State, instead of by districts. This plan was repealed during the next session.

William Henry Harrison was the nominee of the Whigs for the Presidency in 1840, while the Democrats rallied to the re-election of Mr. VanBuren. The seven votes of Alabama were cast for Messrs. VanBuren and Johnson, although the general result was favorable to Mr. Harrison.

The newly elected President at once convened Congress in extra session in May, 1841. This necessitated a called session of the General Assembly of Alabama to elect members of the new Congress.

In 1841, Benjamin Fitzpatrick was elected governor, defeating the Whig candidate, James White McClung. He was born in Georgia, but came in early life to Alabama, where he became a lawyer. He was a man of solid worth, practical character, and eminently a fit executive for the State at this period. He was re-elected in 1843, without opposition.

Governor Firzpatrick's position as a bank reformer was pronounced. Although legislation was urged, the General Assembly of 1841 did nothing. The session of 1842, however, under the leadership of John A. Campbell, met the public expectation by the enactment of measures looking to the liquidation of the banks, and the correction of many local abuses which had crept into their management. At the same time, a general

revenue bill was passed, restoring State taxation, which had been abolished in 1836. Subsequent sessions continued the work of gradual liquidation, until the more heroic measures of Governor Martin's administration were adopted.

The Baptists of the State about this time entered upon their work of higher education. Judson Female Institute, opened to students on January 7, 1839, was incorporated 1841, and in 1843 transferred to the Alabama Baptist State Convention. This body, which convened in 1841 at Talladega, established Howard College, which was chartered December 29, 1841. In January following it opened for students. The college building was destroyed by fire in May, 1844, but through the liberality of the citizens of Marion, new buildings were completed about two years later. These schools have ever maintained a high character, and have more than justified the expectations of the wise and devout men who founded them.

A supplement to Aikin's *Digest of Laws* was issued by Alexander B. Meek in 1841. It embraced the general laws from 1836 to 1841. In the same year C. C. Clay, Sr., was chosen to prepare the decennial digest of the statute laws. His work was adopted, and printed in 1843.

The presidential canvass of 1844 excited unusual interest. The visit of Hon. Henry Clay, on his Southern tour in the early spring of the year, inspired the Whigs of Alabama with confidence in his election. He passed from Mobile to Montgomery, and continued his journey by way of Columbus, Ga. However, James K. Polk for President, and George M. Dallas for Vice-President, received the nine electoral votes of the State.

The death of Gen. Andrew Jackson, Jan. 8, 1845, caused genuine grief in all parts of the State. The sad event was feelingly noticed by Gov. Fitzpatrick in a message to the General Assembly. William L. Yancey and others delivered public orations on his life and character; and the Masonic Grand Lodge of Alabama, in session December, 1845, adopted suitable resolutions.

At the general election of 1845, an amendment to the constitution was adopted, making a change from annual to biennial sessions of the General Assembly. This reform had been favored and urged for many years. As early as 1830, a similar amendment was rejected by the people, but only after a close contest.

At the same time another amendment was submitted, to strike out the section of the Constitution under which the seat of government was located at Tuscaloosa. As was natural, it caused much popular excitement. Both amendments were ratified by the General Assembly.

That body then proceeded to the selection of the future capital, with Tuscaloosa, Wetumpka, Mobile, Montgomery, Statesville, Selma, Marion and Huntsville in nomination. On the sixteenth ballot Montgomery was selected. In accordance with their agreement, the citizens of Montgomery at once proceeded to the erection of a new capitol building. After its completion and acceptance, the State archives and records were removed from Tuscaloosa in November and December, 1847.

In 1845, Nathaniel Terry received the Democratic nomination for governor. Dissatisfaction arising in various localities over the method of his selection, and also his position on the question of bank management, Joshua L. Martin entered the race as an independent. After an acrimonious and spirited canvass, Mr. Martin was elected. He was a native of Tennessee; and a lawyer of ability. From its establishment in 1823, he had opposed all bank legislation. In consequence, he was prepared to urge vigorous measures looking to the final termination of their existence. Under his inspiration, on February 4, 1846, an act was passed placing the whole assets of these institutions in the hands of three commissioners, clothed with comprehensive powers of administration. These commissioners were Francis S. Lyon, Wm. Cooper, and C. C. Clay, Sr. After their first report, Mr. Lyon was made sole commissioner, and as such completed the work of liquidation and adjustment in 1853. His work is a

remarkable evidence of high honor, signal ability, and a capacity for large details.

The struggle with Mexico excited the public mind and patriotic spirit of Alabamians, in common with the people of all sections of the Union. Volunteers from the State in large numbers were anxious to participate. But few commands, however, were received into the Federal service. These were the First Alabama Volunteers, Col. John R. Coffey; Major John J. Seibels' Battalion of Volunteers; and the 13th U. S. Infantry (raised under the ten regiment bill of 1847), which was officered in part by Alabamians. Many Alabama volunteers entered commands from other States.

The first systematic geological exploration of the State was begun July 13, 1847, by Prof. Michael Tuomey, then only recently elected to the chair of geology, mineralogy, and agricultural chemisty in the State University. He was named as state geologist, January 4, 1848, and the result of his excellent work was published in 1850 as "The First Biennial Report of the Geology of Alabama."

Governor Martin declined to stand for re-election in 1847. Reuben Chapman was chosen as his successor, defeating Nicholas Davis, the Whig representative. He remained in office but one term.

The Medical Association of Alabama, an institution which from its inception has been an honor to the State, was founded at Mobile Dec. 4, 1847.

The first biennial session of the General Assembly met in the new capitol building at Montgomery Dec. 6, 1847. The novelty of the occasion, and the facility with which visitors could reach the city, brought together a large number of people.

The Whigs in the general election of 1848 made extraordinary exertions to carry the State for Gen. Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore. Martin Van Buren and Charles F. Adams were the Free Soil candidates. Although the majority was

reduced to less than one thousand, the Democrats were successful, and the electoral vote was cast for Lewis Cass and William O. Butler.

The vacancy caused by the death of William Crawford, 1849, was filled by the appointment of Gov. John Gayle, his commission bearing date March 13, 1849. Judge Crawford had been on the Federal District bench for twenty-two years.

In 1849 an amendment to the constitution was adopted, providing for the election of Judges of the Circuit and Probate Courts by the people.

On December 14, 1849, while both houses of the General Assembly were in session, the capitol building was discovered to be on fire, and in a few hours the beautiful new structure was in ruins. The principal archives were saved, but a number of valuable books and papers in the State library were destroyed. The origin of the fire has never been ascertained. The General Assembly passed an appropriation for rebuilding, and the new structure was completed in time for the session of that body which convened in 1851.

Three counties were formed during this period: Coffee, December 29, 1841, from Dale County; Choctaw, December 29, 1847, from Sumter and Washington Counties; and Hancock February 12, 1850, from Walker County. The name of the latter was subsequently changed to Winston County.

In 1849, Henry W. Collier became governor, and in 1851 he was re-elected. He had no organized opposition. He was a Virginian. For many years he had been chief justice of the State Supreme Court, and had the confidence of the people. He was a man of learning and culture.

CHAPTER IV.

Annals, 1850 to 1860.

The ten years, 1850 to 1860, immediately preceding the war between the States, were momentous in the history of Alabama.

The Alabama Historical Society was organized July 8, 1850, at Tuscaloosa. Its founder and chief promoter was Dr. Basil Manly, then president of the State University. Chancellor Alexander Bowie was elected first president. On February 5, 1852, it was incorporated by the General Assembly. Among its promoters were many of the principal educators and literary men of the State.

The General Assembly in 1850 appointed John J. Ormond, George Goldthwaite and John Erwin "to arrange and codify the public statutes of this state." Mr. Erwin declined to serve, and Arthur P. Bagby was substituted. This act was passed at a time when the subject of codification was under discussion by the most eminent lawyers of the United States. The design of the General Assembly in providing for a code was the reduction of the statutes into order and system, as heretofore the decennial revision had been merely an arbitrary alphabetical arrangement. The work of the commissioners was adopted at the next session, and it was duly published as the Code of 1852. It introduced a vast number of changes in existing laws. The first codes of Tennessee and Georgia were expressly modelled on this one.

In the presidential contest of 1852, Alabama was honored by the Democratic party in the selection of Hon. Wm. R. King as the nominee for the Vice-Presidency. The Whig nominees were Gen. Winfield Scott and W. A. Graham. A Southern Rights' Convention, which met in Alabama, nominated George

M. Troup for President and John A. Quitman for Vice-President. As usual the Democrats carried the State of Alabama, and its nine votes were cast for Franklin Pierce and Wm. R. King. Mr. King's health was bad at this time, and he did not long survive, his death occurring April 18, 1853.

On March 22, 1853, John A. Campbell, a distinguished jurist of Mobile, was commissioned as the successor to Associate Justice John McKinley, of the Supreme Court of the United States. After the secession of Alabama in 1861, Mr. Campbell resigned.

The Democrats in 1853 elected John Anthony Winston governor. He was opposed by Wm. S. Earnest, who favored a system of internal improvements with state aid. Two years later the American, or Know-Nothing party, having sprung into organized existence in the State, George D. Shortridge resigned a seat on the bench to become its candidate. After a joint canvass Mr. Winston was elected. He was the first native born governor of the State. He was a man of affairs and fearless in the performance of his conception of his duty.

The administrations of Governors Collier and Winston were notable for the great interest taken in all parts of the State in local improvements, and the projection of extensive railroad enterprises. The rage in this direction became so great that the General Assembly, in response to the appeals of the promoters of these enterprises, freely extended to them the pecuniary assistance of the State. Gov. Winston promptly vetoed these measures, and became thereby known as the "Veto Governor." He regarded legislation of this character as inconsistent with the true purposes of government, and urged that ruinous consequences would follow.

On February 15, 1854, the General Assembly provided for the establishment and maintenance of "a system of free public schools." This forms the legislative beginning of the present school system. Although numerous efforts in the direction of

school legislation had been projected, this was the first general enactment in the history of the State. William F. Perry, an intelligent and progressive educator, was appointed Superintendent of Education. During his four years of service, he successfully organized the various branches of the work, and brought about valuable amendatory legislation.

Owing to failing health, Dr. Basil Manly resigned the presidency of the University in 1855. For eighteen years he had guided the destinies of the institution. He was an able executive, a patient and learned teacher, and a man of deep piety. Dr. Landon C. Garland in the same year succeeded him.

James Buchanan, Democrat, Millard Fillmore, American, and John C. Fremont, Anti-Slavery or Republican, were the respective leaders in the presidential canvass of 1856. The nine electoral votes of Alabama were cast for Buchanan and Breckenridge.

The successor of Governor Winston was Andrew B. Moore, a native South Carolinian, who was elected in 1857. He had no opposition. He was a lawyer. In 1859 he was again elected, his opponent being Wm. F. Samford. The first part of his administration was without startling incidents, but in the closing part of his second term he was confronted with grave duties, which he performed with alacrity and courage.

The death of Federal District Judge John Gayle occurred July 21, 1859. For over forty years he had been in public and professional life in Alabama. His successor was William Giles Jones, Esq., commissioned September 29, 1859.

Provision was made by the General Assembly of 1852 for an institution for the education of the deaf and dumb. The school founded under the act was of short duration, and it was in 1857-58 before another effort was made at permanent establishment. In this year the governor and superintendent of education located the institution at Talladega, and engaged Dr. Joseph H. Johnson as principal. It was opened for students

October 1, 1858. Dr. Johnson filled his responsible post until his death in 1893.

In January, 1856, the Southern University was incorporated. It was established by the Alabama Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. On October 3, 1859, the first students were admitted. Dr. Wm. M. Wightman was the first president.

The Medical College of Alabama was founded in 1859. Its origin was largely due to the efforts of Dr. Josiah C. Nott, and his accomplished medical associates, then living at Mobile. A class of fourteen graduated in 1860, but it was closed after the second commencement in 1861. From 1865 to 1868 the buildings were occupied by Federal troops. In the latter year exercises were resumed.

To the session of the General Assembly, 1849-50, Miss Dorothea L. Dix, a noble and philanthropic woman, presented a memorial for the establishment of an asylum for the insane. Although an appropriate act was projected, it failed of passage. However, at the next session, February 6, 1852, the Alabama Insane Hospital was established. It was completed and opened to the public April 5, 1861. Dr. Peter Bryce was appointed superintendent, an office he held with distinguished ability until his death in 1892. This is one of the largest, best equipped and best managed charitable institutions in the world.

By act of February 3, 1860, a military department was established at the State University, and the students were required, for their better government, to be placed under military discipline. This change was largely brought about by the efforts of Dr. Garland, president of the institution, who had long urged this scheme as the best form of college management; and in its adoption there was no prophetic anticipation of the disastrous conflict soon to follow.

In the preparation for the presidential election of 1860, the Republican party had shown unusual aggressiveness, and its success was greatly feared. The General Assembly, February

24, 1860, adopted joint resolutions requiring the governor to call a convention of the people in case of the "election of a President advocating the principles and actions of the party in the Northern States calling itself the Republican party."

The leaders, as put forth later by the respective parties, were: the Northern wing of the Democrats, Stephen A. Douglas and H. V. Johnson; the Southern wing of the Democrats, J. C. Breckenridge and Joseph Lane; the American or Union party, John Bell and Edward Everett; and the Republicans, Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin. The Republican party was successful, but Alabama's electoral vote was cast for Breckenridge and Lane.

CHAPTER V.

War Annals, 1861 to 1865.

After the meeting of the electoral college, Governor Moore, carrying out the instructions of the joint resolutions of February 24, 1860, issued his proclamation calling for the election, December 24, 1860, of delegates to a "convention of the State to consider, determine and to do whatever in the opinion of said convention, the rights, interests and honor of the State of Alabama require to be done for their protection." Anticipating secession, the governor caused Forts Gaines and Morgan, at the entrance of Mobile bay, and the arsenal at Mount Vernon, to be occupied by the troops of the State. He also appointed commissioners to all the slaveholding States to consult as to what was best to be done to protect their rights. The convention met January 7, 1861, in the city of Montgomery. Under the leadership of William L. Yancey, but only after an earnest struggle, on January 11, it adopted, by a vote of 61 to 39, "An ordinance to dissolve the Union between the State of Alabama and other States under the compact 'The constitution of the United States of America.'" After its passage the members of Congress from Alabama at once withdrew from that body. In the meantime, in obedience to a resolution of January 8, the governor dispatched five hundred troops to aid the State of Florida in taking charge of the forts at the mouth of the Pensacola harbor. On March 13, the convention ratified the Confederate States Constitution. It also provided for annual instead of biennial sessions of the General Assembly; and on March 21 adjourned.

In February, 1861, Thomas J. Judge visited Washington City, as commissioner from Alabama to the Federal Govern-

ment, to negotiate with the latter in reference to the forts, arsenals and custom houses in the State, the public debt of the United States, and the future relations of Alabama with the United States government. President Buchanan declined to receive him in any other capacity than as a distinguished citizen of Alabama. The course of the President in declining to receive the commissioner was deemed an abandonment of all claims of the government to the Federal property, for which the State through its representative desired to make compensation.

The Provisional Congress convened at Montgomery on February 4, 1861. On the 8th following it adopted a constitution, and on the 9th elected Jefferson Davis President, and Alexander H. Stephens Vice-President of the Confederate States. On the 18th of the same month, on the portico of the historic capitol building at Montgomery, the inauguration of these officials took place. It adjourned March 16, and on April 29, a called session convened at the same place.

On Feb. 21, LeRoy Pope Walker, of Alabama, was made the first Secretary of War in the cabinet of President Davis.

In the meantime, on Jan. 14, the General Assembly of Alabama met in extraordinary session. It promptly responded with appropriate legislation in support of the action of the convention. An appropriation of $500,000 was made to "the cause of Southern independence;" the governor was authorized to issue $1,000,000 in Treasury notes; and he was also authorized to issue $2,000,000 in 8 per cent. state bonds "for the military defense of the State." A second called session convened October 28, while the first regular session of the year assembled November 11, 1861.

On the secession of the State, Mr. Jones resigned as Federal District Judge, but President Davis reapppointed him. Disregarding the latter appointment, on March 28, 1861, the President of the United States appointed George W. Lane, but he never performed any of the duties of the position.

A formal proclamation of war was made on April 15, by President Lincoln. At once the brave and patriotic people of Alabama rallied to its defense. The sentiment of the State is thus described by Gov. Thomas H. Watts in his inaugural address, December 1, 1863:

"And when the first tocsin of war sounded, co-operationists and secessionists marched shoulder to shoulder, heart to heart, hand to hand to the arbitrament of battle. From the Gulf to our northern border; from the mountains, valleys and plains; from the east and from the west, the stalwart sons of Alabama rushed to the standard of the new-born republic; and with dauntless bravery and heroism, they have crimsoned with their blood every battlefield from Manassas to Chickamauga. An imperishable monument of glorious renown has been erected for the State! The name '*Alabamian*' has become immortal in our history!"

It must be borne in mind, however, that there was a strong Union sentiment in some parts of the State; and during the first year of the war a plan was discussed to organize the northern section into a new state, to be called "Nickajack."

During the whole of the first year of the war, Gov. Moore was in the executive office. He was an ardent secessionist, and did much to hasten the movement of events in the State, as well as to arouse the people to a prompt response to arms when war became inevitable. The General Assembly, December 3, 1861, adopted joint resolutions in testimony of his "ability, patriotism and fidelity."

At the election of 1861, John Gill Shorter was chosen governor. He had no opposition, although a complimentary vote was cast for Thomas H. Watts. Mr. Shorter was a native of Georgia. Entering on the practice of law, he had risen in popular favor, and when elected he was a member of the provisional Congress. Notwithstanding he was embarrassed by

a multitude of difficult questions, growing out of the war, he performed his duties with fidelity.

The early months of 1862 found North Alabama invaded by Federal troops, who continued its occupation during the remainder of the war, except a short while in 1862-63. The counties of Jackson, Marshall, Madison, Lawrence, Franklin (now in Colbert), Limstone and Lauderdale were the scenes of many stirring events. The brave inhabitants were in many instances the subjects of cruel treatment, besides losing their possessions by pillage and fire. At the close of the long conflict this beautiful and fertile region was largely waste and desolate.

In the efforts of the enemy to extend their raids through the State, many spirited encounters took place. During the latter part of 1862, at Little Bear Creek, in the vicinity of Tuscumbia, a fight occurred between the Confederates, under Gen. P. D. Roddy and Gen. Sweeney, in which the latter fell back to Corinth. Shortly afterward, at Barton Station, Gen. Roddy had a more sanguinary encounter with the Federals, in which they were again forced back. On April 28, 1863, an engagement without special results took place at the railroad crossing of Town Creek, in Lawrence county, between Gen. G. M. Dodge, with 8,000 troops, and Gen. N. B. Forrest, with about half that number. Gen. Roddy was bravely resisting the advance of Gen. Dodge, when Forrest came to the rescue. At night the latter withdrew to go in pursuit of Col. A. D. Streight, and Gen. Dodge fell back, destroying in his retreat dwelling-houses, barns, fences and everything which his wicked vandalism could reach.

Gen. Forrest, on May 3, 1863, succeeded in capturing Col. Streight and his force of 1,700 men in Cherokee county. The latter had left Tuscumbia a few days previous with the intention of seizing the Confederate stores at Rome, Ga. On this pursuit, Miss Emma Sansom, a modest young girl of Etowah county, became famous by her daring and heroic conduct in directing Gen. Forrest, at great peril to herself, to a ford of Black

Creek, the bridge having been burned by Streight's men. In recognition of "her courage, her patriotism, her devotion to our cause," the General Assembly, November 27, 1863, voted her a gold medal and a section of public land in the State.

The death on July 28, 1863, of Hon. William Lowndes Yancey removed from the councils of the Confederacy one of its bravest spirits and most devoted adherents. He was the son of Benjamin Cudworth Yancey, of South Carolina, and was born in that state on August 10, 1814. He came to Alabama in 1836. He was successively planter, editor, lawyer, member of the General Assembly and Senate of Alabama, Member of Congress, and political leader. In the latter capacity Mr. Yancey was conspicuous. He was one of the leading spirits in the Charleston Convention, and urged the extreme Southern view on the questions of the day. As a member of the Secession Convention of Alabama, 1861, he "was the master spirit, towering above all others, in the boldness of his conceptions, in the energy of his measures, and in the splendid gifts of argumentative eloquence." In March, 1861, President Davis appointed him Commissioner from the Confederate States to England and France. He was unsuccessful in securing recognition, and returned home in 1862. He then took his seat in the Confederate States Senate from Alabama, a position he held at the time of his death. Hon. Robert Jemison, then a member of the State Senate, was chosen as his successor, and in his parting address to that body refers to him "as the lamented Yancey, whose eloquence and perseverance in the cause of Southern rights, contributed more largely than the efforts of any other man to bring about our separation from the old Federal Union."

After two years of trying experience, Gov. Shorter was defeated for re-election in 1863, by Thomas H. Watts. Mr. Watts was the second native-born governor. He was an active secessionist. On the resignation of Judah P. Benjamin, he was made Attorney-General of the Confederate States, a position he

held at the time of his election. He was an able man, but in his administration he encountered in multiplied form the difficulties and embarrassments which had confronted his predecessor.

The year 1864 was marked by numerous local conflicts. In March, Capt. H. F. Smith captured a Federal detachment, and a supply of stores at Claysville, Marshall county. On May 17, following, the Federal stockade at Madison Station was captured by a force under Col. Patterson, aided by Stewart's battalion.

A daring raid was made in July, 1864, by Gen. Rousseau, with a force of about 2000 cavalry, from the Tennessee Valley down the eastern section of the State. Reaching Loachapoka, he destroyed the railroad tracks, at the same time burning the depot buildings at this point, and at Auburn and Opelika. Attacked by a small force of Confederates, and a number of University cadets, then on their vacation, he retreated into Georgia.

The first part of the State occupied by the Federals was Limestone county, and a number of substantial defenses had been erected by them in Athens and vicinity. In September, 1864, Gen. Forrest captured Athens, Sulphur Trestle, and other small points.

The city of Mobile, on account of its great importance, had early been put in a state of defense, and its fortifications had from time to time been enlarged. It now became an object of attack by the Gulf Squadron, commanded by Admiral David G. Farragut. New Orleans and Pensacola were already in the hands of the enemy. On August 3, 1864, Gen. Gordon Granger proceeded against Fort Gaines with 1500 men. The Federal fleet of eighteen vessels, on August 6, moved into the Bay, and although furiously attacked by the forts and by the Confederate gunboats, it successfully entered. This was one of the greatest naval engagements of the war. The U. S. Monitor Tecumseh was sunk with all her crew. The Confederate Ram Tennessee and one gunboat were captured, but the two other gunboats

escaped. On August 8, Col. Anderson surrendered Fort Gaines. Fort Morgan was then besieged, and on August 23, unable to make longer resistance, it was surrendered by Gen. Page.

The immediate defenses of the city were now greatly strengthened and it was some months before it was the subject of further attack. On March 17, 1865, Gen. E. R. S. Canby, with a force of 32,000, set out from Fort Morgan to attack Spanish Fort and Blakeley. On March 27, the seige of Spanish Fort began, and on the night of April 8, the garrison evacuated it and retreated into Mobile. In the meantime Gen. F. Steele, with 13,200 men, left Pensacola, and reaching Pollard burned the public property, and tore up the railroad tracks. He then invested Blakeley, April 2. In one week the fort was captured. On April 11, batteries Huger and Tracey were evacuated. All of the defenses on the eastern shore being now in the hands of the enemy, Gen. D. H. Maury, April 12, 1865, moved out of the city, and it was at once occupied by the Federals.

While the campaign in the southern part of the State was in progress, Gen. James H. Wilson, with a picked force of about 14,000 men, in March, 1865, left Gravelly Springs, Lauderdale county, for the purpose of attacking Selma, and diverting attention from Canby's efforts to capture Mobile. Selma was a military depot of great importance to the Confederacy. Passing through Russellville, Jasper, Elyton and Montevallo, and destroying much valuable property along the route, on April 2, he arrived before Selma. Gen. Forrest, with about 3000 men, chiefly militia and mechanics from the shops, was in charge of the defenses, and although he made a gallant resistance, the city was taken on the same day. Almost the entire garrison was captured.

On the 10th the Federal forces moved toward Montgomery, which was occupied without resistance, April 12.

At Elyton, Gen. Croxton, with about 1,400 men, deflected from Gen. Wilson's main column, and March 31, marched

toward Tuscaloosa. After a spirited resistance, he entered the town, April 4. He destroyed the foundries, factories and public stores. On April 4, the handsome and costly buildings of the State University were burned by his orders. Leaving Tuscaloosa, Gen. Croxton had a disastrous engagement in Greene county with Gen. Wirt Adams, after which he passed across the State, through Jasper and Talladega.

On April 16, 1865, Gen. LaGrange, of Wilson's Cavalry, with 3,000 men, attacked Fort Tyler, a small defense in Chambers county, garrisoned by not exceeding 250 men and boys. After a brief and bloody struggle the fort was surrendered. The same day a large force of Georgia militia was repulsed at Girard by Wilson's cavalry. These engagements, which took place on Alabama soil, were probably the very last conflicts of the war.

Among other acts of vandalism committed by the invading armies of the North, was the burning of the court houses of Jackson, Marshall and Pickens counties.

On May 4, 1865, Gen. Richard Taylor surrendered to Gen. Canby the Military Department, which included Alabama. There were no further operations in the State.

During the four long and bitter years now ended, although bowed down with burdens and oppressed with sorrows, the people loyally responded as far as possible to every demand made upon them. Upon the aged men and boys devolved the difficult task of home and plantation management. They also formed themselves into companies of "Home Guards" for local protection. The devoted women of the State were equal to all the emergencies of conditions the most trying. The General Assembly, December 9, 1864, tendered them the thanks of the State, the joint resolution reciting that the members were

"Profoundly and gratefully impressed with the lofty and patriotic spirit, the ardent devotion, and the unremitting labors and sacrifices of the noble women of the State in providing for

the wants and comforts of our gallant soldiers, and who by their labors of love, their patience of hope, and their unflinching constancy in our cause, have nerved our veteran soldiers in the field, in their bloody and unequal contest with our cruel and unrelenting foe."

The number of soldiers from Alabama which enlisted during the war is estimated at 122,000, of a total white population of 526,271 in 1860. Of these at least 35,000 are believed to have lost their lives, while a large number were permanently disabled by wounds or disease. These troops comprised substantially sixty regiments of infantry, three regiments of mounted infantry, thirteen of cavalry, six battalions, and twenty batteries; besides many Alabamians served in commands from other states. There was no important battle east of the Mississippi river, in which its troops did not perform an honorable part; and some of the most brilliant Confederate general officers were Alabamians, either by birth or adoption.

In his report to Gov. Parsons, dated December 4, 1865, Col. Wm. H. Fowler, State Superintendent of Army Records, says:

"I assert, with confidence, that Alabama sent more troops into the service in proportion to population than any other state of the South, and that her loss was heavier than any other, irrespective of population. I am certain, too, that when Gen. Lee surrendered his army the representation from Alabama, on the field that day, was inferior to no other Southern State in numbers, and surely not in gallantry."

CHAPTER VI.

Reconstruction Annals, 1865 to 1874.

According to the view of the Federal authorities, "the rebellion" had "in its revolutionary progress, deprived the people of the State of Alabama of all civil government." Therefore, they declined to recognize the civil officials in control of the State on May 4, 1865, the date of the surrender of the military department of which it formed a part, and it was not until June 21, that civil government was re-established.

On that date, President Andrew Johnson, by proclamation appointed Lewis E. Parsons, a native of New York, provisional governor. Mr. Parsons had been a Douglas Democrat in 1860, and during the whole war a consistent Union man. Assuming control, he proceeded to the appointment of officials, and the performance of such other duties as would put the machinery of local government in motion.

In accordance with the directions in his appointment, Gov. Parsons ordered an election to be held August 31, 1865, for the selection of delegates to a convention to *alter and amend* the constitution, and "with authority to exercise within the limits of said State all the powers necessary and proper to enable such loyal people of the State of Alabama to restore said State to its constitutional relations to the Federal Government." The convention met at the Capitol September 12, and was in session until September 30. In addition to other work, it abolished slavery in the State, declared the ordinance of secession null and void, repudiated the war debt, and declared null and void the Ordinances of the convention of January 7, 1861, where in con-

flict with the Constitution of the United States. It also provided for the election of Governor, members of the General Assembly, and other officials.

William G. Jones, who had been District Judge of Alabama under the Confederate States Government, discontinued his duties after the war ended; and Richard Busteed, of New York, who had been appointed by President Lincoln, November 17, 1863, entered upon his duties in 1865.

At the State election, in November, 1865, Robert M. Patton, a native of Virginia, was elected governor, his opponents being Michael J. Bulger and Wm. R. Smith. He was publicly inaugurated December 13, but it was not until December 20, acting under instructions from W. H. Seward, the Secretary of State of the United States, that provisional Governor Parsons relinquished the State Government to him. His administration was beset with unusual difficulties, the result of new and changed conditions, the demoralization of labor, the presence of United States troops, the disfranchisement of the leading white men, and the enfranchisement of the former slaves.

On Nov. 20, the General Assembly convened; and December 2, 1865, it ratified the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, prohibiting slavery and involuntary servitude. Lewis E. Parsons and George S. Houston were elected Senators in Congress. At the previous election in November, six members of the House of Representatives were chosen. Congress, however, declined to admit any of these members to seats.

This action of Congress aroused the people to a realization of the attitude of the Republican leaders, and called forth from the General Assembly, February 22, 1866, a series of joint resolutions approving the policy of President Johnson, denouncing "those who represent our views and intentions to be different, as cruel and criminal assaults on our character and our interest," lamenting the presence in the State of "persons whose interests

are temporarily promoted by such false representations," renewing their pledges to treat the negro race "with justice, humanity and good faith," and also protesting that to compel the State, "with no voice in the councils of the nation," to "change the adjustment of political power as fixed by the Constitution" would be an unjustifiable breach of faith. These declarations were representative of the sentiment of the people who were not only willing to conform, but who did faithfully conform, to every pledge demanded for their complete restoration.

Notwithstanding the State government had been reorganized strictly in accordance with the requirements of President Johnson, and eighteen months had passed in which order had been restored and the people were hopefully struggling to recuperate their ruined conditions, Congress refused to recognize the government as "loyal and republican." By act of March 2, and supplementary act of March 23, 1867, passed over the veto of the President, Alabama and the other seceding states were relegated to a condition of military dependence. Alabama, Florida and Georgia were to comprise the Third Military District. To the command of each district, the President was directed to assign an army officer not below the rank of a Brigadier-General, upon whom almost unlimited power was conferred. This action of Congress was due in part to the failure of Alabama, as well as the other Southern States, to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment proposed to the United States Constitution, the misrepresentations of Freedmen's Bureau officials and others, and also to the hostile feeling existing between the Republican leaders and the President.

It was further provided that when a State constitution should be framed in conformity with the United States Constitution, ratified by a majority of the qualified electors voting thereon, and approved by Congress; and when the Fourteenth Amendment should be adopted by the General Assembly, and when the same should have become a part

of the Constitution of the United States, the State should then be entitled to representation in Congress and the military regulations should no longer be in force.

Delegates having been elected under military orders, the Convention assembled November 5 and continued in session to December 6, 1867. It was composed of Northerners, negroes, a few Southern renegades, and but a small number of intelligent and patriotic men. A constitution was adopted, and submitted to a five days' vote in February, 1868. It failed to receive the votes of a majority of the qualified electors, the conservative white people refraining from voting. Nevertheless, Congress declared it adopted as the constitution of the State, and furthermore enacted that the officials elected at the same time were entitled to their respective offices.

The General Assembly convened July 13, 1868, and on the same day the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified and Wm. H. Smith, a native of Georgia, who had been elected governor in February preceding, was inaugurated. The members of this Assembly were "carpet-baggers," "scallawags," and twenty-six negroes who cared little for the interests of the people. Three sessions were held during the year, and individual profit prompted their legislative work. Under the influence of pretended capitalists and promoters, and indifferent to the disastrous results to follow, they recklessly and corruptly voted away the credit of the State in aid of a number of railroad enterprises.

Among the agencies which contributed to the general disorder, during these trying years, was the Freedmen's Bureau. Early in 1865 its operations were extended to Alabama, and an assistant-commissioner was appointed. To this institution, created March 3, 1865, was committed "the supervision and management of all abandoned lands, and the control of all subjects relating to refugees and freedmen from the rebel states." While established ostensibly to meet alleged conditions growing

out of the emancipation of the slaves, its real origin was due to "sectional bitterness and pseudo humanity."

Its officials were principally political adventurers, more intent upon the betterment of their own fortunes than those of the poor negroes. They received bribes from planters for aiding them to control labor; and themselves acquired lands upon which they employed at cheap prices the very classes they were sent to protect. Moreover they, with like adventurers in other occupations, entered politics. By the negro vote they went to Congress, became representatives in the State Assembly, and were elected to State and county offices. From the evil effects of their official misconduct, the State has not yet fully rallied. By their bitter and persistent misrepresentations the public mind at the North was constantly irritated, thus embarrassing the reorganization policies of President Johnson; and when the harsh and cruel plan of Congressional Reconstruction was formulated, they were the nucleus for its administration. Fortunately for the negroes, for the State and for the Nation, Congress decreed its discontinuance after January 1, 1869.

The three sessions of the General Assembly immediately following the war established the following new counties, viz: Elmore, created by act, approved February 15, 1866; Crenshaw, November 24, 1866; Bullock and Lee, December 5, 1866; Cleburne, December 6, 1866; Clay and Etowah, December 7, 1866; Hale, January 30, 1867; Lamar, February 4, 1867; Colbert, February 6, 1867; Escambia, December 10, 1868; Geneva, December 26, 1868; and Chilton, December 30, 1868.

The General Assembly, November 24, 1869, ratified the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which provided that "the rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

Gov. Smith was defeated in 1870 for a second term by

Robert B. Lindsay, the Democratic candidate, who was a native of Scotland. Gov. Smith refused to yield his office, and called a body of Federal soldiers to his assistance in retaining possession of the executive rooms. However, after a few weeks, he was forced to retire by judicial proceedings. The Republicans were in control of the State Senate during the administration of Gov. Lindsay.

David P. Lewis was elected governor in 1872, by the Republicans. The Democratic leader was Thomas H. Herndon. Mr. Lewis was a Virginian, but raised in North Alabama. During the war he had been a Union sympathizer. His administration was noted for its reckless and unguarded expenditure of the State's revenues, the increase of taxes and the enlargement of the public debt. Governor Lewis and his party did nothing to protect the State from these or other evils, and they were altogether incompetent to their high trusts. At the beginning of his term in November, 1872, occurred the conflict between two rival legislative bodies, known as the "Capitol Legislature" and the "Court House Legislature." Gov. Lindsay, the outgoing executive recognized the "Capitol" assembly, which was composed of a Democratic majority, while Mr. Lewis, the newly elected Republican governor, recognized the other. Under a plan proposed by the Republican Attorney-General of the United States, a reorganization was effected, and the "Capitol" body held its last session December 17, 1872.

For Ulysses S. Grant and Schuyler Colfax, Republicans, in 1868, the eight electoral votes of the State were cast. Horatio Seymour and F. P. Blair, Jr., were the Democratic candidates in this election. In 1872, there was a large number of aspirants for the Presidency. In Alabama the Democrats supported Horace Greeley and B. Gratz Brown, liberal Republican candidates, but its vote, which had been increased to ten, was given to U. S. Grant and Henry Wilson.

As Gov. Lewis' term drew to its close, after six years

practically of Republican rule, a condition of affairs existed which appalled the conservative and patriotic people of the State. Irrespective of past political differences they rallied under the Democratic and conservative standard, and with the cry of "down with the fools and thieves," retrenchment and reform, and purity of official administration, they elected, in 1874, George S. Houston, governor, over David P. Lewis, again put forward by the Republicans. Large majorities were elected in both branches of the General Assembly. Mr. Houston was a native of Tennessee. He was a lawyer, and had enjoyed a long and distinguished public career.

During this period, known as reconstruction times, the State, wrecked by political ills, its government in the hands of the incompetent, corrupt and illiterate, and disturbed by the uncertainty of the future, experienced but little real progress, although there were a number of important general occurrences. To rebuild the State University, the General Assembly, February 20, 1866, provided a loan of $70,000 from the State Treasury. In the same year Dr. Garland resigned the presidency. "Alva Woods Hall" having been completed, it was again opened for students in April, 1869. The city of Birmingham was laid out in 1871. The State Agricultural and Mechanical College, at Auburn, was established in 1872 and installed in the buildings of the East Alabama College, which had been donated to the State. The Law Department of the State University was established in 1872. On April 18, 1873, the General Assembly passed an act to "revive and complete the geological and agricultural survey of Alabama," and appointed Dr. Eugene Allen Smith State Geologist.

CHAPTER VII.

Annals, 1875 to 1900.

The inauguration of Governor Houston in November, 1874, marked the end of the reign of disorder and the beginning of a new era in the State. His administration of four years was characterized by rigid economy in the expenditures of the executive departments, a careful attention to the general financial condition of the State, the displacement of incompetent local officials, and needed reform in the laws by appropriate legislation.

During 1874 the subject of calling a constitutional convention was discussed, and the General Assembly, March 19, 1875, passed an act to submit the question to the people. The election resulted favorably to the proposition to hold the Convention, at which time delegates had also been chosen. This body met September 6, and continued in session until October 2, 1875. It was composed of strong and able men. A number of radical and important changes were incorporated in the new instrument which was framed.

The deplorable condition of the State's finances necessitated legislation looking to relief and adjustment. The General Assembly, December 17, 1874, provided for the appointment of a commission, entrusted with the duty of ascertaining the State debt arising from bonds issued or endorsed in the name of the State, and of reporting a plan of liquidation and adjustment. The commissioners found the exact State indebtedness to be $30,037,563. On a basis of compromise proposed by them, this sum was reduced to a little more than $9,000,000.

Since the national election of 1876, Alabama in federal politics has been Democratic. However, in some of the Congressional districts an occasional opponent of the party has been returned to the House of Representatives. The electoral vote has been cast as follows: in 1876, for Samuel J. Tilden and Thomas A. Hendricks; 1880, W. S. Hancock and Wm. H. English; 1884, Grover Cleveland and Thomas. A. Hendricks; 1888, Grover Cleveland and Allen G. Thurman; 1892, Grover Cleveland and Adlai E. Stevenson; and in 1896, for William Jennings Bryan and Arthur Sewall.

Cullman county was created January 24, 1877, out of Blount, Morgan and Winston counties. Its formation was necessitated by the successful growth of a colony planted in 1873 by John G. Cullman.

In 1878 Rufus W. Cobb was elected governor, and in 1880 he was re-elected. His successors, with period of service, are as follows: Edward A. O'Neal, 1882 to 1886; Thomas Seay, 1886 to 1890; Thomas Goode Jones 1890 to 1894; Wm. C. Oates, 1894 to 1896; and Joseph Forney Johnston, 1896 to 1900. These several executives have been men devoted to the interests of the State, and faithful in the performance of their high and important duties. During the years embraced in these administrations, Alabama has experienced a marvellous and unparalleled growth, not only in material development but in the progress of culture, education, reform and institutional growth.

Although founded in 1871, the growth of the city of Birmingham had been slow. In 1873 its population was decimated by a cholera scourge, and at times the outlook was altogether discouraging. But its promoters, having faith in the inexhaustible mineral wealth of the section, never faltered in their work. In 1879 it entered upon a secure and substantial growth.

In 1880 it had a population of 3,086. On Nov. 23, 1880, Alice furnace, No. 1, went into blast. In the spring of 1881, the stock of the Elyton Land Co., which had been as low as $15.00

per share, reached par. The town now began to go rapidly forward: furnaces, rolling mills, iron manufactories of all kinds, handsome business houses and residences, and municipal improvements came into existence as by magic. A census of Jan. 1, 1886, disclosed a population of 21,763 in the limits of the corporation. Early in 1886, real estate speculation opened up with great activity and an unprecedented "boom" followed. In the spring of 1887, this subsided, and a period of depression set in. In 1890, the number of inhabitants was 26,178. During the present decade, although there have been years of financial hardship, its growth has been steadily forward. The manufacture of steel has made possible the successful rivalry of the Birmingham district with the most favored mineral sections of the world.

Material growth has not, however, been confined to Birmingham alone. Anniston and Sheffield, founded in 1883, and Bessemer, 1887, each became in a short time important business and manufacturing centres, while Dothan, Gadsden, Attalla, Fort Payne, Florence, Decatur, Huntsville, and Jasper entered upon a prosperous development.

In January, 1883, the defalcation of Isaac H. Vincent, State Treasurer, was discovered. His shortage was found by a legislative committee to be over $230,000. He disappeared, and it was not until 1887 that he was captured. In August of that year he was tried in Montgomery, and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. Before the expiration of his term he was pardoned.

Law reform, the administration of justice, and the character of the legal profession have kept progress with the material advance of the State. So odious had Federal Judge Richard Busteed become, from his tyrannical and arbitrary methods, that his resignation was compelled under fear of successful impeachment. On February 27, 1875, John Bruce, the present incumbent, succeeded him. By act of Congress, August 2, 1886,

an additional federal judge was provided, with jurisdiction in the Southern district; and Harry Toulmin, January 13, 1887, was commissioned. The several revisions of the state laws have appeared as follows: the Code of 1876, prepared by Wade Keyes, Fern. M. Wood, and John D. Roquemore; the Code of 1886, by Robert C. Brickell, Peter Hamilton and John P. Tillman; and the Code of 1896, by Wm. L. Martin. On February 18, 1889, an additional judge was provided for the State Supreme Court; and February 12, 1891, another was added. The number of chancery divisions and judicial circuits have been increased. On January 15, 1879, the Alabama State Bar Association was organized. The influence of this organization has been most salutary, not only upon the profession, but in the matter of legislation. On Feb. 18, 1897, a more stringent act for the examination and admission of attorneys was passed, and about the same time the course at the University law school was increased from one to two years.

New and changed conditions necessitated a number of new offices. A railroad commission was established February 26, 1881. On February 23, 1883, a State Department of Agriculture was created. Its administrative head was to be a commissioner "who shall be a practical and experienced agriculturist." He was to encourage and stimulate organization, the development of agriculture, horticulture and kindred interests, and collect and publish statistics, besides a number of other duties. The important office of state tax commissioner was provided by act of February 3, 1897. The constant growth and enlargement of the mining industries of the State had for some time called for legislation, and to meet this demand, the General Assembly, on February 16, 1897, provided a chief mining inspector and two associates, besides making regulations on the important subjects of the examination of mine bosses, standard scales, safety lamps, ventilation, maps of mines and provisions for wounded in case of accident.

The educational advance has been notable. The public school system has been perfected in many details; and a rigid law for the examination and license of teachers has been enacted. The number of separate school districts has greatly increased; and in some instances local taxation for the support of the public schools has been authorized. The several State institutions have been gradually enlarging their field of usefulness. Great progress has been made in the facilities for the higher education of girls. In 1892 co-education was inaugurated at the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn; and the next year the State University followed. The splendid results have more than justified the innovation. The "Alabama Girls' Industrial School" was created by the General Assembly, 1892-93. It was later located at Montevallo, and the first session opened for students, Oct. 12, 1896. The Alabama Educational Association was formed in 1882, and is now in a strong and healthy condition. The *Educational Exchange*, the first number of which appeared April, 1889, is an excellent monthly periodical conducted in the interest of education.

Following the organization of the Department of Agriculture, an Agricultural Experiment Station was installed at the Alabama Polytechnic Institute. In 1887, the Canebrake Experiment Station at Uniontown was authorized. Since that date branch agricultural schools have been provided by law in each congressional district.

On Feb. 28 1889, an act was passed providing relief, in the form of a small appropriation, for maimed or disabled Confederate soldiers and for the widows, who had not remarried, whose husbands were killed or had died in the war. Various modifications and enlargements have since been made, and while the sums awarded are small, under existing regulations a large number of meritorious individuals are receiving needed assistance.

The Democrats again coming into power in 1893, President Grover Cleveland appointed Hon. Hilary A. Herbert, of Alabama, Secretary of the Navy in his cabinet.

The outbreak of hostilities between Spain and the United States in the spring of 1898 found many Alabamians eager for enlistment. On April 28, Governor Johnston issued his first call for volunteers. To this war Alabama contributed the First and Second Regiments of Infantry, commanded respectively by Colonels E. L. Higdon and J. W. Cox. It also furnished a regiment of negro troops, commanded by Col. R. L. Bullard, a West Point army officer. In addition to these commands, the Fifth Regiment of Immunes was largely made up of companies from Alabama. The State also furnished two general officers: Brigadier-Generals Joseph Wheeler and Wm. C. Oates. Lieut. Richmond Pearson Hobson, whose brave act in sinking the "Merrimac" in Santiago harbor, June 3, 1898, placed him in the galaxy of national heroes, was born and reared in Alabama. On May 1, 1899, the "Society of Alabama Veterans of the Spanish-American War" was organized, with George Huddleston, of Birmingham, as commander.

A splendid and imposing monument to the memory of the soldiers and sailors of the Confederacy, was on Dec. 7, 1898, unveiled on Capitol hill, at Montgomery. The war had hardly ended when the movement for its erection was instituted. Desultory effort, which had accumulated some funds, gave place to the Monument Association, incorporated Sept. 30, 1885. In April, 1886, Hon. Jefferson Davis laid the corner-stone. Later this organization gave way to the Ladies' Memorial Association, which, with the aid of the General Assembly, completed the work.

The United Confederate Veterans, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the United Sons of Confederate Veterans, the Colonial Dames, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Sons of the Revolution, have prosperous organizations in the State. The Alabama Historical Society, at its annual meeting, June 21, 1898, entered upon a career of great usefulness. These organizations are accomplishing a noble work in preserving the traditions, memorials and records of the historic past.

The General Assembly, December 16, 1898, passed an act providing for holding a Constitutional Convention, but it was repealed by a called session of the same body on May 10, 1899.

The quarter of the century just closing has been the most remarkable in the history of the State. In material progress the advance has been unparalleled, as is evidenced by the remarkable growth of mining, timber and manufacturing industries, the enlargement of shipping interests, the increase of railroad mileage, the improvement of public roads, and the founding of new towns. In agriculture there has been marked progress in scientific and progressive methods. With the growth of its population, churches, benevolent institutions, patriotic organizations and the means of education have largely increased. A high standard of culture and a liberal public spirit characterize the people. With the priceless heritage of a glorious past, with a further diversification of energies, and a full and harmonious development of all the natural elements of wealth possessed by the State, the possibilities of the future cannot be conceived.

CHAPTER VIII.

Literary History.

The history of Alabama embraces a large number of writers and authors. Many of these have possessed marked individuality, and their lives and labors have reflected honor upon the State. Their work has been of a high class, and includes every department of literature — poetry, fiction, history, law and science.

During the early settlement of the country, and for many years afterward, with one marked exception, there were no writers of consequence, the energies and activities of the people being largely absorbed in material affairs. Harry Toulmin, who came to Mississippi Territory in 1804 as Superior Court Judge for Washington District (now in Alabama), was one of the most distinguished men whose labors have been spent in the service of the State. He was thoroughly educated, and before he came to the territory had displayed his skill as a political writer. In 1807 he published a *Magistrates' Guide*, and a *Digest of the Laws of the Mississippi Territory;* and in 1823 he compiled a *Digest of the Laws of Alabama.* In addition to these legal publications, he was a frequent contributor to newspapers in various parts of the United States, and his descriptive writings did much to call attention to the attractions of the territory now embraced in Alabama. A number of his letters, now preserved in manuscript, indicate a mind of vigor and versatility. He died in 1824. For twenty years he labored in season and out of season for the good of the Southern country, and his influence in these form-

ative years it would be hard to overestimate. As belonging to the latter years of this early period should be named Henry Hitchcock's *Alabama Justice of the Peace* (1822); and Dr. Jabez W. Heustis' *Medical Facts and Inquiries, Respecting the Causes, Nature, Prevention and Cure of Fever* (Cahawba, 1825).

With the improvement in the material conditions of the people, came the leisure and inclination for purely literary work. This tendency was encouraged by a growing press, through whose columns much excellent work appeared. The University, from the date of its establishment, was the centre of intellectual activity, and furnished the nucleus of a literary coterie in A. B. Meek, John G. Barr, William R. Smith and others. Mr. Smith tn 1837, published, at Mobile and Tuscaloosa, *The Bachelor's Button*, a Monthly Museum of Southern Literature. It contained numerous short stories, poems and book reviews, and was the first periodical of its kind published in the State. In 1839, several numbers of the *Southron* appeared. It was likewise devoted to poetry, fiction, essays, and book reviews, with the valuable addition of sketches in the early history of Alabama. It was edited by Alexander B. Meek, and contained contributions from a number of writers who subsequently acquired fame in the world of letters. In 1843-44 F. H. Brooks conducted the *Southern Educational Journal and Family Magazine* (Mobile), filled with miscellaneous literary matter. These periodicals, for want of support, had only a brief existence.

Historical writing in the State had its beginning in a number of sketches of Alabama history published in 1839, by A. B. Meek in the *Southron*. These were subsequently collected and revised, and, with additions, issued as *Romantic Passages in Southwestern History* (1857). The style is vivid and picturesque. The first distinctively historical volume published in the State was *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists of Alabama* (1840), prepared by Rev. Hosea Holcombe, one of the most earnest ministers of this church. The first effort in local

history writing was Samuel A. Townes' *History of Marion, Alabama* (1844), a series of lively and spirited sketches.

The publication in 1851, by Albert James Pickett, of the *History of Alabama and Incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi from the Earliest Times*, forms probably the most valuable secondary work on the history of the Southern country. Its execution required years of labor, and was attended by a liberal outlay of money in obtaining authorities and data. Its value has been recognized and acknowledged by the leading critics and historians. Mr. Pickett was also a vigorous political and controversial writer.

Southwestern political history from the formation of the Federal government to 1861 is graphically presented from the Southern view in Joseph Hodgeson's *Cradle of the Confederacy; or, the Times of Troup, Quitman and Yancey* (1876.) A similar, but far superior work, is John Witherspoon DuBose's *Life and Times of William Lowndes Yancey, a History of Political Parties in the United States, from* 1834 *to* 1864 (1892). In this biography, Mr. DuBose has made the best contribution of the South to Southern history. It is prepared with remarkable thoroughness, and is not only the life of Yancey, but a story of the marvellous period of which he was the luminous central figure.

One of the most prolific writers, and one whose utterances are always of value, is Dr. J. L. M. Curry. His work covers the entire field of intellectual effort, with the exception of poetry. His *Southern States of the American Union* (1894) is one of the most thoughtful and forceful presentations of the true historical relation of the States to the Constitution of the United States, that has yet appeared. Dr. Curry's writings on education and general topics have placed him in the first rank of the thinkers and leaders of the times.

Excellent historical work has been done by William Garrett in *Reminiscences of Public Men in Alabama* (1872); Willis

Brewer in *Alabama: Her History, Resources, War Record and Public Men* (1872); Dr. B. F. Riley, *History of the Baptists of Alabama* (1895); Dr. Anson West, *History of Methodism in Alabama* (1893); Rev. Walter C. Whitaker, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Alabama* (1898); Willis G. Clark, *History of Education in Alabama* (1889); T. C. DeLeon, *Four Years in Rebel Capitals* (1892); Henry W. Hilliard, *Politics and Pen Pictures at Home and Abroad* (1892); and Bishop R. H. Wilmer's *Recent Past From a Southern Standpoint* (1887).

A justly merited international reputation has been achieved by Hannis Taylor through his *Origin and Growth of the English Constitution* (1889, 1898), a monumental work in two volumes. Its circulation has been large; and it forms the basis for Constitutional study in numbers of Universities. It has been said that it is the greatest work produced in the South since Maury's *Physical Geography of the Sea.* Other valuable and thoughtful institutional work has been done by Thomas H. Clark, Thomas Chalmers McCorvey, Dr. George Petrie and Peter Joseph Hamilton. The latter has also prepared the most valuable local history for the decade—*Colonial Mobile* (1897)—in which he has rewritten in the light of new authorities the early history of the Gulf Coast.*

The success of women in the severer work of critic, biographer and historian is worthy of special note. As belonging to this class are Mary Lafayette Robbins' *Alabama Women in Literature* (1895); Miss Kate Cummings' *Journal of Hospital Life in the Confederate Army of Tennessee* (1866); Miss Mary Alice Caller's *Literary Guide for Home and School* (1892); Miss Louise Manly's *Southern Literature from* 1579 *to* 1895 (1895); Mrs. Virginia V. Clayton's *White and Black Under the Old Regime* (1899); and Miss Leila Herbert's *Homes of the First American* (1899).

* For all other local, historical and biographical writers see Chapter IX, infra.

Probably the first literary production, as such, in Alabama was the little volume of verse, entitled *College Musings, or Twigs from Parnassus*, published by William R. Smith in 1833, in his eighteenth year. About the same time he issued *The Bridal Eve*, another poetical work. Mr. Smith was prolific in verse, as in other writings, and through a long life his literary work has been extensive. He has rendered translations from Homer, prepared law books, indulged in original verse, entered the field of controversy, all with eminent skill. His *History and Debates of the Convention of* 1861 (1861) is the principal authority for the events of that momentous period. His latest important work was a volume of *Reminiscences* (1889), covering his long life of historical, political, personal and literary recollections.

Alexander B. Meek must, however, rank at the head of the poets of Alabama. His *Red Eagle, a Poem of the South* (1855), and *Songs and Poems of the South* (1857), have given him a reputation as a poet altogether beyond his fame as a historian, journalist and topical writer.

A number of others have essayed verse, and with success, but extended characterization cannot be given. Among those who have published fugitive pieces are Margaret (*O'Brien*) Davis, T. C. DeLeon, Miss Mary Gordon Duffee, Miss Julia Tutwiler, Miss Anne Bozeman Lyon, Mrs. I. M. P. Ockenden, Mrs Margaret Henry-Ruffin, Mrs. Mary McNeil Fennalosa and Miss Nimmo Greene. Others have given their work to the public in book form. These are Thomas Bibb Bradley and Miss Julia (*Pleasants*) Creswell's *Aphelia; and other Poems* (1854); Louis deV. Chaudron's *Madam La Marquise* (1892); W. P. Chilton, Jr.: *Mansions of the Skies* (1875); Dr. Orion T. Dozier's *Foibles of Fancy and Rhymes of the Times* (1894); Mrs. Belle Richardson Harrison's *Poems;* Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz's *DeLara; or, The Moorish Bride* (1843); Robert Loveman's *Poems* (1897); Andrew M. McConnell's *Echoes from the Heart* (1895); Thomas Maxwell's *King Bee's Dream* (1875); J. M. Oliver's *Battle of Franklin, and other*

Poems (1870); Samuel Minturn Peck's *Cap and Bells* (1886); *Rings and Love Knots* (1892); *Rhymes and Roses* (1895); *Fair Women of To-day* (1895), and other poems; A. J. Requier's *Poems* (1860); W. C. Richardson's *Gaspar, a Romaunt* (1873); Samuel L. Robertson's *Dora, or On the Border, and other poems* (1894); Miss Howard Weeden's *Shadows on the Wall* (1899), and *Bandanna Ballads* (1899); and H. L. Flash's *Poems* (1860).

The first efforts in fiction were put forth by Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz. She came to Alabama in 1834 as a teacher, but the year preceding had published *Lovell's Folly*. Her works are numerous, and when written were very popular. They depict Southern life in its refined aspects. Her best are *Linda* (1850), *Rena* (1850); and the *Planter's Northern Bride*. Ranking next to Mrs. Hentz in point of time, but of superior merit, are the novels of Mrs. Augusta (*Evans*) Wilson. These are *Inez*, *Beulah*, *Macaria*, *Vashti*, *St. Elmo*, *Infelice*, and *At the Mercy of Tiberius*. They have been widely circulated, and some have appeared in French and German translations. The writings of Mrs. Wilson have been criticized as too metaphysical and pedantic, but her style is flowing and her sentiments exalted and pure. Her personal character is one of modesty and sweetness. She resides at Mobile. Mrs. Elizabeth W. Bellamy, who died during the present year, was a novelist and short story writer of power and skill. Her works are *Four Oaks*, *Kamba Thorpe*, *The Little Joanna*, and *Old Man Gilbert*. Mrs. Aidelade deVendel Chaudron is one of the few text-book writers of the State. But she is best known by her delightful and accurate translation of Muhlbach's *Joseph II and His Court*.

Jeremiah Clemens, who had long been a prominent political figure, came before the public in 1856 with *Bernard Lile*, an historical romance of the times of the Texas Revolution and the Mexican War. Two years later it was followed by *Mustang Gray*, and in 1860 by *The Rivals*, a tale of the times of Burr and Hamilton.

While T. C. DeLeon has displayed remarkable versatility of talents, ranging from historical reminiscences to travesty, he excels in fiction. His first success was *Creole and Puritan* (1889), followed by *Juny*, (1890), a *Fair Blockade-Breaker* (1891), and the *Puritan's Daughter* (1892), a sequel to *Creole and Puritan*, but in *Crag-Nest* (1897), a romance of the days of Sheridan's ride, and *John Holden, Unionist* (1893), a romance of the days of destruction and reconstruction, he attains the highest levels of his art. The last work appeared in collaboration with Erwin Ledyard.

Other works of fiction which excited much interest at the time of publication are Mrs. Julia, (*Pleasants*) Creswell's *Callamura* (1868), an allegorical novel; Mrs. Mary Ann Cruse's *Cameron Hall*, (1867), a picture of the hopes and expectations of the Southern heart during the War between the States; Miss M. P. Swaine's *Mara; or, a Romance of the War* (1864); Willis Brewer's *Children of Issachar* (1884), a story of reconstruction times in Alabama; Henry W. Hillard's *De Vane; a Story of Plebeians and Patricians* (1884); Dr. S. C. Oliver's *Onslow*; Mrs Alice (*Brownlee*) Cole's *Affinities* (1890); Miss Ruby Beryl Kyle's *Paul St. Paul, a Son of the People* (1895); and Miss Anne Bozeman Lyon's *No Saint* (1890). *Judith, the Daughter of Judas*, by Margaret (*O'Brien*) Davis, is an historical novel of great skill in execution and of sustained strength.

The writers of short stories have been numerous.

But the work of no writer has shed more lustre on the literary annals of the State than the writings of Miss Mary Johnston. Her *Prisoners of Hope*, and *To Have and to Hold* have everywhere met unbounded applause. She has achieved the most remarkable literary success yet known to Southern women. Fortunately this fame will endure, for its foundation is based on solid and meritorious work.

In the field of humor the work of Joseph G. Baldwin and Johnson Jones Hooper is unrivaled. *The Flush Times of Ala-*

bama and Mississippi (1853, and later editions), by the former, is a volume of rare anecdote and unequaled humor. It illustrates the characters and phases of the "flush times" as no other book can ever do. Mr. Hooper's *Simon Suggs' Adventures*, and other writings, afford never-tiring amusement. Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Hooper are not, however, to be judged by their work of this character alone. They were men of prominent ability, the former a profound jurist, and the latter, at his death, the head of Alabama journalism. Other humorous work has been done by Francis B. Lloyd, under the name of "Rufus Sanders," Sage of Rocky Creek; while T. C. DeLeon has won wide applause by his burlesque and good-humored satire.

Books descriptive of travel in foreign lands have not been numerous. In 1857, Octavia (*Walton*) LeVert published *Souvenirs of Travel*, in two volumes. Her writing is characterized by ease and grace of style, with excellent descriptive power. Madame LeVert was a woman of rare brilliance, and her conversational powers were remarkable. Other publications of this class by Alabamians are Peter J. Hamilton's *Rambles in Historic Lands* (1893); Edgar Magness' *Tramp Tales of Europe* (1895); and Rev. W. A. Whittle's *Baptist Abroad, or Travels and Adventures in Europe and all Bible Lands* (1890).

The high value of the scientific writings of Dr. Josiah C. Nott has been generally recognized. Prof. Michael Tuomey, Dr. Eugene Allen Smith, Henry McCalley, T. H. Aldrich and D. W. Langdon have enriched the literature of geology by their contributions. The writings of Dr. Charles Mohr embrace the entire field of Alabama forestry. Dr. P. H. Mell, of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, is the author of a number of important botanical, as well as some valuable biographical works.

Other Alabama writers in the various branches of literary work, of whom a mention only can be made, are Mrs. Laura S. Webb, Mrs. Annie Creight Lloyd, Mrs. Lilian Rozelle Messenger, Mrs. Sarah E. Peck, Mrs. Julia L. Keyes, Mrs. Catharine

Barber Towles, Mrs. Julia Finley Shelton, Dr. B. F. Meek, Francis B. Clark, Wade Keyes, George P. Keyes, Benj. F. Porter, W. W. Screws, Erwin Craighead, Hilary A. Herbert, Dr. W. S. Wyman, Clifford Lanier, R. C. Brickell, Anthony W. Dillard, Saffold Berney, George M. Cruikshank, Chappell Cory, Lucien Julien Walker, William Garrott Brown, Sam Will John, Dr. Wm. LeRoy Broun, Dr. J. K. Powers, Rufus N. Rhodes, Edward W. Barrett, Richard F. Johnston, Miss Martha Young, Mrs. George C. Ball, Mrs. Wm. C. Jemison, Dr. J. H. Phillips, Joel C. DuBose, Miss Belle Moses, Mrs. Zach Smith, Charles C. Thach, Mrs. J. M. de Cottes, and Miss Annie Kendrick Walker. This is not intended to be a complete list, and doubtless many meritorious names have not been noted. In the space allowed, however, it could not be made more exhaustive.

CHAPTER IX.

Bibliography.

The printed works bearing on the history of the State are numerous, although the greater part of them are out of print, and are either inaccessible or little known. The compiler in 1898 published "A Bibliography of Alabama," in the *Report* of the American Historical Association for 1897," (Washington, 1898; 8 vo. pp. 472). In this work over 5,000 books and pamphlets relating to the State from the earliest times were catalogued, with full descriptive notes as to contents, editions, and literary value. An effort was made to give the titles, arranged alphabetically by authors, of all known publications, whether books, pamphlets, newspaper and magazine articles, articles printed in the transactions of societies, publications of societies, official documents, maps, etc.

Owing, therefore, to the great extent of material, only the principal titles can be presented in the brief compass here permitted. These are given in topical groups arbitrarily arranged, and in the briefest form, without any attempt at bibliographical detail.

I. Early Exploration, Aboriginal and Indian History.

James Adair's "History of the American Indians" (1775); D. G. Brinton's "National Legend of the Chahta-Muskokee Tribes" (1870); Drake's "Aborignal Races of North America" (1880); "Narratives of the Career of DeSoto in the Conquest of

Florida as Told by a Knight of Elvas and in a Relation by Luys de Biedma," translated by Buckingham Smith (1866)—there are several editions of these narratives; "Narratives of Alvar Nunez Cabeca de Vaca," translated by Buckingham Smith (1851); B. F. French's "Historical Collections of Louisiana," 7 volumes, *passim* (1846-1875); A. S. Gatschet's "Migration Legend of the Creek Indians," 2 volumes (1884, 1888); Benj. Hawkins' "Sketch of the Creek Country" (1848); Col. C. C. Jones' "Antiquities of the Southern Indians" (1873); DuPratz' "Histoire de la Louisiane" (1758, 1763, 1774); J. H. McCulloh's "Researches, Concerning the Aboriginal History of America" (1829); McKenney's "Memoirs; with Sketches of Travels Among the Northern and Southern Indians" (1846); McKenney and Hall's "History of the Indian Tribes of North America," 2 volumes (1854); Wm. Roberts' "First Discovery and Natural History of Florida" (1763); Bernard Romans' "Concise Natural History of East and West Florida" (1775); Walter B. Scaife's "America, Its Geographical History, 1492-1892" (1892); Barnard Shipp's "History of DeSoto and Florida, from 1512 to 1568" (1881); Squier and Davis' "Ancient Monuments of Mississippi Valley" (1848); Terneaux-Compans' "Voyages, Relations et Memoires Originaux pour Servir a l'Histoire de la DeCouverte de l'Amerique" (1841); Cyrus Thomas' "Catalogue of Prehistoric Works East of Rocky Mountains" (1891); "History of the Conquest of Florida," by Garcillasso de la Vega (in Shipp's "History of DeSoto and Florida"—only English version); Wm. M. Willett's "Narrative of the Military Actions of Col. Marinus Willett" (1831); Thomas S. Woodward's "Reminiscences of the Creek Indians" (1859).

In Justin Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," 8 volumes, and in Margry's "Decouvertes et Etablissements des Francais dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amerique Septentrionale," 6 volumes, will be found a vast fund of references and material.

II. General Work Bearing on the History of the State.

J. G. Baldwin's "Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi" (1853, 1889); N. W. Bates' "History and Civil Government of Alabama" (1892); Saffold Berney's "Handbook of Alabama" (1878, 1892); H. M. Brackenridge's "History of the Late War Between the United States and Great Britain" (1817); Brant and Fuller's "Memorial Record of Alabama, a Concise Account of the State's Political, Military, Professional and Industrial Progress, with Personal Memoirs," 2 volumes (1893); Willis Brewer's "Alabama: Her History, Resources, War Records, and Public Men, from 1540 to 1872" (1872); R. L. Campbell's "Historical Sketches of Colonial Florida" (1892); A. H. Chappell's "Miscellanies of Georgia" (1874); J. F. H. Claiborne's "Mississippi, as a Province, Territory and State" (1880); N. H. Claiborne's "Notes on the War in the South" (1819); W. G. Clark's "History of Education in Alabama" (1889); Culver's "Alabama's Resources, etc.," (1897); Darby's "Emigrant's Guide" (1818); Darby's "Geographical Description of Louisiana, Southern Part of Mississippi, and Territory of Alabama" (1817); T. C. DeLeon's "Creole Carnivals" (1890); G. R. Fairbanks' "History of Florida" (1871); Flint's "History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley" (1832); George S. Gaines' "Reminiscences of Early Times in the Mississippi Territory" (in the Mobile *Register*, June–July, 1872); Wm. Garrett's "Reminiscences of Public Men in Alabama for Thirty Years" (1872); H. S. Halbert and T. H. Ball's "Creek War of 1813 and 1814" (1895); James Hall's "Brief History of the Mississippi Territory" (1801); John Haywood's "Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee" (1823), and "Civil and Political History of Tennessee" (1823, 1891); Joseph Hodgeson's "Alabama Manual" (1869, 1870, 1871, 1875), and "The Cradle of the Confederacy; or, The Times of Troup, Quitman and Yancey" (1876); Maj. A. Latour's "Memoir of the War in West Florida and Louisiana in 1814-15" (1816); B. J. Lossing's "Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812" (1896), Hugh McCall's "History

of Georgia," 2 volumes (1811, 1816) ; T. C. McCorvey's "Government of the People of Alabama" (1895) ; F. X. Martin's "History of Louisiana" (1882) ; A. B. Meek's "Romantic Passages in Southwestern History" (1857); John T. Milner's "Alabama : As It Was, As It Is,and As It Will Be" (1876); J. W. Monette's "History of the Valley of the Mississippi," 2 volumes (1848) ; Thomas M. Owen's "Bibliography of Alabama," *supra* (1898), and also "Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society," Volume II, 1897-98, and Volume III, 1898-99, edited by him; Albert J. Pickett's "History of Alabama" (2 volumes, 1851 ; 1 volume, 1896); A. W. Putnam's "History of Middle Tennessee" (1859) ; J. G. Ramsay's "Annals of Tennessee" (1860) ; Paul Ravesies' "Scenes and Settlers of Alabama" (1886); Miss M. L. Robbins' "Alabama Women in Literature" (1895) ; Smith and DeLand's "Northern Alabama, Historical and Biographical" (1888); Wm. R. Smith's "Reminiscences of a Long Life, Historical, Political, Personal and Literary" (1889); J. T. Sprague's "Origin, Progress and Conclusion of the Florida War" (1848); James M. Swank's "History of the Manufacture of Iron in All Ages" (1892) ; George White's "Historical Collections of Georgia" (1854) ; Bishop R. H. Wilmer's "Reminiscences" (1887); and Andrew Ellicott's "Journal" of the running of the Southern boundary of the U. S. (1803).

The publications of the Alabama Historical Society, consisting of seven pamphlets (1850–1895), the *Historical Reporter* (29 numbers, 1879–1885), and two volumes of "Transactions" (Volume II, 1897–98, and Volume III, 1898–99) contain valuable historical contributions.

III. Travel.

Francis Bailey's "Tour in Unsettled Parts of North America in 1796 and 1797 " (1856); William Bartram's "Travels Through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida," etc., (several editions); Basanier's "L'Histoire Notable de la Floride situee es Indes Occidentales, Contenent les Trois

Voyages," etc, (1853); Baudry de Lozieres' "Voyage a la Louisiane 1794 a 1798" (1802); Bossu's "Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales" (1768, 1771, 1777); J. S. Buckingham's "Slave States of America" (1842); F. Cuming's "Tour to the Western Country" (1810); Lorenzo Dow's "Writings, Experience and Travels" (1856); G. W. Featherstonaugh's "Excursions Through the Slave States" (1844); P. H. Gosse's "Letters from Alabama" (1859); Basil Hall's "Travels in North America in 1827 and 1828" (1829); Adam Hodgeson's "Letters from North America" (1824); Edward King's "Great South: a Record of Journeys in Alabama" (1875); Charles Lanman's "Adventures in the Wilds of the U. S." (1856); Charles Lyell's "Second Visit to the U. S." (1849); Perrin du Lac's "Voyages dans les Deux Louisianes" (1805, 1807); John Pope's "Tour through the Southern and Western Territories" (1792); Mrs. Anne Royall's "Sketches of History, Life, and Manners in the U. S." (1826); Saxe-Weimar Eisenach's "Travels Through North America, during 1825 and 1826" (1828); James Stuart's "Three Years in North America," 2 volumes (1833); J. T. Trowbridge's "The South: a Tour of its Battlefields and Ruined Cities" (1866).

IV. County Histories.

Short histories, with statistics, will be found in the following general works: Berney's "Handbook of Alabama" (1878, 1892); Brewer's "Alabama"; Riley's "Alabama as It Is" (1887, 1888, and 1893); and Smith and DeLand's "Northern Alabama."

Rev. T. H. Ball's "Clarke County, and its Surroundings, 1540 to 1877" (1882); W. H. Cather's "History of St. Clair County" (in the Southern *Aegis*, Ashville, July 1, 1897, *et seq.*); "Marshall County," by E. O. Neely (in the Guntersville *Democrat*, souvenir edition, November, 1895); J. B. Little's "History of Butler County, Ala., 1815 to 1885" (1885); R. A. McClellan's "Early History of Limestone County, Ala.," (in the Athens *Post*, June–September, 1881); George Powell's "History of Blount

County" (in *Transactions* Alabama Historical Society, 1855); B. F. Riley's "History of Conecuh County, Ala.," (1881); W. G. Robertson's "Recollections of Early Settlers of Montgomery County" (1892); Col. J. E. Saunders' "Early Settlers of Lawrence County, Alabama" (1899); N. F. Smith's "History of Pickens County" (1856); V. G. Snedecor's "Directory of Greene County, 1855 6" (1856); T. J. Taylor's "History of Madison County" (in the Huntsville *Independent*, 1883 and 1884); Teeple and Smith's "Jefferson County and Birmingham, Historical and Biographical" (1887); W. C. Tharin's "Directory of Marengo County, 1860-61" (1861).

V. Town Histories.

In Berney's "Handbook of Alabama," and Brewer's "Alabama" are a number of short sketches. Smith and DeLand's "Northern Alabama" contains valuable histories of the following towns: Anniston, Attalla, Auburn, Birmingham, Cullman, Decatur, Florence, Gadsden, Greensboro, Guntersville, Helena, Huntsville, Jacksonville, Jasper, Livingston, Marion, Montgomery, Opelika, Selma, Sheffield, Talladega, Troy, Tuscumbia and Tuscaloosa. W. W. Screws contributed sketches of a number of towns to the *Advertiser*, January, February, March and April, 1898.

"History of Bailey Springs, Lauderdale County" (1860); J. W. Beeson's "Demopolis" (in Demopolis *Express*, January 24 to April 4, 1895); M. P. Blue's "History of Montgomery" (1878); H. M. Caldwell's "History of the Elyton Land Company and Birmingham" (1892); J. W. DuBose's "Mineral Wealth of Alabama and Birmingham," illustrated (1886); Peter J. Hamilton's "Colonial Mobile, an Historical Study, largely from Original Sources, of the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin from the discovery of Mobile Bay in 1519 until the Demolition of Fort Charlotte in 1821" (1897); John Hardy's "Selma: Her Institutions and Her

Men'' (1879); E. T. Wood's "Sketch of Mobile'' (in his Mobile *Directory* for 1844); Bernard Reynold's "Sketches of Mobile'' (1868); S. A. Townes' "History of Marion, Perry County, Ala.'' (1844).

VI. Biography.

COLLECTED. There are a number of general works which contain important biographical data. The principal of these are: Brewer's "Alabama;" Garrett's "Public Men in Alabama;" "Memorial Record of Alabama" (2 vols.); Smith and DeLand's "Northern Alabama;" and Teeple and Smith's "Jefferson County and Birmingham." The following also contain brief biographies: Clark's "History of Education in Alabama;" French's "Historical Collections of Louisiana" (7 vols.); Hardy's "Selma: Her Institutions and Her Men;" S. F. Miller's "Heads of the Alabama Legislature" (1842-3); Nall's "Dead of the Synod of Alabama;" "Representative Men of the South" (1880); Robertson's "Recollections of Montgomery County;" Smith's "Reminiscences of a Long Life;'' and H. S. Foote's "Bench and Bar of the South and Southwest'' (1876).

INDIVIDUAL. G. W. Agee's "Rube Burrow, King of Outlaws" (1890); Rufus Anderson's "Memoir of Catherine Brown, a Christian Indian'' (1825); W. O. Baldwin's "Tribute to James Marion Sims'' (1884); William Birney's "Life of James G. Birney" (1884); Wm. A. Bowles' "Authentic Memoirs'' (1791); P. H. Brittan's "Veto Messages of Gov. J. A. Winston, with Memoir'' (1856); J. F. H. Claiborne's "Life and Times of Gen. Sam Dale" (1860); Daniel Clark's "Proofs of the Corruption of Gen. James Wilkinson'' (1809); David Crockett's "Narrative of His Life'' (1834), and also "Life of" (1860), written by himself; J. L. M. Curry's "Francis Strother Lyon as Commissioner and Trustee of Alabama'' (1889); Tiffany's "Life of Dorothea Lynde Dix" (1891); Benj. Drake's "Life of Tecumseh and of his Brother, the Prophet'' (1852); Maj. James D. Dreisbach's

"Weatherford, the Red Eagle," (in Alabama Historical *Reporter*, February, March, April, 1884); J. W. DuBose's "Life and Times of William Lowndes Yancey; a History of Political Parties in the United States, 1834 to 1864, especially as to the Origin of the Confederate States" (1892); Eaton's "Life of Andrew Jackson" (1817, 1824); G. C. Eggleston's "Red Eagle and the Wars with the Creek Indians of Alabama" (1878); John Fulton's "Memoirs of F. A. P. Barnard" (1896); E. J. Harden's "Life of George M. Troup" (1859); W. L. Hawley's "Life of Detective A. J. Sullivan" (1888); "Memorial Addresses on Life of Thomas H. Herndon" (1884); "Memorial Addresses on Life of George S. Houston" (1880); Crawford M. Jackson's "Brief Biographical Sketch of Col. Albert J. Pickett" (1859); P. W. Jones' "James Taylor Jones, a Sketch" (1896); "Obituary Addresses on the Death of Hon. William R. King" (1854); "Memorial Addresses on Life of Wm. M. Lowe" (1883); A. B. Meek's "Red Eagle, a Poem of the South;" P. H. Mell's "Life of Patrick H. Mell, Sr." (1895); Le Clerc Milfort's "Memoire ou Coup d'Œil Rapide sur Mes Differens Voyages et Mon Sejour Dans la Nation Creck" (1802); James Parton's "Life of Andrew Jackson" (1861); T. W. Price's "Life of Himself" (1877); B. H. Riggs' "Biographical Sketch of A. G. Mabry, M. D." (1878); R. H. Rivers' "Life of Robert Paine, D. D." (1884); E. C. Tracy's "Life of Jeremiah Evarts" (1845); Rev. Greenough White's "Saint of the Southern Church," the Life of Bishop N. H. Cobbs (1898); James Wilkinson's "Memoirs of My Own Times," 4 volumes (1816).

VII. Church History.

D. W. Andrews' "Short History of the North River Association" (1885); W. C. Bledsoe's "History of East Liberty Baptist Association" (1886); M. P. Blue's "Churches of the City of Montgomery" (1878); T. H. Clark's "Religious History of Alabama" (in *Memorial Record of Alabama*, volume II.); Rev. E.

P. Davis' "Golden Anniversary of First Presbyterian Church of Montgomery" (1897); Hosea Holcombe's "History of the Baptists of Alabama" (1840); John G. Jones' "History of Methodism as Connected with the Mississippi Conference, from 1799 to 1817" (1887); B. W. McDonnold's "History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church" (1888); "The Baptist Churches of Mobile" (1879); "Year Book of the Parish of Christ Church, Mobile, for 1883, and Reminiscences of the History of the Parish from its Foundation" (1884); "Sketch of St. Francis Street Baptist Church" (in Ravesies' *Scenes and Settlers*); Robert Nall's "Dead of the Synod of Alabama" (1851); B. F. Riley's "History of the Baptists of Alabama" (1895); Josephus Shackleford's "History of Muscle Shoals Baptist Association, 1820 to 1890" (1891); J. G. Shea's "Catholic Missions" (1854), and also "History of the Catholic Church within the U. S.," 4 volumes (1886-1892); Rev. Anson West's "History of Methodism in Alabama" (1893); Rev. W. C. Whitaker's "History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Alabama" (1898); and Anne Bozeman Lyon's "Early Missions of the South (1894).

VIII. The War Between the States, and Reconstruction.

C. C. Andrew's "History of the Campaign of Mobile" (1867); Mrs. Fannie A. Beers' "Memories" (1889); "War Record of Alabama" (in Brewer's *Alabama* 1872); Jeremiah Clemens' "Tobias Wilson, a Tale of the Great Rebellion" (1865); John Esten Cooke's "Wearing of the Gray" (1867); Miss Mary Ann Cruse's "Cameron Hall: a Story of the Civil War" (1867); Miss Kate Cumming's "Journal of Hospital Life" (1866); T. C. DeLeon's "Four Years in Rebel Capitals" (1892); DeLeon's "John Holden, Unionist, a Romance of the Days of Destruction and Reconstruction" (1893); W. L. Fagan's "Southern War Songs" (1890); J. J. Garrett's "Forty-Fourth Alabama Regiment" (in *Transactions* Alabama Historical Society, 1897-98, Volume II); A. T. Goodloe's "Rebel Relics from the Seat of

War" (1893); Parthenia A. Hague's "Blockaded Family: Life in Southern Alabama During the Civil War" (1888); Jesse Hawes' "Cahaba, a Story of Captive Boys in Blue" (1888); H. A. Herbert's "Why the Solid South? or, Reconstruction and its Results" (1890); M. B. Hurst's "History of the Fourteenth Regiment, Alabama Volunteers" (1863); W. F. Hutchinson's "Sketch of the Battle of Mobile Bay" (1879); Thomas Jordan and J. P. Pryor's "Campaigns of Forrest" (1868); T. C. McCorvey's "Sketch of the Capture of Tuscaloosa and the Burning of the University of Alabama" (in the *Century* Magazine, November, 1889); A. T. Mahan's "Navy in the Civil War.—III. The Gulf and Inland Waters" (1883), and also "Admiral Farragut" (1892); Wm. C. Oates' "Sketch of the Companies of the Fifteenth Alabama Regiment" (in the Montgomery *Advertiser*. May, June, July, 1897, and January and February, 1898); F. A Parker's "Battle of Mobile Bay" (1878); E. W. Pettus' "Sketch of Pettus' Brigade" (in *Transactions* Alabama Historical Society, 1897-98, Volume II); D. D. Porter's "Naval History of the Civil War" (1886); A. C. Roach's "Prisoner of War, containing a History of Col. Streight's Expedition, 1863" (1865); J. T. Scharf's "History of the Confederate States Navy" (1894); L. W. Shaver's "History of the Sixtieth Alabama Regiment" (1867); William R. Smith's "History and Debates of the Convention of Alabama, begun the seventh of January, 1861" (1861); Smith's "History of Company K, First Alabama Regiment"; R. S. Tharin's "Arbitrary Arrests in the South" (1863); "Twenty-Fourth Alabama Commemorative Association Memorial Tribute" (1882); A. H. Whetstone's "Fifty-Third Alabama Regiment" (in Montgomery *Advertiser*, October 10, 17, 1897); "Inside of Rebeldom," by J. P. Cannon, late 27th Alabama (1900); Dr. John A. Wyeth's "Life of Forrest" (1899); Joseph Wheeler's "Military History of Alabama" (in Memorial Record of Alabama, Volume I); and C. M. Wilcox's "Sketch of Wilcox's Brigade" (in *Transactions* Alabama Historical Society, 1898-99,

Volume III). "The War of the Rebellion Records" (1880-1900), a U. S. Government publication, contains a vast fund of information in reference to Alabama commands, as well as many local references.

IX. Genealogy.

M. P. Blue's "Genealogy of the Blue Family" (1886); D. H. Cram's "Scott Genealogy," and also his "James Family;" Dr. and Mrs. P. H. Mell's "Genealogy of the Mell Family in the Southern States" (1897); Thomas M. Owen's "Genealogy of the Lacey Family" (1900), also of the "Kelley Family" (1900), also of the "Stansel Family" (1900); R. D. Webb's "The Webb Family" (1894); Wheeler's "American Ancestors of the Children of Joseph and Daniella Wheeler" (1896). Col. J. E. Saunders' "Early Settlers of Lawrence County, Alabama," contains genealogies more or less complete of the following families of Alabama, prepared by Mrs. Wm. C. Stubbs, viz: Banks, Bankhead, Bibb, Billups, Blair, Cantzon, Clay, Coleman, Cox, DuBose, Dudley, Dunn, Elliott, Flint, Foster, Fry, Gholson, Goode, Gray, Harris, Hill, Hopkins, Lanier, Ligon, Lowe, Manning, Maclin, McGehee, Maury, Moore, Oliver, O'Neal, Phelan, Poellnitz, Roy, Richardson, Saunders, Shelton, Sherrod, Shorter, Speed, Swope, Tait, Taliaferro, Thompson, Tillman, Urquhart, Walthall, Watkins, Webb, Weeden, Wells, White, Withers, Wyatt, Yates and Young. A *Genealogy* of the Fitts' family has been published by James H. Fitts, of Tuscaloosa.

APPENDIX.

I. GOVERNORS.

MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY.

Name	Appointed
Winthrop Sargent	May 7, 1798
Wm. C. C. Claiborne	May 25, 1801
Rorert Williams	March 1, 1805
David Holmes	March 7, 1809

ALABAMA TERRITORY.

William W. Bibb, temporary commission dated Sept. 25, 1817; and permanent commission, Dec. 16, 1817.

STATE OF ALABAMA.

William W. Bibb, of Autauga County....November 1819 to July 10, 1820
Thomas Bibb, of Limestone, acting governor, July 1820 to November 1821
Israel Pickens, of Greene.....November 1821 to November 1825
John Murphy, of Monroe.....November 1825 to November 1829
Gabriel Moore, of Madison.....November 1829 to March 1831
Samuel B. Moore, of Jackson, acting governor..March to November 1831
John Gayle, of Greene.....November 1831 to November 1835
Clement C. Clay, Sr., of Madison.....November 1835 to July 1837
Hugh McVay, of Lauderdale, acting governor....July to November 1837
Arthur P. Bagby, of Monroe.....November 1837 to November 1841
Benj. Fitzpatrick, of Autauga.... ....November 1841 to November 1845
Joshua L. Martin, of Tuscaloosa.....November 1845 to November 1847
Reuben Chapman, of Madison.... ....November 1847 to November 1849
Henry W. Collier, of Tuscaloosa.....November 1849 to November 1853
John A. Winston, of Sumter.....November 1853 to November 1857

ANDREW B. MOORE, of Perry.....November 1857 to November 1861
JOHN G. SHORTER, of Barbour.....November 1861 to November 1863
THOMAS H. WATTS, of Montgomery.....November 1863 to April 1865
(No Civil Authority April to June 1865).
LEWIS E. PARSONS, of Talladega, provisional governor, June to Dec. 1865
ROBERT M. PATTON, of Lauderdale.....December 1865 to July 1868
WILLIAM H. SMITH, of Randolph.....July 1868 to November 1870
ROBERT B. LINDSAY, of Colbert.....November 1870 to November 1872
DAVID P. LEWIS, of Madison.....November 1872 to November 1874
GEORGE S. HOUSTON, of Limestone.....November 1874 to November 1878
RUFUS W. COBB, of Shelby.....November 1878 to November 1882
EDWARD A. O'NEAL, of Lauderdale....November 1882 to November 1886
THOMAS SEAY, of Hale.....November 1886 to November 1890
THOMAS G. JONES, of Montgomery.....November 1890 to November 1894
WILLIAM C. OATES, of Henry.....November 1894 to November 1896
JOSEPH F. JOHNSTON, of Jefferson.....November 1896 to date.
(Now in office; term expires November 1900.)

II. UNITED STATES SENATORS FROM ALABAMA.

CLASS 2.

WILLIAM R. KING.....October 28, 1819 to April 22, 1844
DIXON H. LEWIS.....April 22, 1844 to November 25, 1848
BENJ. FITZPATRICK.....November 20, 1848 to November 30, 1849
JEREMIAH CLEMENS.....November 30, 1849 to March 4, 1853
CLEMENT C. CLAY, JR.,.....March 4, 1853 to Jan. 21, 1861
(Vacancy during hostilities, 1861-65.)
LEWIS E. PARSONS, elected for six years from March 4, 1865,
but admission denied.
WILLARD WARNER.....June 25, 1868 to March 4, 1871
GEORGE GOLDTHWAITE.....January 15, 1872 to March 4, 1877
JOHN T. MORGAN.....March 5, 1877, to date.
(His present term expires March 3, 1901).

CLASS 3.

JOHN W. WALKER.....October 28, 1819 to December 12, 1822
WILLIAM KELLY.....December 12, 1822 to March 4, 1825
HENRY CHAMBERS.....March 4, 1825 to February 27, 1826
ISRAEL PICKENS.....February 17, 1826 to November 27, 1826
JOHN MCKINLEY.....November 27, 1826 to March 4, 1831

*GABRIEL MOORE.....March 4, 1831 to March 4, 1837
CLEMENT C. CLAY, Sr.....March 4, 1837 to November 24, 1841
ARTHUR P. BAGBY.....November 24, 1841 to July 1, 1848
WILLIAM R. KING..... July 1, 1848 to January 14, 1853
BENJ. FITZPATRICK.....January 14, 1853 to January 21, 1861
(Vacancy during hostilities, 1861-65).
GEORGE S. HOUSTON, elected for 6 years from March 4, 1861,
but admission denied.
JOHN A. WINSTON, elected for 6 years from March 4, 1867,
but admission denied.
GEORGE E. SPENCER..... ...June 25, 1868 to March 4, 1879
GEORGE S. HOUSTON..... .. ..March 4, 1879 to December 31, 1879
LUKE PRYOR.....January 7, 1880 to December 6, 1880
JAMES L. PUGH.....December 6, 1880 to March 4, 1897
EDMUND W. PETTUS.....March 4, 1897 to date
(His term expires March 3, 1903).

III. POPULATION STATISTICS.

CENSUS YEAR.	WHITE.	COLORED.	ALL OTHERS.	TOTAL.
1820.....	85,451	42,450	.....	127,901
1830.....	190,406	119,121	.....	309,527
1840.....	335,185	255,571	.....	590,756
1850.....	426,514	345,109	.....	771,623
1860.....	526,271	437,770	.....	964,041
1870.....	521,384	475,510	98	996,992
1880.....	662,185	600,103	217	1,262,505
1890.....	830,796	681,431	790	1,513,017

*John McKinley was in 1837 again elected, but he declined.

IV. COUNTIES OF ALABAMA.

NAME.	DATE.	FOR WHOM NAMED.	COUNTY SEATS
Autauga	Nov. 21, 1818....	Indian name	Prattville.
Baldwin.....	Dec. 21, 1809....	Senator Abraham Baldwin, of Ga.....	Daphne.
Barbour.....	Dec. 18, 1832 ..	Gov. James Barbour, of Va	Clayton.
Bibb*.....	Feb. 7, 1818.....	Gov. William W. Bibb, of Ala.....	Centreville.
Blount	Feb. 7, 1818.....	Gov. Willie G. Blount, of Tenn.....	Oneonta.
Bullock	Dec. 5, 1866. ...	E. C. Bullock, Esq., of Ala.....	Union Springs.
Butler.....	Dec. 13, 1819 ...	Capt. William Butler, of Ala.....	Greenville.
Calhoun† ..	Dec. 18, 1832	Senator John C. Calhoun, of S. C	Jacksonville.
Chambers...	Dec. 18, 1832....	Senator Henry C. Chambers, of Ala....	Lafayette.
Cherokee....	Jan. 9, 1836	Indian tribe.....	Centre.
Chilton‡....	Dec. 30, 1868 ...	Wm. P. Chilton, Esq., of Ala.....	Clanton.
Choctaw	Dec. 29, 1847 ...	Indian tribe.....	Butler.
Clarke.....	Dec. 10, 1812...	Gov. John Clarke, of Ga	Grove Hill.
Clay	Dec. 7, 1866.....	Senator Henry Clay, of Ky.....	Ashland.
Cleburne....	Dec. 6, 1866.....	Gen. Pat. R. Cleburne, of Ark	Edwardsville.
Coffee	Dec, 29, 1841....	Gen. John Coffee, of Ala	Elba.
Colbert‖.....	Feb. 6, 1867. ..	George and Levi Colbert.....	Tuscumbia.
Conecuh	Feb. 13, 1818....	Indian name.....	Evergreen.
Coosa.....	Dec 18, 1832 ...	Indian name.....	Rockford.
Covington§..	Dec. 7, 1821.....	Gen. Leonard W. Covington, of Md....	Andalusia.
Crenshaw..	Nov. 24, 1866...	Anderson Crenshaw, Esq., of Ala.....	Rutledge.
Cullman ...	Jan. 24, 1877....	John G. Cullman, of Ala.....	Cullman.
Dale	Dec. 22,1824	Gen. Samuel Dale, of Ala...	Ozark.
Dallas	Feb. 9, 1818.....	A. J. Dallas	Selma.
DeKalb.	Jan. 9, 1836	Gen. DeKalb.....	Fort Payne.
Elmore	Feb. 15, 1866....	John A. Elmore, Esq., of Ala.....	Wetumpka.
Escambia...	Dec. 10, 1868 ...	Escambia River	Brewton.
Etowah**...	Dec. 7, 1866.....	Indian name.....	Gadsden.
Fayette	Dec. 20, 1824 ..	Gen. Lafayette.....	Fayette.
Franklin....	Feb. 6, 1818.....	Benj. Franklin, Esq., of Pa..... ...	Belgreen.
Geneva	Dec. 26, 1868....	County town	Geneva.
Greene.....	Dec. 13, 1819	Gen. Nathaniel Greene, of Ga.....	Eutaw.
Hale	Jan. 30, 1867...	Stephen F. Hale, Esq., of Ala.....	Greensbo o.
Henry.....	Dec. 13, 1819...	Gov. Patrick Henry, of Va.....	Abbeville.
Jackson ††..	Dec. 13, 1819 ..	Gen. Andrew Jackson, of Tenn...	Scottsboro.
Jefferson ...	Dec. 13, 1819 ...	Pres. Thomas Jefferson, of Va.....	Birmingham.
Lamar‡‡.. ..	Feb. 4, 1867.....	L. Q C. Lamar, Esq., of Miss..... ..	Vernon.
Lauderdale .	Feb. 6, 1818.....	Col. James Lauderdale, of Tenn.....	Florence.
Lawrence...	Feb. 6, 1818....	James Lawrence, Esq., of Vermont....	Moulton.
Lee	Dec. 5, 1866.....	Gen. Robert E. Lee, of Va.....	Opelika.
Limestone ..	Feb. 6, 1818.....	Creek of that name...	Athens.
Lowndes ...	Jan. 20, 1830 ...	Wm. Lowndes, Esq., of S. C	Hayneville.
Macon	Dec. 18, 1832 ...	Senator Nath'l Macon, of N. C.....	Tuskegee.
Madison	Dec. 13, 1808....	Pres. James Madison, of Va.....	Huntsville.
Marengo	Feb. 6, 1818	French name....	Linden.
Marion	Feb. 13, 1818	Gen. Francis Marion, of S. C.....	Hamilton.
Marshall ..	Jan 9, 1836.....	C. J. John Marshall, of Va.....	Guntersville.

* Originally "Cahaba;" changed to present name Dec. 4, 1820—*Acts* 1820, p. 63. † Originally "Benton," for Senator Thomas H. Benton, of Mo.; changed to present name, Jan. 29, 1858.—*Acts*, 1857-58, p. 318. ‡ Originally "Baker," for Albert Baker Esq., of the county; changed to present name Dec. 17, 1874.—*Acts*, 1874-75, pp. 179-180. ‖ Abolished Nov. 29, 1867, by the Constitutional Convention (*Acts* 1868, p. 163 ; re-established Dec. 9, 1869.—*Acts*, 1869-70, p. 6. § Name changed to "Jones" Aug. 6, 1868; and Oct. 10, 1868, changed to original and present name.—*Acts*, 1868, pp. 84, 257. ** Originally "Baine," for Gen. D. W. Baine, of Lowndes county; abolished Dec. 3, 1867, by the Consitutional Convention; reestablished with present name by Act Dec. 1. 1868.—*Acts*, 1868 pp.

COUNTIES OF ALABAMA—Continued.

Mobile‖‖ ...	Aug. 1. 1812 ...	See Note.....	Mobile.
Monroe	June 29, 1815...	Pres. James Monroe, of Va....	Monroeville.
Montgomery	Dec. 6, 1816	Lt. Lemuel P. Montgomery, of Tenn....	Montgomery.
Morgan§§ ...	Feb. 6, 1818.....	Gen. Daniel Morgan, of Va.....	Somerville.
Perry.	Dec. 13, 1819...	Com. O. H. Perry, of R. I.....	Marion.
Pickens	Dec. 19, 1820 ...	Gen. Andrew Pickens, of S. C.....	Carrollton.
Pike	Dec. 7, 1821.....	Z. M. Pike, of N. J	Troy.
Randolph...	Dec. 18, 1832 ..	Senator John Randolph, of Va.....	Wedowee.
Russell.....	Dec. 18, 1832 ...	Col. Gilbert C. Russell, of Ala.....	Seale.
St. Clair ...	Nov. 20, 1818....	Gen. Arthur St. Clair, of Pa	Ashville.
Shelby	Feb. 7, 1818. ..	Gov. Isaac Shelby, of Ky.....	Columbiana.
Sumter. . ..	Dec. 18, 1832 ..	Gen Thomas Sumter, of S. C.....	Livingston.
Talladega. ..	Dec. 18, 1832....	Indian name.....	Talladega.
Tallapoosa..	Dec. 18, 1832....	Indian name.....	Dadeville.
Tuscaloosa..	Feb. 7, 1818 ...	Indian name	Tuscaloosa.
Walker	Dec. 26, 1823....	Senator J. W. Walker. of Ala.....	Jasper.
Washington	June 4, 1800....	Gen. Geo. Washington, of Va.....	St. Stephens.
Wilcox ..	Dec. 13, 1819 ...	Lt. Jos. M. Wilcox, U. S. Army.....	Camden.
Winston*** .	Feb. 12, 1850....	Gov. J. A. Winston, of Ala.....	Double Spring

178, 359-361. †† "Decatur" county was created Dec. 7, 1821 (*Acts*, 1821, p. 72), but was abolished in 1824, and its territory given to Madison and Jackson; Marshall county now has a portion of it. Woodville, in Jackson, was the county seat. ‡‡ Originally "Jones," for E. P. Jones, Esq., of Fayette Co.; abolished Nov. 13, 1867, by the Constitutional Convention; reestablished October 8, 1868, as "Samford," for H. C. Samford, Esq., of Cherokee Co. (*Acts* 1868, p. 216); changed to present name Feb. 8, 1877.—*Acts*, 1876-77, p. 232. ‖‖ Named for the town, river and bay. It is the "Mauvila," or "Mobila" of the Spanish and the "Mobile" of the French. §§ Originally "Cotaco," of Indian origin; changed to present name June 14, 1821.—Toulmin, p. 85. *** Originally "Hancock," for Gen. John Hancock, of Mass.; changed to present name Jan. 22, 1858.—*Acts*, 1857-58, p. 327.

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